

# A·T·H·E·N·A·E·U·S

## THE DEIPNOSOPHISTS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
CHARLES BURTON GULICK, PH.D.

ELIOT PROFESSOR OF GREEK LITERATURE, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

VI



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## PREFATORY NOTE

IN an essay written in 1867 James Russel Lowell took occasion to say "The somewhat greasy heap of a literary rag-and-bone-picker, like Athenaeus, is turned to gold by time" In this volume the reader will find that Athenaeus goes further, and presents "a rag and bone and a hank o' hair" with embarrassing frankness

The text, like that of the fifth volume, is based on my own collation of Codex Marcianus (A) and the Paris Excerpts (C) Dr S P. Peppink's *Observationes in Athenaei Deipnosophistas* (Leyden, 1936) has been helpful in restoring the correct attribution of emendations to scholars of the Netherlands

My translation of Hermesianax first appeared in Dr Loeb's *Alexandrian Poetry* (1931) It is here further revised, and proper credit, I trust, has been given to the many learned men who have laboured with this difficult poem

C. B. G.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,  
March 1937



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## ABBREVIATIONS

- Allinson = *Menander*, in Loeb Classical Library  
 Aristoph = Aristophanes.  
 Aristot = Aristotle.  
 Athen = Athenaeus.  
 Brandt = *Parodorum Epicorum Graecorum Reliquiae*,  
           ed P Brandt, 1888  
 Diehl = *Anthologia Lyrica*, ed E Diehl, 1922-1924  
 Diels = *Poetarum Philosophorum Fragmenta*, ed Her-  
          mann Diels, 1901.  
 Diels<sup>3</sup> = *Vorsokratiker*, 3rd edition  
 Edmonds = *Elegy and Iambus*, in Loeb Classical Library  
           = *Lyra Graeca*, in Loeb Classical Library  
*F H G* = *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed C  
          Müller.  
*Frag. ep* = *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G  
          Kinkel.  
 G and H = Grenfell and Hunt, *Hellenica Oxyrhynchica*.  
*H S.C P* = *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*  
 Hort = *Theophrastus*, in Loeb Classical Library  
*I G* = *Inscriptiones Graecae*  
 J. = Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*  
 Kaibel = *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed G. Kaibel  
          (for Epicharmus, Sophron, Sopater)  
 Kock = *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*, ed. Th Kock  
 Olivieri = *Frammenti della commedia greca*, Naples, 1930  
*P L G*<sup>4</sup> = Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, 4th edition  
*P L G*<sup>5</sup> = 5th edition of the preceding work, Vol. 1  
          (Pindar), by Schoeder, 1900, reprinted  
          with a new appendix (*P L G*<sup>6</sup>), 1923.  
          Vols II. and III reprinted with indices by  
          Ribebauer, 1914.  
 Powell = *Collectanea Alexandriana*, ed J U Powell,  
          Oxford, 1925.

## ABBREVIATIONS

P -W	= Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Enzyklopädie</i> .
S I F.	= <i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> , ed. H. Von Arnim, 1903
Script. Al. M	= <i>Scriptores Historiarum Alexandri Magni</i>
T G F.	= <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> ed. A. Nauck, 2nd edition

The references are to pages, unless otherwise indicated

In the case of an ancient author whose work is known only through quotations, a proper name following a reference indicates the modern editor or compiler of the quoted fragments. Thus, "Frag. 200 Rose" means the edition of Aristotle's *Fragmenta* by Valentin Rose; "Frag. 72 Gaede," Gaede's edition of the *Fragmenta* of Demetrius of Scepsis, etc.

## PERSONS OF THE DIALOGUE

- AEMILIANUS MAURUS, grammarian  
ALCEIDES OF ALEXANDRIA, musician.  
AMOEBEUS, harp-player and singer.  
ARRIAN, grammarian.  
ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, the author.  
CYNULCUS, nickname of a Cynic philosopher, Theodorus  
DAPHNUS OF EPHEBUS, physician.  
DEMOCRITUS OF NICOMEDIA, philosopher  
DIONYSOCLES, physician.  
GALEN OF PERGAMUM, physician.  
LARENSIS (P. LIVIUS Larensis), Roman official, *pontifex minor, procurator patrimonii*.  
LEONIDAS OF ELIS, grammarian.  
MAGNUS, probably a Roman.  
MASURIUS, jurist, poet, musician  
MYRTILUS OF THESSALY, grammarian.  
PALAMEDES THE ELEATIC, lexicographer.  
PHILADELPHUS PTOLEMAEENSIS, philosopher.  
PLUTARCH OF ALEXANDRIA, grammarian.  
PONTIANUS OF NICOMEDIA, philosopher.  
RUFINUS OF NICAEA, physician.  
TIMOCRATES, to whom Athenaeus relates the story of the banquet.  
ULPIAN OF TYRE, Roman jurist and official.  
VARUS, grammarian.  
ZOILUS, grammarian





# ATHENAEUS

# ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ ΝΑΥΚΡΑΤΙΤΟΥ ΔΕΙΠΝΟΣΟΦΙΣΤΩΝ

## ΙΓ

ΠΕΡΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ<sup>1</sup>

555 Ἀντιφάνης ὁ κωμωδιοποιός, ἑταῖρε Τιμόκρατες,  
ὥς ἀνεγίνωσκέ τινα τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν  
ἑαυτοῦ κωμωδιῶν, ὁ δὲ δῆλος ἦν οὐ πάνυ τι ἀπο-  
δεχόμενος, “δεῖ γάρ, ἔφησεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸν  
ταῦτα ἀποδεχόμενον<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ συμβολῶν<sup>3</sup> τε πολλάκις  
δεδειπνηκέναι καὶ περὶ ἑταίρας πλεονάκις καὶ εἰλη-  
φέναι καὶ δεδωκέναι πληγὰς,” ὥς φησι Λυκόφρων  
ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κωμωδίας ἡμεῖς οὖν τὸν  
περὶ ἐρωτικῶν λόγον ἐνταῦθα μέλλοντες κατατάτ-  
b τειν (ἐγένοντο γὰρ καὶ περὶ γαμετῶν καὶ ἑταιρῶν  
πολλάκις λόγοι) εἰδόσιν ἐκτιθέμενοι τὴν ἱστορίαν  
τῶν Μουσῶν τὴν Ἑρατῷ ἐπικαλεσάμενοι εἰς μνή-

<sup>1</sup> ἸΓ Α. This is the only book dignified with a special title. See the colophon at p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> ACE: ἀποδεχόμενον Meineke

<sup>3</sup> συμβολῶν C: συμβόλων A.

# THE DEIPNOSOPHISTS OF ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS

## BOOK XIII

### CONCERNING WOMEN <sup>a</sup>

THE comic poet Antiphanes, friend Timociates, was once reading one of his plays to King Alexander, who, however, made it plain that he did not altogether like it "No wonder, sire," the poet said; "for the man who likes this play of mine must have dined often at contribution-dinners,<sup>b</sup> and he must have received and given even oftener hard knocks over a courtesan;" this we have on the authority of Lycophron of Chalcis in his work *On Comedy* <sup>c</sup> As for us, then, now that we are on the point of setting down our stories of love and lovers (for we often indulged in conversation on the subject of married women and courtesans as well), and since experts will listen to our history, the Muse we must invoke to come to the aid of our

<sup>a</sup> Other similar titles in antiquity were · *περὶ Ἐρωτικῶν*, *περὶ Κάλλους*, *περὶ Γάμου*. See Rohde *Gr. Roman*, F. Wilhelm *Zu Achilles Tatius*, in *Rhein. Mus.* 57 (1902), 55 ff. On the relations of the sexes in general, see Plat. *Laws* 835 D-842

<sup>b</sup> For "contribution-dinners" (*ἀπὸ συμβολῶν*) see Athen. 365 a-d (vol. iv. p. 152), cf. 338 f, 449 a (vol. iv. p. 535 note a).

<sup>c</sup> Frag. 13 Strecker.

# ATHENAEUS

μην ἡμῖν ἰέναι τὸν ἐρωτικὸν ἐκείνον κατ'ἀλογον,<sup>1</sup>  
ἐντεῦθεν τὴν καταρχὴν ποιησόμεθα.

εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν, Ἐρατώ, πάρ θ' ἴστασο<sup>2</sup> καί  
μοι ἔνισπε,

τίνες λόγοι περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐρωτος καὶ τῶν  
ἐρωτικῶν ἐλέχθησαν.

Καὶ γὰρ τὰς γαμετὰς ὁ καλὸς ἡμῶν ἐστιάτωρ  
c ἐπαινῶν Ἑρμιππον ἔφη ἐν τοῖς περὶ Νομοθετῶν  
ἱστορεῖν ὅτι ἐν Λακεδαίμονι εἰς οἴκημά τι σκο-  
τεινὸν πᾶσαι ἐνεκλείοντο<sup>3</sup> αἱ κόραι, συνεγκλειο-  
μένων<sup>4</sup> καὶ τῶν ἀγάμων νεανίσκων· καὶ ἕκαστος  
ἥς ἐπιλάβοιτο, ταύτην ἀπῆγεν ἄπροικον. διὸ καὶ  
Λύσανδρον ἐζημίωσαν ὅτι καταλιπὼν τὴν προτέραν  
ἐτέραν<sup>5</sup> ἐβουλεύετο περικαλλεστέραν ἀγαγέσθαι.  
Κλέαρχος δ' ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Παροιμιῶν  
“ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, φησί, τοὺς ἀγάμους αἱ γυναῖκες  
ἐν ἑορτῇ τινι περὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἔλκουσαι ραπίζουσιν,  
d ἵνα τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ὕβριν φεύγοντες φιλο-  
στοργῶσί τε καὶ ἐν ᾧρᾳ προσίωσι τοῖς γάμοις.  
ἐν δὲ Ἀθήναις πρῶτος Κέκροψ μίαν ἐνὶ ἔζευξεν,  
ἀνέδην τὸ πρότερον οὐσῶν τῶν συνόδων καὶ κοινο-  
γαμίων ὄντων διὸ καὶ ἔδοξε τισιν διφυῆς νομι-  
σθῆναι, οὐκ εἰδότες τῶν πρότερον διὰ τὸ πλῆθος

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ λόγον A

<sup>2</sup> ἴστατο A.

<sup>3</sup> Kaibel· συνεκλείοντο ACE

<sup>4</sup> Kaibel· συγκλειομένων A

<sup>5</sup> Lemma in A: ἐταίραν ACE.

<sup>a</sup> Patroness of love.

<sup>b</sup> Ap. Rhod. iii. 1, cf. Od. xii. 112, εἰ δ' ἄγε δή μοι τοῦτο, θεά,  
νῆμερτές ἐνίσπες.

<sup>c</sup> Larensis.

<sup>d</sup> F.H.G iii. 37; Plut. *Lycurg* 15 gives a different account  
of Spartan marriages.

memory in that long erotic muster-roll is Erato<sup>a</sup> and we shall make the auspicious beginning with the line<sup>b</sup>. "Come now I pray thee, Erato, stand beside me and tell me" what words were spoken concerning love itself, and love-affairs.

In the course of his encomium of married women our noble host<sup>c</sup> quoted Hermippus as recording in his work *On Languishers*,<sup>d</sup> that in Lacedaemon all the young girls used to be shut up in a dark room, the unmarried young men being locked up with them; and each man led home, as his bride without dower, whichever girl he laid hold of. Hence they punished Lysander with a fine because he abandoned the first girl and plotted to marry another who was much prettier.<sup>e</sup> Clearchus of Soli says<sup>f</sup> in his work *On Proverbs* "In Lacedaemon at a certain festival the married women pull the bachelors round the altar and thrash them, the object being that the young men in trying to avoid the humiliation of this treatment may yield to the natural affections, and enter upon their marriage in good season."<sup>g</sup> In Athens Cecrops was the first to join one woman to one man before his time unions had been loose and promiscuous was general. This is why, as some have thought, he is regarded as having a two-fold nature<sup>h</sup>; earlier men did not know who was their own father, there were

<sup>a</sup> Cf. below, 566 a, p. 56, of King Archidamus. On Lysander see Prentice, *A.J.A.* xxxviii. 1. 37-42. <sup>f</sup> *F.H.G.* ii. 319

<sup>g</sup> Pollux iii. 48, viii. 40 says that court prosecutions were directed against those who postponed marriage, cf. Plut. *loc. cit.*

<sup>h</sup> The epithet διφνής was variously explained (Immisch in Rosch. *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1018). Cecrops himself was of "two natures," half man and half serpent, but here διφνής refers to lawful birth from a union of the two sexes, τὸ νομίμως ἐδοῦν φύεσθαι, Charax frag. 10. See Suid s. Κέκροψ.

τὸν πατέρα.” ἐκ τούτων οὖν τις ὀρμώμενος  
 μέμψαιτ’ ἂν τοὺς περιτιθέντας Σωκράτει δύο γα-  
 μετὰς γυναῖκας, Ξανθίππην καὶ τὴν Ἀριστείδου<sup>1</sup>  
 Μυρτώ, οὐ τοῦ δικαίου καλουμένου (οἱ χρόνοι γὰρ  
 556 οὐ συγχωροῦσιν) ἀλλὰ τοῦ τρίτου ἀπ’ ἐκείνου εἰσὶ  
 δὲ Καλλισθένης, Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς, Σάτυρος ὁ  
 περιπατητικός, Ἀριστόξενος, οἷς τὸ ἐνδόσιμον  
 Ἀριστοτέλης ἔδωκεν ἱστορῶν τοῦτο ἐν τῷ περὶ  
 Εὐγενείας· εἰ μὴ ἄρα συγκεχωρημένον κατὰ  
 ψήφισμα τοῦτο ἐγένετο τότε διὰ σπάνιν ἀνθρώπων,  
 ὥστ’ ἐξεῖναι καὶ δύο ἔχειν γυναῖκας τὸν βουλό-  
 μενον, ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς τῆς κωμωδίας ποιητὰς  
 ἀποσιωπῆσαι τοῦτο, πολλάκις τοῦ Σωκράτους  
 μνημονεύοντας παρέθετο δὲ περὶ<sup>2</sup> τῶν γυναικῶν  
 b ψήφισμα Ἰερώννυμος ὁ Ῥόδιος, ὅπερ σοι δια-  
 πέμφομαι εὐπορήσας τοῦ βιβλίου ἀντείπε δὲ τοῖς  
 λέγουσι περὶ τῶν Σωκράτους γυναικῶν Παναίτιος  
 ὁ Ῥόδιος.

Παρὰ δὲ Πέρσαις ἀνέχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ  
 πλήθους τῶν παλλακίδων διὰ τὸ ὡς δεσπότην  
 ἄρχειν τῆς γαμετῆς τὸν βασιλέα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ διὰ  
 τὸ τὴν βασιλίδαν, ὡς φησιν Δίνων ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς,  
 ὑπὸ τῶν παλλακίδων θρησκευέσθαι· προσκυνοῦσι

<sup>1</sup> ἀριστείδου A.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ περὶ Memeke, Cobet, perhaps rightly.

<sup>a</sup> Aristides the Just died ca 467 B.C., when about eighty years old, Socrates was born 470/469.

<sup>b</sup> Grandson, the son of Lysimachus. He is mentioned as one of Socrates' disciples, Plat. *Theaet.* 151 A, *Lach.* 179 A, *Theag.* 130 B. The story that Myrto was the second wife (Diog. Laert. ii. 26) cannot be reconciled with Plat. *Phaedo* 60 A, and she may be the invention of some comedian. See Zeller, *Phil. d. Griech.* ii.<sup>4</sup> 1. 54, note 2.

so many." Proceeding, then, from this fact, one may find fault<sup>a</sup> with those writers who ascribe to Socrates two wedded wives, Xanthippê and Myrto, daughter of Aristides; not the one who was called the Just (since chronology is against that),<sup>a</sup> but the third<sup>b</sup> in descent from him. These writers are Callisthenes,<sup>c</sup> Demetrius of Phalerum,<sup>d</sup> Satyrus the Peripatetic, and Aristoxenus, and it was Aristotle who gave them the keynote by telling this story in his treatise *On Noble Birth*<sup>e</sup>; a story we may doubt unless, to be sure, this bigamy was made allowable by special decree at that time because of the scarcity of people, so that any one who so desired was permitted to have two wives, this would explain why the comic poets passed it over in silence, although they often mention Socrates. Hieronymus of Rhodes has quoted<sup>f</sup> a decree pertaining to women which I will send over to you when I have procured his book. But Panaetius of Rhodes has given the lie to those who talk about the wives of Socrates<sup>g</sup>.

Among the Persians the queen tolerates the large number of concubines because the king rules his wife as absolute monarch, and for another reason, according to Dinon in his *History of Persia*,<sup>h</sup> because the queen is treated with reverence by the concubines; at any

<sup>a</sup> J 2 B 654

<sup>a</sup> J. 2 B 972.

<sup>c</sup> Frag. 93 Rose; Plut. *Aristeud* 27 doubts the authenticity of this work. For Aristotle's use of the technical term ἐνδόσιμον cf. 520 d ἐνέδοσαν. τὸ ὀρχηστικὸν μέλος (vol. v. p. 344).

<sup>f</sup> Frag. 26 Hiller, Diog. Laert. *loc. cit.* says that the decree permitted a man to marry one woman, but to have children by another also.

<sup>g</sup> Apparently by accepting the fact, but attributing it to another Socrates, Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* 1539.

<sup>h</sup> *F.H.G.* II. 92.

γοῦν αὐτήν. καὶ ὁ Πρίαμος δὲ πολλὰς χρήται  
γυναιξὶ καὶ ἡ Ἑκάβη οὐ δυσχεραίνει. λέγει γοῦν ὁ  
Πρίαμος

3 ἐννεακαίδεκα μὲν μοι ἱῆς ἐκ νηδύος ἦσαν,  
τοὺς δ' ἄλλους μοι ἔτικτον ἐνὶ μεγάροισι<sup>1</sup>  
γυναῖκες.

παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οὐκ ἀνέχεται ἡ τοῦ Φοίνικος  
μήτηρ τὴν τοῦ Ἀμύντορος παλλακίδα. Μήδεια  
δὲ καίπερ εἰδυῖα τὸ ἔθος ὅτι ἐστὶ βαρβαρικὸν οὐ  
φέρει οὐδὲ αὐτὴ τὸν Γλαύκης γάμον, ἥδη εἰς τὰ  
ἀμείνω καὶ Ἑλληνικὰ ἐκδεδιητημένη. καὶ ἡ Κλυ-  
ταιμήστρα<sup>2</sup> δὲ περιπαθῆς γενομένη τὴν Κασ-  
σάνδραν σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι ἀποκτείνει, ἣν  
εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὁ κρείων ἐπηγάγετο,<sup>3</sup> ἐν ἔθει  
γενόμενος βαρβαρικῶν γάμων<sup>4</sup> “ θαυμάσαι δ' ἂν  
1 τις, φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἰλιάδος  
Ὅμηρος ἐποίησε Μενελάῳ συγκοιμωμένην παλ-  
λακίδα, πᾶσι δούς γυναῖκας κοιμῶνται γοῦν παρ'  
αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ γέροντες μετὰ γυναικῶν, Νέστωρ καὶ  
Φοῖνιξ. οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν οὗτοι ἐκκελυμένοι τοῖς σώ-  
μασιν ἐν τοῖς τῆς νεότητος χρόνοις ἢ διὰ μέθης ἢ  
δι' ἀφροδισίων ἢ καὶ διὰ τῆς<sup>5</sup> ἐν ταῖς ἀδηφαγίαις<sup>6</sup>  
ἀπειρίας, ὥστε εἰκότως ἔρρωντο<sup>7</sup> τῷ γήρῳ. εἰκεν  
οὖν ὁ Σπαρτιάτης αἰδεῖσθαι γαμετὴν οὔσαν τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἐνὶ μεγάροισι A.

<sup>2</sup> sic A here, but cf 14 b, 559 c.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπήγετο C. <sup>4</sup> A: νόμων CE, perhaps rightly.

<sup>5</sup> CE: τὰς A. <sup>6</sup> ἐν ἀδηφαγία C

<sup>7</sup> CE ἔρρωνται A

<sup>a</sup> Il. xxiv. 496, Priam had fifty sons.

<sup>b</sup> Il. ix 447, cf 450.



rate they do obeisance to her So, too, Priam has many wives, and Hecuba feels no annoyance. Priam, for example, says <sup>a</sup>. "Nineteen sons were born to me of one womb, but all the rest were born by the women within my halls" But among the Greeks the mother of Phoenix does not tolerate the concubine of Amyntor.<sup>b</sup> And Medea, though she knows that the practice of concubinage obtains among the barbarians,<sup>c</sup> cannot put up with the marriage of Glaucê any the better because she has now changed her habits of life so as to accord with habits more civilized and Greek Again, Clytaemnestra flew into a passion and killed Cassandra along with Agamemnon himself, because her lord and master had brought Cassandra with him to Greece,<sup>d</sup> having become used to barbarian marriage customs "And one may feel surprise," says Aristotle,<sup>e</sup> "that nowhere in the *Iliad* has Homer represented a concubine as sleeping with Menelaus, although he has assigned women to all the men. In his poem, for example, even the old men, Nestor and Phoenix, sleep with women <sup>f</sup> For these two had not allowed their bodies to become enervated in the period of their youth either by hard drinking or by sexual indulgence or by digestive disorders arising from gluttony; hence, of course, they were vigorous in their old age. It is plain, then, that the Spartan <sup>g</sup> had respect for Helen, his wedded wife, for whose

<sup>a</sup> She is a barbarian herself, *cf.* Eur. *Med.* 222, 1330. Her husband Jason left her to marry Glaucê in Corinth.

<sup>b</sup> Clytaemnestra, of course, alleges a different motive: Agamemnon had murdered her first-born, Iphigenia, Aesch. *Ag.* 1415 ff Yet *cf.* 1438-1447.

<sup>c</sup> Frag. 144 Rose, Athen. 25 f (vol. i p. 112).

<sup>f</sup> *Il.* xi. 624, of Nestor, as for Phoenix, Aristotle's memory seems to be at fault, *cf.* *Il.* ix. 658-668.

<sup>g</sup> Menelaus.

Ἑλένην, ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ τὴν στρατείαν ἤθροισεν  
διόπερ φυλάττεται τὴν πρὸς ἄλλην κοινωνίαν ὁ  
δ' Ἀγαμέμνων ὡς πολυγύναιος ὑπὸ Θερσίτου  
λοιδορεῖται

πλείαί τοι χαλκοῦ κλισίαι, πολλαὶ δὲ γυναῖκες  
εἰσὶν ἐνὶ κλισίῃς ἐξαίρετοι, ἃς τοι Ἀχαιοὶ  
πρωτίστῳ δίδομεν.

ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰκός, φησὶν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, εἰς χρῆσιν  
εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν γυναικῶν, ἀλλ' εἰς γέρας  
ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τὸν πολὺν οἶνον εἰς τὸ μεθύειν παρ-  
εσκευάσατο."

Ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς πλείστας δόξας ἐσχηκέναι γυ-  
ναῖκας (ἦν γὰρ φιλογύνης) ἀνὰ μέρος αὐτὰς εἶχεν,  
ὡς ἂν στρατευόμενος<sup>1</sup> καὶ κατὰ διάφορα γιγνόμενος  
χωρία ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῷ πλῆθος  
ἐγένετο ἐν ἑπτὰ μέντοι γε ἡμέραις πεντήκοντα  
διεπαρθένευσεν Θεστίου κόρας, ὡς Ἡρόδωρος<sup>2</sup>  
ἱστορεῖ. πολυγύναιος δ' ἐγένετο καὶ Αἰγεύς πρῶ-  
την μὲν γὰρ ἔγημε τὴν Ὀπλητος θυγατέρα, μεθ'  
ἧν<sup>3</sup> τῶν Χαλκώδοντος<sup>4</sup> μίαν. παραδοὺς δ' ἀμφο-  
τέρας φίλοις συνῆν πολλαῖς χωρὶς γάμων ἔπειτα  
τὴν Πιτθέως ἔλαβεν Αἴθραν, μεθ' ἣν Μῆδειαν.  
Θησεὺς δὲ Ἑλένην ἀρπάσας ἐξῆς καὶ Ἀριάδνην

<sup>1</sup> στρεφόμενος C.

<sup>3</sup> εἶτα τὴν C.

<sup>2</sup> AC· ἡρόδοτος E

<sup>4</sup> χαλκώδοντος AC.

<sup>a</sup> Pl. II. 226 ; so Clytaemnestra calls him bitterly Χρυσηίδων  
μείλιγμα τῶν ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ "darling of all the Chryseises at Troy"  
(Aesch. Ag. 1439).

<sup>b</sup> Pl. VII. 467 ; many ships brought wine from Lemnos to  
the Achaeans. See also Athen. II a (vol. I. p. 46).

<sup>c</sup> F H G. II. 30, J. I. 219. The stories of Heracles and the

sake, in fact, he had gathered the expedition together ; hence he refrains from any association with another woman. Agamemnon, on the other hand, is taunted by Thersites with having numerous women<sup>a</sup> : ' Verily thy huts are full of bronze, and many women are in thy huts—chosen women whom we Achaeans give to thee first of all ' Yet it is not probable, Aristotle continues, that the great number of women were given to him for concubinage, but rather as a mark of honour, any more than that he procured his large quantities of wine for the purpose of getting drunk ”<sup>b</sup>

Heracles, who won the reputation of having had very many wives (he was, in fact, fond of women), had them in succession, as would be natural in one who was always marching on expeditions and arriving in various localities , that is why he had such a large number of children Yet it is true that in the space of five days he deflowered fifty daughters of Thestius, as Herodorus records<sup>c</sup> Aegeus, again, was another hero who had many wives , the first that he married was the daughter<sup>d</sup> of Hoplês ; after her he married one of Chalcodon's daughters.<sup>e</sup> But after yielding them both to friends Aegeus kept company with many women without marrying them Later he took to wife Aethra, the daughter of Pittheus, and after her Medea. As for Theseus, he carried off Helen, and soon thereafter carried off Ariadne also.

daughters of Thestius (or Thespius) vary greatly ; *cf.* Pausan. ix. 27 6, Diodorus iv. 29, Ps.-Apollodor ii. 4. 10 (L.C.L. i. 176-178, Frazer).

<sup>a</sup> Melitê.

<sup>c</sup> Chalciopê, according to Schol. Eur. *Med.* 673 ; but Ps.-Apollodor. iii. 15 6 (followed by Tzetzes in *Lycophr.* 494) gives Meta for Melitê, and Rhexenor for Chalcodon.

ἤρπασεν. Ἴστρος γοῦν ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἀττικῶν καταλέγων τὰς τοῦ Θησέως γενομένας γυναῖκας φησιν τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξ ἔρωτος γεγενῆσθαι, τὰς δ' ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς, ἄλλας δ' ἐκ νομίμων γάμων ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς μὲν Ἑλένην, Ἀριάδνην, Ἰππολύτην, καὶ τὰς Κερκύονος καὶ Σίνιδος<sup>1</sup> θυγατέρας, νομίμως δ' αὐτὸν γῆμαι Μελίβοιαν<sup>2</sup> τὴν Αἴαντος μητέρα Ἡσίοδος δέ φησιν καὶ Ἰππην<sup>3</sup> καὶ Αἶγλην, δι' ἣν καὶ τοὺς πρὸς Ἀριάδνην ὄρκους παρέβη, ὥς φησι Κέρκωψ. Φερεκύδης δὲ προστίθῃσι καὶ Φερέβοιαν πρὸ δὲ τῆς Ἑλένης καὶ ἐκ Τροιζῆνος<sup>4</sup> ἤρπασεν Ἀναξώ μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰππολύτην Φαίδραν ἔσχεν.

Φίλιππος δ' ὁ Μακεδὼν οὐκ ἐπήγετο μὲν εἰς τοὺς πολέμους γυναῖκας, ὥσπερ Δαρείος ὁ ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καταλυθεὶς, ὃς περὶ τῶν ὅλων πολεμῶν<sup>5</sup> τριακοσίας ἐξήκοντα περιήγετο παλλακάς, ὥς ἱστορεῖ Δικαίαιρχος ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Βίου· ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος αἰεὶ κατὰ πόλεμον ἐγάμει. “ἐν ἔτεσι γοῦν εἴκοσι καὶ δυσὶν<sup>6</sup> οἷς ἐβασίλευεν,” ὥς φησι Σάτυρος ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Βίου αὐτοῦ, Αὐδάταν Ἰλλυρίδα γήμας ἔσχεν ἐξ αὐτῆς θυγατέρα Κύνναν· ἔγημεν δὲ καὶ Φίλαν ἀδελφὴν Δέρδα καὶ Μαχάτα. οἰκειώσασθαι δὲ θέλων καὶ τὸ Θετταλῶν

<sup>1</sup> Musurus: εινιδος A, cf. Plut. *Thes.* 29.

<sup>2</sup> Περίβοιαν Plut

<sup>3</sup> Ἰόπην Plut.

<sup>4</sup> O. Jahn: τροίας A.

<sup>5</sup> CE, lemma in A πολέμων A.

<sup>6</sup> Schweighauser: δύο A, δ' Kaibel.

<sup>7</sup> Kaibel: ἐβασίλευσεν A.

<sup>a</sup> F.H.G i 420; cf. Plut. *Thes.* 20, 29, *Compar. Thes. et Rom.* 6, M. Wellmann, *De Istro* 19 ff.

<sup>b</sup> Frag. 130 Rzach.

Istrus, at any rate, when giving <sup>a</sup> a list of the women associated with Theseus, in the fourteenth book of his *History of Attica*, says that some of them became his through love, others by rape, and still others through lawful wedlock; by rape, Helen, Ariadne, Hippolytê, and the daughters of Cercyon and Sinis; but he married lawfully Meliboea, the mother of Ajax. But Hesiod says <sup>b</sup> that Theseus also married Hippê and Aeglê, for whose sake he even violated his sworn promises to Ariadne, according to Cercops <sup>c</sup>. Pherecydes adds <sup>d</sup> Phereboea as well. But before his adventure with Helen he had also carried off Anaxo from Troezen. After Hippolytê he married Phaedra <sup>e</sup>.

Philip of Macedon did not, to be sure, take women along with him on his campaigns, as did Darius, the one who was deposed by Alexander; for Darius, although engaged in a war in which his entire empire was at stake, took round with him three hundred and sixty concubines, according to the account <sup>f</sup> given by Dicaearchus in the third book of his *History of Greece*. Yet Philip always married a new wife with each new war he undertook. "In the twenty-two <sup>g</sup> years of his reign, at any rate," as Satyrus says <sup>h</sup> in his *Life* of him, "he married Audata of Illyria, and had by her a daughter, Cynna <sup>i</sup>; he also married Phila, a sister of Derdas and Machatas. Wishing to put in a claim to the Thessalian nation as his own besides others, he

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Athen 503 d (vol v. p 256).

<sup>d</sup> F.H.G. i. 97, J. 1 99.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. the Greek argument prefixed to Eur. *Hipp.*

<sup>f</sup> F.H.G. ii 240, cf Athen. 511 b (vol v. p 312).

<sup>g</sup> Really twenty-three and a half (359-336 B.C.), Clinton, *Fasts Hell.* ii. 281; see critical note 6. <sup>h</sup> F.H.G. iii. 161.

<sup>i</sup> Athen. 155 a (vol. ii p. 204). Polyaeus 8. 20 gives the form Cynane; so at 560 f, below, A has Κυνάνη (dat.).

ἔθνος ἐπαιδοποιήσατο ἐκ δύο Θετταλίδων γυναικῶν, ὧν ἡ μὲν ἦν Φεραία Νικησίπολις, ἣτις αὐτῷ ἐγέννησε Θετταλονίκην, ἡ δὲ Λαρισαία Φίλινα, ἐξ ἧς Ἀρριδαῖον ἐτέκνωσε. προσεκλήσατο δὲ καὶ τὴν Μολοττῶν βασιλείαν γήμας Ὀλυμπιάδα, ἐξ ἧς ἔσχευεν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Κλεοπάτραν. καὶ τὴν Θράκην δὲ ὅτε εἶλεν, ἦκε πρὸς αὐτὸν Κοθήλας ὁ τῶν Θρακῶν βασιλεὺς ἄγων Μήδαν τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ δῶρα πολλά. γήμας δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἐπεισ- ἤγαγεν τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ πάσαις δ' ἔγημε Κλεοπάτραν ἔρασθεις τὴν Ἱπποστράτου μὲν ἀδελφήν, Ἀττάλου δὲ ἀδελφιδὴν· καὶ ταύτην ἐπεισάγων τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι ἅπαντα τὸν βίον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ συνέχεεν. εὐθέως γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς γάμοις ὁ μὲν Ἀτταλος 'νῦν μέντοι γνήσιοι, ἔφη, καὶ οὐ νόθοι βασιλεῖς γεννηθήσονται.' καὶ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀκούσας ἔβαλεν ἡ μετὰ χεῖρας εἶχεν κύλικι τὸν Ἀτταλον, ἔπειτα κακείνος αὐτὸν τῷ ποτηρίῳ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ὀλυμπιάς μὲν εἰς Μολοττοὺς<sup>1</sup> ἔφυγεν, Ἀλέξανδρος δ' εἰς Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα δ' ἐγέννησε τῷ Φιλίππῳ θυγατέρα τὴν κληθεῖσαν Εὐρώπην."

Φιλογύνης δ' ἦν καὶ Εὐριπίδης ὁ ποιητής. Ἱερώνυμος γοῦν ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν φησιν οὕτως· "εἰπόντος Σοφοκλεῖ τινος ὅτι μισογύνης ἐστὶν Εὐριπίδης, ἐν γε ταῖς τραγωδίαις, ἔφη ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ἐπεὶ ἔν γε τῇ κλίνῃ φιλογύνης."

Αἱ δὲ γαμεταὶ ἡμῶν γυναῖκες οὐκ εἰσι τοιαῦται οἷας Εὐβουλός φησιν ἐν Στεφανοπώλῳ·

<sup>1</sup> μολοττὸν C.

<sup>a</sup> Below, 578 a.      <sup>b</sup> Below, 560 c.      <sup>c</sup> Frag 6 Hiller.

<sup>d</sup> Kock ii. 198, Eustath. 976. 56. This play may have been imitated in the *Corollaria* of Naevius

begot children by two women of Thessaly, one of whom was Nicesipolis of Pherae, who bore to him Thettalonicê, while the other was Philinna of Larisa, by whom he became the father of Arihidaeus <sup>a</sup> Further, he acquired also the kingdom of the Molossians by marrying Olympias, by whom he had Alexander and Cleopatra Again, when he subjugated Thrace, there came over to his side Cothêlas the Thracian king, who brought with him his daughter Meda and a large dowry By marrying her also he thus brought home a second wife after Olympias. After all these women he married Cleopatra,<sup>b</sup> with whom he had fallen in love, the sister of Hippostratus and niece of Attalus : and by bringing her home to supplant Olympias, he threw the entire course of his life into utter confusion For immediately, during the celebration of the wedding itself, Attalus remarked, ‘ But now, I warn you, princes will be born who will be legitimate, and not bastards.’ Alexander, on hearing that, threw the goblet which he held in his hand at Attalus, and he retaliated upon Alexander with his own cup After this Olympias fled to the country of the Molossians, while Alexander went to Illyria Cleopatra, in her turn, bore to Philip a daughter, the one who was called Europa ”

Another man who was fond of women was the poet Euripides. At any rate, Hieronymus in *Historical Notes* puts it as follows <sup>c</sup> : “ When somebody remarked to Sophocles that Euripides was a woman-hater, Sophocles answered ‘ Yes, in his tragedies ; for certainly when he is in bed he is a woman-lover ’ ”

Now our married women are not like those described by Eubulus in *The Wreath-sellers* <sup>d</sup> : “ They are not,

# ATHENAEUS

μὰ Δί' οὐχὶ περιπεπλασμένοι ψιμυθίοις<sup>1</sup>  
οὐδ' ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς συκαμίνω τὰς γνάθους  
κεχριμένοι. καὶ ἐξίητε<sup>2</sup> τοῦ θέρους,  
ἀπὸ τῶν μὲν<sup>3</sup> ὀφθαλμῶν ὑδρορροαί<sup>4</sup> δύο  
ρέουσι μέλανος, ἐκ δὲ τῶν γνάθων ἰδρῶς  
ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἄλοκα μιλτώδη ποιεῖ,  
ἐπὶ τῷ προσώπῳ δ' αἱ τρίχες φορούμεναι  
εἴξασι πολιαῖς, ἀνάπλεω ψιμυθίου.

Ἀναξίλας δὲ ἐν Νεοττίδι φησίν

ὅστις ἀνθρώπων ἑταίραν ἠγάπησε πώποτε,  
οὗτος οὐ γένος δύναιτ' ἂν<sup>5</sup> παρανομώτερον<sup>6</sup>  
φράσαι.

τίς γάρ ἢ δράκαιν' ἄμικτος ἢ Χίμαιρα πυρπνόος  
ἢ Χάρυβδις ἢ τρίκρανος Σκύλλα, ποντία κύων,  
Σφίγξ, Ὑδρα, λέαινα, ἔχιδνα, πτηνὰ θ' Ἀρπυιῶν  
γένη,

εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἀφίκται τοῦ καταπτύστου γένους;  
οὐκ ἔνεσθ' αὐταὶ δ' ἀπάντων ὑπερέχουσι τῶν  
κακῶν.

ἔστι δὲ σκοπεῖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς πρῶτα μὲν τὴν  
Πλαγγόνα,

ἥτις ὥσπερ ἡ Χίμαιρα πυρπολεῖ τοὺς βαρβάρους·  
εἰς μόνος δ' ἵππεύς τις αὐτῆς τὸν βίον παρείλετο·  
πάντα τὰ σκευὴ γὰρ ἔλκων ὥχετ' ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας.  
οἱ Σινώπη δ' αὖ συνόντες οὐχ Ὑδρα σύνεισι νῦν;  
γραῦς μὲν αὐτῇ,<sup>8</sup> παραπέφυκε δ' ἡ Γνάθαινα  
πλησίον,

<sup>1</sup> ψιμυθίῳ C, Eustath.

<sup>2</sup> CE: ἐξείητε A.

<sup>3</sup> μὲν τῶν C, Eustath.

<sup>4</sup> CE ὑδρορροαὶ A.

<sup>5</sup> Capps: οὐ γένος τίς ἂν δύναιτο ACE (τίς om C, Eustath.  
1714 38)



Zeus knows, plastered over with layers of white lead, and they have not, like you, their jowls smeared with mulberry-juice And if *you* go out on a summer's day, two rills of inky water flow from your eyes, and the sweat rolling from your cheeks upon your throat makes a vermilion furrow, while the hairs blown about on your faces look grey, they are so full of white lead" And Anaxilas says in *The Chack*<sup>a</sup> "Any man who has ever had an affair with a harlot would be unable to name a more lawless creature. For what savage dragon, what fire-breathing Chimaera,<sup>b</sup> or Charybdis, or three-headed Scylla,<sup>c</sup> that sea-bitch, or Sphinx, Hydra, she-lion, viper, and the winged broods of Harpies, have ever succeeded in surpassing that abominable class? It can't be done, these women surpass all the pests in the world. We may pass them in review, starting first with Plangôn,<sup>d</sup> who, just like the Chimaera, sets all the foreigners<sup>e</sup> afire, but one cavalier alone purloined her substance, he left her house dragging all her furniture after him Again, isn't it true that the men who keep company with Sinopê are now keeping company with a Hydria? She herself, to be sure, is an old hag, but Gnathaena is an offshoot from her just

<sup>a</sup> Kock II. 270.<sup>b</sup> Cf. II vi. 182.<sup>c</sup> Cf. Od. XII. 90.<sup>d</sup> Below, 567 e (p. 66), 594 c (p. 204).<sup>e</sup> Rich merchants travelling in Athens. The Chimaera breathed fire, II. vi 182 δεινὸν ἀποπνέουσα πῦρὸς μένος αἰθομένοιο But just as she was overcome by Bellerephon mounted on Pegasus, so Plangôn met her match in some nameless lover here described as ἵππεύς τις, "a man on horseback" Cf. the riotous Heracles, Aristoph. Ran. 567<sup>6</sup> Grotius · παρανομώτατον ACE.<sup>7</sup> Grotius. τί ACE.<sup>8</sup> αὐτῇ (sic) A: αὐτῇ Kock.

ὥστ' ἀπαλλαγεῖσι<sup>1</sup> ταύτης ἔστι διπλάσιον κακόν.  
 ἡ δὲ Νάννιον τί νυνὶ<sup>2</sup> διαφέρειν Σκύλλης δοκεῖ;  
 οὐδ' ἀποπνίξας<sup>3</sup> ἑταίρους τὸν τρίτον θηρεύεται  
 ἔτι λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐξέπαισε<sup>3</sup> πορθμῖς ἐλατίνῳ  
 πλάτῃ.

ἡ δὲ Φρύνη τὴν Χάρυβδιν οὐχὶ πόρρω που ποιεῖ,  
 τὸν τε ναύκληρον λαβοῦσα καταπέπωκ' αὐτῷ  
 σκάφει

ἡ Θεανῶ δ' οὐχὶ Σειρήν ἐστιν ἀποτετιλμένη,  
 βλέμμα καὶ φωνὴ γυναικός, τὰ σκέλη δὲ κοψίχου  
 Σφίγγα Θηβαίαν δὲ πάσας ἔστι τὰς πόρνas  
 καλεῖν,

αἱ λαλοῦσ'<sup>4</sup> ἀπλῶς μὲν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐν αἰνιγμοῖς  
 τισιν,

ὥς ἔρῳσι καὶ φιλοῦσι καὶ σύνεισιν ἡδέως  
 εἶτα “ τετράπους μοι γένοιτο, φησί, σκίμπους ἢ  
 θρόνος,”<sup>5</sup>

εἶτα δὴ “ τρίπους τις,” εἶτα, φησί, “ παιδίσκη  
 δίπους.”

εἶθ' ὁ μὲν γνούς ταῦτ' ἀπῆλθεν εὐθύς ὥσπερ  
 Οἰδίπους,

οὐδ' ἰδεῖν<sup>6</sup> δόξας ἐκείνην, σῶζεται δ' ἄκων μόνος  
 οἱ δ' ἐράσθαι προσδοκῶντες εὐθύς εἰσιν ἡρμένοι<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dobree. ὥς τὰ πολλά γ' εἰσὶ Α.

<sup>2</sup> Jacobs: νῦν Α. <sup>3</sup> Casaubon· ἐξέπεσε ACE

<sup>4</sup> Casaubon· λαβοῦσ' Α, λαβοῦσαι CE

<sup>5</sup> σκίμπους ἢ θρόνος CE: τήνπροσ ἢ θρόνος Α.

next door, so that when they have quitted the first, they have a pest that's twice as bad. As for Nannion, how do you think she differs to-day from Scylla? Didn't she throttle two of her companions,<sup>a</sup> and isn't she still on the hunt to catch the third? But his barque landed him safely with the help of his pine oar.<sup>b</sup> And Phrynê, somewhere not so far away,<sup>c</sup> acts the part of Charybdis, and grabbing the skipper has swallowed him up, ship and all. Is not Theanô a de-feathered<sup>d</sup> Siren? The eye and voice of a woman, but her legs are the legs of a grackle. You may call every harlot a Theban Sphinx, they babble not in simple language, but in riddles, of how they like to love and kiss and come together.<sup>e</sup> And one says, 'Let me have a four-footed bed or chair', another 'Make it a tripod', still another 'A two-footed girlie'. Now the man who understands these riddles, like Oedipus, quickly goes away, pretending not even to have seen the woman, and saves himself, though reluctantly.<sup>f</sup>—the only man who does. But other men, expecting to enjoy love, are quickly swept off their feet and

<sup>a</sup> Lovers; but the word is chosen in allusion to Odysseus's men, cf. *Od.* xii. 110, 231, 245, Scylla had six heads, not three only.

<sup>b</sup> So Odysseus rowed himself to safety, *Od.* xii. 444.

<sup>c</sup> From Nannion, the new Scylla. <sup>d</sup> Lit "depilated."

<sup>e</sup> That is, when soliciting they use euphemistic slang, illustrated in the next lines, for the various σχήματα συνουσίας. The curious in such matters will find a parallel in Aristoph. *Par.* 891 ff and Schol. There is an allusion also to the riddle of the Sphinx, *Athen.* 456 b (vol. iv p. 569 note c), and cf. vol. i. p. 215.

<sup>f</sup> Like Odysseus listening to the Sirens, *Od.* xii. 192-193, αὐτὰρ ἐμόν κ' ἦρ' ἤθελ' ἀκούμεναι.

<sup>6</sup> ὥσπερ Οἰδίπους, οὐδ' ἰδεῖν Grotius ὥσπερ γ' οὐδ' ἰδεῖν  
ACE <sup>7</sup> CE: ἡρμέναι A

καὶ φέρονθ' ὑψοῦ πρὸς αἶθραν. συντεμόντι δ'  
οὐδὲ ἔν  
ἔσθ' ἑταίρας ὅσα περ ἔστιν θηρί' ἐξωλέστερον.

Τοιαῦτα πολλὰ τοῦ Λαρηνσίου λέγοντος ὁ  
Λεωνίδης ψέγων τὸ τῆς γαμετῆς ὄνομα τὰ ἐκ τῶν  
Μάντεων Ἀλέξιδος προηνέγκατο ταυτὶ τῶν ἐπῶν<sup>1</sup>.

ὦ δυστυχεῖς ἡμεῖς γαμέται<sup>2</sup> πεπρακότες  
τὴν τοῦ βίου παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν τρυφήν,  
f γυναιξὶ δοῦλοι ζῶμεν ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων.  
ἔπειτ' ἔχειν προῖκ', οὐχὶ τιμὴν πάσχομεν,<sup>3</sup>  
πικράν γε καὶ μεστὴν γυναικείας χολῆς  
ἢ τῶν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἐστὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην<sup>4</sup> μέλι  
οἱ μὲν γε<sup>5</sup> συγγνώμην ἔχουσ' ἄδικούμενοι,  
αὐταὶ δ' ἀδικοῦσαι καὶ προσεγκαλοῦσ' ἔτι  
ὦν οὐκ ἐχρῆν ἄρχουσιν, ὦν δ' ἄρχειν ἐχρῆν  
ἀμελοῦσιν, ἐπιорκοῦσιν, οὐδὲ ἔν κακὸν  
ἔχουσι καὶ κάμνειν λέγουσ'<sup>6</sup> ἐκάστοτε.

59 Ξέναρχος δ' ἐν Ὑπνω φησίν·

εἰτ' εἰσὶν οἱ<sup>9</sup> τέττιγες οὐκ εὐδαίμονες,  
ὦν ταῖς γυναιξὶν οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν φωνῆς ἔνι;

Φιλέταιρος Κορινθιαστῇ·

ὥς τακερόν, ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ μαλακὸν τὸ βλέμμ' ἔχει.

<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἐπῶν (A) deleted by Kaibel.

<sup>2</sup> γαμέται added by Gulick, μὲν οἱ Grotius: ἡμεῖς πεπρα-  
κότες A.

<sup>3</sup> λύμην φάσκομεν Kock.

<sup>4</sup> Dindorf. προσκευην A.

<sup>5</sup> μέλι οἱ μὲν γε Musurus: μενλιοιμενγε A.

<sup>6</sup> ἔχουσιν A.

<sup>7</sup> αὐται A

<sup>8</sup> λεγουσιν A.

<sup>9</sup> εἰτ' εἰσὶν οἱ CE. εἰ τισιν οἱ A.

borne aloft to the winds.<sup>a</sup> To cut it short, not one of the wild beasts is more devastating than a harlot."

After Larensis had recited many lines of this sort, Leonides, spurning the very thought of marriage,<sup>b</sup> cited this group of verses from *The Soothsayers* of Alexis<sup>c</sup> "Oh, unlucky we, men who are married! We have sold our right of free speech and our comfort in life, and live as slaves to wives instead of being free. But then, you say, in holding the dowry do we not submit to paying the price?<sup>d</sup> Ay, dowry! Bitter that, and filled with woman's bile. For a husband's bile is honey compared with her's; men, when injured, will forgive, but these dames add insult to injury: they, when they injure, throw the blame for it on the husband. Whom they should not rule they rule, and whom they should rule they neglect; they forswear themselves, and though they have nothing at all the matter with them, they always say they are ill." And Xenarchus says in *Sleep*<sup>e</sup> "Are not the male cicadas a happy lot? Their females haven't a bit of voice in them."<sup>f</sup> Philetaerus in *Playing the Corinthian*<sup>g</sup> "How melting, great Zeus, and soft is her eye! No wonder there is a shrine to

<sup>a</sup> So of the men caught by Scylla, *Od.* xii 249, ὑψόσ' ἀειρομένων.

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "the name (or word) 'married woman.'"

<sup>c</sup> Kock ii. 350. For similar accusations against women cf. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 385 ff and H. W. Haley, *H.S.C.P.* i. 159-186.

<sup>d</sup> The Greek can hardly be right, but no satisfactory emendation has been proposed. Adopting Kock's conjecture (see critical note 3) we may render. "Can we not assert that to have the dowry is an insult?"

<sup>e</sup> Kock ii. 473.

<sup>f</sup> So Aelian, *N.A.* i. 20: τέττιξ δὲ θήλεια ἄφωνός ἐστι, καὶ ἔοικε σιωπᾶν δίκην νύμφης αἰδουμένης "like a modest bride."

<sup>g</sup> Said of a fornicator; Kock ii. 231, below, 572 d (p. 92).

οὐκ ἐτὸς Ἑταίρας ἱερόν ἐστι πανταχοῦ,  
ἀλλ' οὐχὶ γαμετῆς οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

Ἀμφίς δ' ἐν Ἀθάμαντι·

εἴτ' οὐ γυναικός ἐστιν εὐνοικώτερον  
γαμετῆς ἑταίρα; πολὺ γε καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως  
b ἡ μὲν νόμῳ γὰρ καταφρονοῦσ' ἔνδον μένει,  
ἡ δ' οἶδεν ὅτι ἡ τοῖς τρόποις ὠνητέος  
ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ἡ πρὸς ἄλλον ἀπιτέον

Εὐβουλος δ' ἐν Χρυσίλλᾳ

κακὸς  
κακῶς ἀπόλοιθ' ὅστις γυναικα δεύτερος<sup>1</sup>  
ἔγῃμε· τὸν γὰρ πρῶτον οὐκ ἐρῶ κακῶς.  
ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἄπειρος, οἶμαι, τοῦ κακοῦ,  
ὁ δ' οἶον ἦν γυνὴ κακὸν πεπυσμένος<sup>2</sup>

καὶ προελθών<sup>3</sup> φησιν

ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμητ', εἴτ' ἐγὼ κακῶς ποτε<sup>4</sup>  
c ἐρῶ γυναικας, νῆ Δί' ἀπολοίμην ἄρα,  
πάντων ἄριστον κτημάτων. εἰ δ' ἐγένετο  
κακὴ γυνὴ Μῆδεια, Πηνελόπη δέ γε<sup>5</sup>  
μέγα πρᾶγμ'. ἐρεῖ τις ὡς Κλυταιμνήστρα κακὴ  
Ἀλκῆστιν ἀντέθηκα χρηστήν. ἀλλ' ἴσως  
Φαῖδραν ἐρεῖ κακῶς τις· ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία  
χρηστή τις ἦν μέντοι—τίς; οἶμοι δειλῆιος,  
ταχέως γέ μ' αἰ χρησταὶ γυναῖκες ἐπέλιπον,  
τῶν δ' αὖ πονηρῶν ἔτι λέγειν πολλὰς ἔχω

<sup>1</sup> δεύτερος Cobet, Meineke (cf 559 d). δεύτερον AE, δευτέραν C, Schweighauser.

<sup>2</sup> Porson: πεπεισμένος ACE.

<sup>3</sup> CE: προσελθών A.

<sup>4</sup> Jacobs: ποτε κακῶς ACE

<sup>5</sup> γε added by Cobet.

the Companion <sup>a</sup> everywhere, but nowhere in all Greece is there one to the Wife " And Amphis in *Athamas* <sup>b</sup> " Besides, is not a 'companion' more kindly than a wedded wife ? Yes, far more, and with very good reason For the wife, protected by the law, stays at home <sup>c</sup> in proud contempt, whereas the harlot knows that a man must be bought by her fascinations or she must go out and find another "

Eubulus says in *Chrysis* <sup>d</sup> " To perdition go the wretch, whoever he was, who was the second man to marry a wife ; the first man I will not blame For he, I fancy, had had no experience of the evil, but the second must have learned what an evil a wife is." And going on, he says " O most worshipful Zeus ! Shall I then ever blame women ? I swear, may I die if I do, she is the best of all our possessions Even if Medea was an evil woman, yet Penelope, at least, was of great worth Someone will say that Clytaemnestra was an evil woman, I match against her the good Alcestis. But perhaps one will blame Phaedra ; surely there must have been *some* good woman ;—yes, but who ? Unlucky that I am, alas, the good women have given out all too quickly for me, while I still have many bad women to tell of " <sup>e</sup> And

<sup>a</sup> Epithet of Aphrodite at Athens and Ephesus, as patroness of harlots, Hesych. s. *ἐραίρας ἱερὸν*, *Arch. Zeit.* II. 332, below, 571 c (p. 86).

<sup>b</sup> Kock II. 236.

<sup>c</sup> Meaning also that she retains her place as mistress of the house ; the husband could not dismiss her without losing the dowry.

<sup>d</sup> Kock II. 205. Cf. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 549 *μίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἴποις | τῶν νῦν γυναικῶν Πηνελόπην, Φαίδρας δ' ἀπαξάπασας*

<sup>e</sup> For a " legend of bad women " see Aesch. *Cho.* 585-638 and Paley's note (vs. 576).

Ἀριστοφῶν δ' ἐν Καλλωνίδῃ

- d κακὸς κακῶς ἀπόλοιθ'¹ ὁ γήμας δεύτερος  
θητῶν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτος οὐδὲν ἡδίκηκε  
οὐπω γὰρ εἰδὼς οὗτος οἶον ἦν κακὸν  
ἐλάμβανεν γυναιχ'. ὁ δ' ὕστερον λαβὼν  
εἰς προὔπτον εἰδὼς αὐτὸν ἐνέβαλεν κακόν.

καὶ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Φιλοπάτορι.

γεγάμηκε δήπου. B. τί σὺ² λέγεις; ἀληθινῶς  
γεγάμηκεν, ὃν ἐγὼ ζῶντα περιπατοῦντά τε³  
κατέλιπον,

Μέναιδρος δ' ἐν Ἀρρηφόρῳ ἢ Αὐλητρίδι

- e οὐ γαμεῖς, ἂν⁴ νοῦν ἔχῃς,  
τοῦτον καταλείπων⁵ τὸν βίον. γεγάμηκα γὰρ  
αὐτός· διὰ τοῦτό σοι παραινῶ μὴ γαμεῖν.  
B. δεδογμένον τὸ πρᾶγμ'. ἀνερρίφθω κύβος  
A πέραινε, σωθείης δέ νῦν ἀληθινὸν  
εἰς πέλαγος αὐτὸν⁶ ἐμβαλεῖς⁷ γὰρ πραγμάτων,  
οὐ Λιβυκὸν οὐδ' Αἰγαῖον . ,⁸  
οὐ τῶν τριάκοντ' οὐκ ἀπόλλυται τρία  
πλοιάρια· γήμας δ' οὐδὲ εἰς σέσωσθ' ὅλως.

ἐν δὲ Ἐμπιπραμένῃ

ἐξώλης ἀπόλοιθ' ὅστις ποτὲ

- f ὁ πρῶτος ἦν γήμας, ἔπειθ' ὁ δεύτερος,  
εἰθ' ὁ τρίτος, εἰθ' ὁ τέταρτος, εἰθ' ὁ Μεταγενής.⁹

¹ Jacobs. γένοιτο A.

² τί σὺ Dobree: σὺ τί A, τί CE.

³ τε added by Koppiers.

⁴ CE: ἐὰν A.

⁵ Naber: καταλιπὼν A.

⁶ Musurus: σεαυτὸν A

⁷ Casaubon. ἐμβάλλεις A.

⁸ οὐδ' Αἰγύπτιον added by Grotius, οὐδὲ Σικελικὸν Cobet,  
οὐδὲ Κρητικὸν Kock. The last is to be preferred.

⁹ CE: μεταγενής A.



Aristophon in *Callonides* <sup>a</sup> "To perdition go the wretch who was the second mortal to marry. The first man did no wrong; for *he* did not know as yet what an evil thing he took when he took a wife; but the one who married afterwards hurled himself with full knowledge into manifest evil." Again, Antiphanes in *Fond of his Father* <sup>b</sup>. "A. He is married, I tell you! B. What's that you say? He's really married—the man I left alive and walking?" Menander, in the *Symbol-Bearer* or *The Flute Girl* says <sup>c</sup>: "A. You won't marry if you have any sense, abandoning the life you now lead! For I've been married myself; for that reason I advise you not to marry. B. The thing is settled; let the die be cast for once and all. A. All right, go ahead, but I hope you come out safe! As it is, you'll be hurling yourself into a veritable sea of troubles <sup>d</sup>—not the Libyan, not the Aegean. ., where three boats out of thirty escape destruction; but not one man who is married has ever been saved, not one!" And in *She Set Herself on Fire* <sup>e</sup> "Perish the man, root and branch, who was the first to marry, then the second, then the third, then the fourth, and then—Metagenes!" <sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Kock II. 277.

<sup>b</sup> *Ibid* 108.

<sup>c</sup> Kock III. 22, Allinson 318. On ἀρρηφόροι, the little girls (Aristoph. *Lys.* 641) who carried magical symbols on their heads in the festival of Athena Polias (Paus. I. 27. 3), see Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments*, pp. xxxiv, 512, Broeneer, *Hesperia*, I. 50. See also Athen. vol. II. p. 35.

<sup>d</sup> On this phrase see vol. IV. p. 90 note b, cf. 530 e (vol. V. p. 394).

<sup>e</sup> Kock III. 45, Allinson 350.

<sup>f</sup> Metagenes is not otherwise known, but the same kind of joke occurs in Aristoph. *Ran.* 587. "May I perish root and branch, myself, my wife, my kiddies—and bleary-eyed Arche-demus as well!" Metagenes as an adjective (see critical note 9) means "born afterwards." The poet doubtless hints at this meaning in his survey of past and present husbands.

Καρκίνος δ' ὁ τραγικὸς ἐν Σεμέλῃ, ἥς ἀρχὴ "ὦ νύκτες," φησίν·

ὦ Ζεῦ, τί χρὴ γυναῖκας ἐξειπεῖν κακόν;  
ἀρκοῦν ἂν εἴη καὶν γυναῖκ' εἵπης μόνον

Οὐκ αἰσθάνονται δ' οὐδ' οἱ παρ' ἡλικίαν νέας  
ἀγόμενοι γυναῖκας εἰς προὔπτον κακὸν αὐτοὺς  
ἐμβάλλοντες, καίτοι τοῦ Μεγαρικοῦ ποιητοῦ παρ-  
αινέσαντος αὐτοῖς·

- 60 οὐ τοι σύμφoron ἐστι γυνὴ νέα ἀνδρὶ γέροντι<sup>1</sup>.  
οὐ γὰρ πηδαλίῳ πείθεται ὡς ἄκατος,  
οὐδ' ἄγκυραι<sup>2</sup> ἔχουσιν· ἀπορρήξασα δὲ δεσμὰ  
πολλάκις ἐκ νυκτῶν ἄλλον ἔχει λιμένα.

καὶ Θεόφιλος δὲ ἐν Νεοπτολέμῳ ἔφη·

οὐ σύμφoron<sup>3</sup> νέα 'στὶ πρεσβύτῃ γυνή.  
ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄκατος οὐδὲ μικρὸν πείθεται  
ἐνὶ πηδαλίῳ, τὸ πείσμ' ἀπορρήξασα δὲ<sup>4</sup>  
ἐκ νυκτὸς ἕτερον λιμέν' ἔχουσ' ἐξευρέθη.

- b Οὐδένα δὲ ὑμῶν ἀγνοεῖν οἶομαι, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅτι  
καὶ οἱ μέγιστοι πόλεμοι διὰ γυναῖκας ἐγένοντο. ὁ  
'Ιλιακὸς δι' Ἑλένην, ὁ λοιμὸς διὰ Χρυσηίδα,  
'Αχιλλέως μῆνις διὰ Βρισηίδα· καὶ<sup>5</sup> ὁ ἱερὸς δὲ  
καλούμενος πόλεμος δι' ἐτέραν γαμετήν, φησὶν  
Δοῦρις ἐν δευτέρᾳ Ἱστοριῶν, Θηβαίαν γένος, ὄνομα

<sup>1</sup> A: γεραιῶ CE.

<sup>2</sup> Brunck: ἄγκυραν ACE.

<sup>3</sup> Valckenaer: συμφέρον A

<sup>4</sup> δὲ added by Musurus

<sup>5</sup> This excerpt concerning the Sacred War is placed in C just before the other quotation from Duriis in 560 f

<sup>a</sup> T.G.F.<sup>2</sup> 798.

<sup>b</sup> Theognis 457.

<sup>c</sup> Possibly used with the double meaning seen in Aristoph. Pac. 142 and Schol.

Again, the tragic poet Carcinus says in *Semelê*, a play beginning "O watches of the night"<sup>a</sup>. "O Zeus, why need one say evil of women in detail? It were enough if you say merely *woman*."

Nor do even men of advanced age, who marry young wives, perceive that they are hurling themselves into manifest evil, although the poet of Megara has given the warning<sup>b</sup>. "Surely a young wife is not suited to an aged husband, for she obeys not the rudder<sup>c</sup> like a boat, nor do the anchors hold; breaking away from her moorings, oft-times in the night-watches she finds another haven" So, too, Theophilus said in *Neoptolemus*<sup>d</sup>. "A young wife is not suited to an old man. She's like a boat which obeys not even in the slightest one rudder, but breaks her cable and is found at night in another haven."

I think that none of you, my friends, are unaware that even the gravest wars have broken out because of women. Helen was the cause of the Trojan War, Chryseis of the pestilence, Briseis of Achilles' wrath<sup>e</sup> and the so-called Sacred War,<sup>f</sup> as Duris says<sup>g</sup> in the second book of his *Histories*, was caused by<sup>h</sup> another married woman, a Theban by birth, named Theanô,

<sup>a</sup> Kock II. 475.

<sup>e</sup> See II. 1.; the thought expressed with brutal vulgarity in *Priapeum* xxix, cited by Wilamowitz. *Cherchez la femme* is the principle on which Herodotus proceeds at the beginning of his history; so Aristoph. *Ach.* 523 ff., of the cause of the Peloponnesian War

<sup>f</sup> 355 B.C., between Phocis and Thebes; Athen. 231 c, 232 e (vol. III pp 40, 46).

<sup>g</sup> *F.H.G.* II 469, J 2 A 138.

<sup>h</sup> For the real reasons see Diod. xvi 23. The war was caused by the refusal of the Phocians to pay a fine imposed on them by the Delphic Amphictyons, instigated by Thebans and Thessalians, for alleged sacrilege against Apollo.

Θεανώ, ἄρπασθείσαν ὑπὸ Φωκέως τινός. δεκαετῆς δὲ καὶ οὗτος γενόμενος τῷ δεκάτῳ ἔτει Φιλίππου συμμαχήσαντος πέρας ἔσχεν· τότε γὰρ εἶλον οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὴν Φωκίδα. καὶ ὁ Κρισαϊκὸς δὲ πόλεμος <sup>c</sup> ὀνομαζόμενος, ὥς φησι Καλλισθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ Πολέμου, ὅτε Κιρραῖοι πρὸς Φωκεῖς ἐπολέμησαν, δεκαετῆς ἦν, ἄρπασάντων Κιρραίων τὴν Πελάγοντος τοῦ Φωκέως θυγατέρα Μεγιστῶ καὶ τὰς Ἀργείων θυγατέρας ἐπανιούσας ἐκ τοῦ Πυθικοῦ ἱεροῦ. δεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἐάλω καὶ ἡ Κίρρα. ἀνεντράπησαν δὲ καὶ ὅλοι οἴκοι διὰ γυναῖκας ὁ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου πατὴρ διὰ τὸν Κλεοπάτρας γάμον, ὁ Ἡρακλέους διὰ τὴν Ἰόλης ἐπιγαμίαν τῆς Εὐρύτου θυγατρὸς, ὁ Θησέως διὰ τὴν <sup>d</sup> Φαίδρας τῆς Μίνως, ὁ Ἀθάμαντος διὰ τὸν Θεμιστοῦς τῆς Ὑψέως, ὁ Ἰάσονος διὰ τὸν Γλαύκης τῆς Κρέοντος, ὁ Ἀγαμέμνονος διὰ Κασσάνδραν.<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἡ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον δὲ Καμβύσου στρατεία, ὥς φησι Κτησίας, διὰ γυναῖκα ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ Καμβύσης πυνθανόμενος<sup>2</sup> τὰς Αἰγυπτίας γυναῖκας ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων ἔπεμψεν πρὸς Ἀμασιν τὸν<sup>3</sup> Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα, μίαν αἰτῶν πρὸς γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> κασάνδραν CE.<sup>2</sup> πυνθόμενος CE<sup>3</sup> Musurus: τῶν A.

<sup>a</sup> At the invitation of the Thessalians, 353 B.C., this led to Philip's complete intervention in Greek affairs; hostilities continued until the Peace of Philocrates, 346 B.C.

<sup>b</sup> *Scr. Rer. Al.* 17, J. 2 B 639.

<sup>c</sup> The first Sacred War, ca. 600 B.C.; Aeschin. iii 107, Plut. *Solon* 77, Paus. x. 37. 6. See J. H. Wright in *H.S.C.P.* iii. 49.

who had been carried off by a Phocian. This war, like the Trojan, lasted ten years, but in the tenth year it came to an end when Philip entered into alliance with the Thebans<sup>a</sup>; for then the Thebans overcame Phocis. And again, the war called Cirrhaean, as Callisthenes says<sup>b</sup> in his book *On the Sacred War*,<sup>c</sup> at the time when the men of Cirrha went to war against the Phocians,<sup>d</sup> lasted ten years, the Cirrhaeans having carried away Megisto, daughter of the Phocian Pelagon, as well as the daughters of Argives who were on their way home from the Delphic shrine. But in the tenth year Cirrha also was overcome. And even entire households have been overthrown through women: that of Philip, Alexander's father, by his marriage with Cleopatra<sup>e</sup>; of Heracles, by his subsequent marriage with Iolê,<sup>f</sup> the daughter of Eurytus; of Theseus, on account of Phaëdra, the daughter of Minos; of Athamas, by his marriage with Themisto,<sup>g</sup> the daughter of Hypseus<sup>h</sup>, of Jason, by his marriage with Glauçê, the daughter of Creon; and of Agamemnon, on account of Cassandra. Even the expedition of Cambyses against Egypt, as Ctesias says,<sup>i</sup> occurred on account of a woman. For Cambyses, hearing that Egyptian women excelled all others in passionate embraces, sent to Amasis, the king of Egypt, a demand for one of his daughters in marriage. But Amasis did not give one of his own, suspecting that

<sup>a</sup> Of Delphi

<sup>e</sup> Above, 557 d, p. 14.

<sup>f</sup> Who thus roused the jealousy of Deianeira; Soph. *Trach.* 359 ff.

<sup>g</sup> Supplanting his goddess wife Nephelê, whence the proverbs *μη θεᾶς ἀνθρώπων* and *μη ὥσπερ Ἀθάμας*.

<sup>h</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* ix 13

<sup>i</sup> Frag. 37 Muller, 30 Gilmore. On Amasis see Athen. 438 b, 680 b.

ἔδωκεν, ὑπονοήσας μὴ γυναικὸς ἕξειν αὐτὴν τιμὴν  
 3 ἀλλὰ παλλακίδος ἔπεμψε δὲ τὴν Ἀπρίου θυγατέρα  
 Νειτήτιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀπρίας ἐκπεπτῶκει τῆς Αἰγυ-  
 πτίων βασιλείας διὰ τὴν γενομένην ἥτταν πρὸς  
 Κυρηναίους καὶ ἀνῆρητο ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιδος. ἡσθεὶς  
 οὖν ὁ Καμβύσης τῇ Νειτήτιδι καὶ σφόδρα  
 ἐρεθισθεὶς<sup>1</sup> ἐκμανθάνει παρ' αὐτῆς τὰ πάντα<sup>2</sup> καὶ  
 δεηθείσης ἐκδικῆσαι τοῦ Ἀπρίου τὸν φόνον πεί-  
 θεται<sup>3</sup> πολεμῆσαι Αἰγυπτίοις Δίνων δ' ἐν τοῖς  
 f Περσικοῖς καὶ Λυκέας ὁ Ναυκρατίτης ἐν τρίτῃ  
 Αἰγυπτιακῶν τὴν Νειτήτιν Κύρῳ πεμφθῆναί φασιν  
 ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιδος· ἐξ ἧς γεννηθῆναι τὸν Καμβύσην,  
 ὃν ἐκδικοῦντα τῇ μητρὶ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ποιήσασθαι  
 στρατείαν. Δοῦρις δ' ὁ Σάμιος καὶ πρῶτον<sup>4</sup> γε-  
 νέσθαι πόλεμόν φησι δύο γυναικῶν τὸν<sup>5</sup> Ὀλυμ-  
 πιάδος καὶ Εὐρυδίκης· ἐν ᾧ τὴν μὲν βακχικώτερον  
 μετὰ τυμπάνων προελθεῖν, τὴν δ' Εὐρυδίκην Μα-  
 κεδονικῶς καθωπλισμένην, ἀσκηθεῖσαν<sup>6</sup> τὰ πολε-  
 μικά παρὰ<sup>7</sup> Κύνῃ<sup>8</sup> τῇ Ἰλλυρίδι.

1 Ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἔδοξε τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν  
 φιλοσόφων περὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ αὐτοῦς τι εἰπεῖν  
 καὶ περὶ κάλλους. καὶ ἐλέχθησαν λόγοι φιλόσοφοι  
 πάμπολλοι· ἐν οἷς τινες καὶ ἐμνημόνευσαν τοῦ  
 σκηνικοῦ φιλοσόφου Εὐριπίδου ᾠσμάτων, ὧν ἦν  
 καὶ τάδε·

<sup>1</sup> Musurus: αἰρεθισθεὶς A.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ πάντα A: πάντα C

<sup>3</sup> Schweighauser: πείθει AC

<sup>4</sup> καὶ πρῶτον A: Ἡπειρωτικόν Casaubon.

<sup>5</sup> τὸν added by Kaibel.

<sup>6</sup> ὠπλισμένην, προσηκημένην C.

<sup>7</sup> πολεμικά παρὰ sic A

<sup>8</sup> Valckenaer: κυνάνη A.

she would not have the station of a wife, but that of a concubine; and so he sent the daughter of Aprias, Neitetus. Now Aprias had been deposed from his kingship over Egypt because of his defeat at the hands of the Cyrenaeans,<sup>a</sup> and had been killed by Amasis. Cambyses, then, having found pleasure in Neitetus and being very much stirred up by her, learned the whole story from her, and when she entreated him to avenge the murder of Aprias he consented to make war on the Egyptians. But Dinon in his *Persian History* and Lyceas of Naucratis in the third book of his *Egyptian History* say <sup>b</sup> that Neitetus was sent by Amasis to Cyrus: Cambyses was her son, and it was to avenge his mother that he undertook an expedition against Egypt. Duris of Samos says <sup>c</sup> that the first war between two women was that waged by Olympias and Eurydicê; in it Olympias marched forth rather like a Bacchant, to the accompaniment of tambourines, whereas Eurydicê was armed cap-à-pie in Macedonian fashion, having been trained in military matters by Cynna,<sup>d</sup> the princess from Illyria.

Following this discussion the philosophers present decided to say something on their own account concerning love and personal beauty. And many indeed were the philosophic words that were spoken, in the course of which some called to mind songs of that philosopher of the stage, Euripides, including the

<sup>a</sup> Under their king Adicran. Aprias, better known under the Ionic form of his name, Apriês, was the seventh king of the 26th dynasty. He is the Pharaoh of Jeremiah xxxvii. 5. See Herod ii 161. 169, iii. 1 (with How and Wells's note), iv. 159, Athen 680 d.

<sup>b</sup> *F.H.G.* ii 91, iv. 441.

<sup>c</sup> *F.H.G.* ii 475, J. 2 A 150.

<sup>d</sup> On the name see above, 557 c (p. 13 note 2).

παίδευμα δ' Ἐρως σοφίας, ἀρετῆς  
 πλεῖστον ὑπάρχει,<sup>1</sup>  
 καὶ προσομιλεῖν οὗτος ὁ δαίμων  
 πάντων ἡδιστος ἔφυ θνητοῖς  
 καὶ γὰρ ἄλνπον τέρψιν τιν' ἔχων  
 εἰς ἐλπίδ' ἄγει. τοῖς δ' ἀτελέστοις  
 τῶν τοῦδε πόνων μήτε συνείην<sup>2</sup>  
 χωρὶς τ' ἀγρίων ναίοιμι<sup>3</sup> τρόπων.  
 τὸ δ' ἐρᾶν προλέγω τοῖσι νέοισιν  
 μή ποτε φεύγειν,  
 χρῆσθαι δ' ὀρθῶς ὅταν ἔλθῃ.

καὶ κατὰ τὸν Πίνδαρον δὲ ἄλλος τις ἔφη·

εἴη καὶ ἐρᾶν καὶ ἔρωτι  
 χαρίζεσθαι κατὰ καιρὸν.

ἕτερος δέ τις προσέθηκε τῶν Εὐριπίδου τάδε·

σὺ δ' ὦ τύραννε θεῶν τε κἀνθρώπων Ἐρως,  
 ἢ μὴ δίδασκε τὰ καλὰ φαίνεσθαι καλὰ  
 ἢ τοῖς ἐρῶσιν ὧν σὺ δημιουργὸς εἶ  
 μοχθοῦσι μόχθους εὐτυχῶς συνεκπύνει.  
 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δρῶν τίμιος θνητοῖς<sup>4</sup> ἔσῃ,  
 μὴ δρῶν δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ διδάσκεισθαι φιλεῖν  
 ἀφαιρεθήσῃ χάριτας αἷς τιμῶσί σε

Ποντιανὸς δὲ Ζήνωννα ἔφη τὸν Κιτιέα ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν Ἐρωτα θεὸν εἶναι φιλίας καὶ ὁμονοίας,<sup>5</sup>  
 ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐλευθερίας παρασκευαστικόν, ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενός διὸ καὶ ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ ἔφη τὸν Ἐρωτα

<sup>1</sup> Casaubon· ὑπάρχειν A      <sup>2</sup> Musurus· συνιην A.

<sup>3</sup> Musurus· νέοιμι A

<sup>4</sup> Dobree· θεοῖς A, νέοις Musgrave.



following<sup>a</sup> "Eros, nursling of wisdom, is more than aught else the inspiration of virtue, and this divinity is the sweetest of all for mortals to consort with. For, with joy that knows no pain he leads on to hope. With those who know not the labours of his mystic rites may I have no part, and may I dwell far from the ways of the churlish. Love! I warn the young never to shun it, but enjoy it rightly whensoever it shall come." And another guest also quoted Pindar<sup>b</sup> "Be it mine to love and to yield to love in due season." Still another added these lines from the works of Euripides<sup>c</sup>: "As for thee, Eros, lord of gods and men, either teach us not to deem fair things fair or else help to a happy issue the lovers who toil in the toils of which thou art the artificer. And in doing that thou shalt be honoured in the eyes of mortals, but doing it not thou shalt be robbed, by the very act of learning to love, of the graces wherewith they honour thee."

Thereupon Pontianus said that Zeno of Citium conceived Eros to be a god who prepared the way for friendship and concord and even liberty, but nothing else. Hence, in his *Republic*, Zeno has said<sup>d</sup> that

<sup>a</sup> *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 648, lyric anapaests. The text is uncertain, but the meaning seems plain. Love, when properly guided and instructed by wisdom, is the chief source (lit. basis) of virtue. For other songs in Euripides concerning Eros see *Medea* 627 ff, *Hipp.* 525 ff, and on the cult of Eros in Athens, Broneer in *Hesperia* 1 49.

<sup>b</sup> *P.L.G.*<sup>5</sup> 1. 441, Sandys 584, below, 601 c (p. 241)

<sup>c</sup> *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 399, from *Andromeda*. See Lucian, *De hist. conscr.* 1, Athen. 537 d (vol. v p. 428).

<sup>d</sup> *S.V.F.* 1. 61.

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<sup>5</sup> φιλίας καὶ ὁμονοίας, καὶ ἐλευθερίας C (om. ἔτι δὲ): φιλίας καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁμονοίας A

θεὸν εἶναι συνεργὸν ὑπάρχοντα πρὸς τὴν τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν. ὅτι<sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ οἱ τούτου πρεσβύτεροι κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν σεμνὸν τινα τὸν Ἑρωτα καὶ παντὸς αἰσχροῦ κεχωρισμένον ἤδεσαν δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὰ<sup>2</sup> γυμνάσια αὐτὸν συνιδρῦσθαι Ἑρμῇ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ, τῷ μὲν λόγον, τῷ δ' ἄλκῃς προεστῶτι ὦν ἐνωθέντων φιλία τε καὶ ὁμόνοια γεννᾶται, δι' ὧν ἡ καλλίστη ἐλευθερία τοῖς ταῦτα μετιούσιν συναύξεται. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχον τοῦ συνουσίας τινὸς διαλαβεῖν προεστάναι τὸν Ἑρωτα ὥστε τῆς Ἀκαδημίας ἐκδήλως τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καθιερωμένης αὐτόθι τὸν Ἑρωτα ἰδρυσάμενοι συνθύουσιν αὐτῷ. Θεσπιεῖς τε τὰ Ἑρωτίδια τιμῶσιν καθάπερ Ἀθήναια Ἀθηναῖοι<sup>3</sup> καὶ Ὀλύμπια Ἥλαιοι Ῥόδιοί τε τὰ Ἀλεία<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοτελέσι δὲ σπονδαῖς ὡς ἐπίπαν ὁ Ἑρως τιμᾶται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πρὸ τῶν παρατάξεων Ἑρωτι προθύονται, ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν παραταττομένων φιλίᾳ κειμένης τῆς σωτηρίας τε καὶ νίκης καὶ Κρήτες δ' ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσι τοὺς καλλίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοσμήσαντες διὰ τούτων θύουσι τῷ Ἑρωτι, ὡς Σωσικράτης ἱστορεῖ. ὁ δὲ παρὰ Θηβαίοις ἱερὸς λόχος καλούμενος συνέστηκεν ἐξ ἐραστῶν καὶ ἐρωμένων, τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σεμνότητα ἐμφαίνων, ἀσπαζομένων θάνατον ἑνδοξον αὐτ'

<sup>1</sup> Schweighauser: ἔτι Α.

<sup>2</sup> κατὰ τὰ CE: κατὰ Α

<sup>3</sup> Ἀθηναῖοι added by Musurus.

<sup>4</sup> Ἀλεία Meineke: αλεια Α (so I.G. xii. 1. 58).

<sup>a</sup> A virgin goddess.

<sup>b</sup> A festival held every four years at which there were athletic and musical contests, Plut. *Erot.* 1, Paus. ix. 31. 3.

Eros is a god who stands ready to help in furthering the safety of the State. But that others, also, who preceded Zeno in philosophic speculation knew Eros as a holy being far removed from anything ignoble is clear from this, that in the public gymnasia he is enshrined along with Hermes and Heracles, the first presiding over eloquence, the second over physical strength; when these are united, friendship and concord are born, which in turn join in enhancing the noblest liberty for those who pursue the quest of them. And the Athenians were so far removed from apprehending Eros as a god presiding over sexual intercourse, that right in the Academy, which was quite obviously consecrated to Athena,<sup>a</sup> they enshrined Eros and joined his sacrifices with hers. Further, the people of Thespieae celebrate the Erotidia<sup>b</sup> as religiously as Athenians the Athenaea<sup>c</sup> or Elians the Olympia or Rhodians their Haheia<sup>d</sup>. And speaking generally, Eros is honoured at all public sacrifices. Thus the Lacedaemonians offer preliminary sacrifices to Eros before the troops are drawn up in battle-line, because they think that their safe return and victory depend upon the friendship of the men drawn up. So, too, the Cretans post their handsomest citizens in the battle-lines and through them offer sacrifice to Eros, as Sosicrates records<sup>e</sup>. Again, the so-called Sacred Band in Thebes<sup>f</sup> is composed of lovers and their favourites, thus indicating the dignity of the god Eros in that they embrace a glorious death.

<sup>c</sup> Older name of the Panathenaea, Plut. *Thes.* 24, Paus. vii. 2. 1.

<sup>d</sup> Festival of the sun, Helios.

<sup>e</sup> *F.H.G.* iv. 501; the illustration from the Lacedaemonians seems also to come from Sosicrates.

<sup>f</sup> Below, 602 a (p. 244), Plut. 761 B.

αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἐπονειδίστου βίου. Σάμιοι δέ, ὥς  
 φησιν Ἑρξίας ἐν Κολοφωνακοῖς, γυμνάσιον ἀνα-  
 32 θέντες τῷ Ἑρωτι τὴν διὰ τοῦτον ἀγομένην ἑορτὴν  
 Ἑλευθέρια προσηγόρευσαν δι' ὃν θεὸν καὶ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλευθερίας ἔτυχον, καὶ οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι  
 ἐκπεσόντες ἐπεχείρησαν διαβάλλειν πρῶτοι<sup>1</sup> τὰς  
 περὶ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον πράξεις

Τούτων λεχθέντων ὁ Πλούταρχος ἀπεμνημόνευσε  
 τῶν ἐκ Φαίδρου Ἀλέξιδος·

- πορευομένω<sup>2</sup> δ' ἐκ Πειραιῶς ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν  
 καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπῆλθέ μοι.  
 b καί μοι δοκοῦσιν ἀγνοεῖν οἱ ζωγράφοι  
 τὸν Ἑρωτα, συντομώτατον<sup>3</sup> δ' εἰπεῖν, ὅσοι  
 τοῦ δαίμονος τούτου ποιοῦσιν εἰκόνας.  
 ἐστὶν γὰρ οὔτε θῆλυς οὔτ' ἄρσην,<sup>4</sup> πάλιν  
 οὔτε θεὸς οὔτ' ἄνθρωπος, οὔτ' ἀβέλτερος  
 οὔτ' αὖθις ἔμφρων, ἀλλὰ συνενηνεγμένος<sup>5</sup>  
 πανταχόθεν, ἐνὶ τύπῳ τε<sup>6</sup> πόλλ' εἶδη φέρων  
 ἢ τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρός, ἢ δὲ δειλία<sup>7</sup>  
 γυναικός, ἢ δ' ἄνοια μανίας, ὁ δὲ λόγος  
 φρονούντος, ἢ σφοδρότης δὲ θηρός, ὁ δὲ πόνος  
 c ἀδάμαντος, ἢ φιλοτιμία δὲ δαίμονος  
 καὶ ταῦτ' ἐγώ, μὰ τὴν Ἀθηναῖαν καὶ θεούς,  
 οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔχει γέ τι  
 τοιοῦτον, ἐγγύς τ' εἰμὶ<sup>8</sup> τοῦ νοήματος.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> πρῶτον Musurus.

<sup>2</sup> Musurus: πορευομένων A.

<sup>3</sup> συντομώτερον CE, perhaps rightly.

<sup>4</sup> ἄρσιν Dindorf.

<sup>5</sup> Valckenaer: συνενηνεγμένος A, συνηνεγμένος CE.

<sup>6</sup> τε added by Schweighauser.

<sup>7</sup> δὲ δειλία Musurus. δειλία δὲ CE, δειλία (om δὲ) A

<sup>8</sup> εἰ μὴ A.

<sup>9</sup> νοήματος Emperius: ὀνόματος A.

in preference to a dishonourable and reprehensible life. And the people of Samos, as Erxias says <sup>a</sup> in his *History of Colophon*, on dedicating a gymnasium to Eros, called the festival held in his honour the Eleutheria <sup>b</sup>; and it was through this god that the Athenians also obtained their liberty, and so the Peisistratidae, after they were ejected, were the first to enter upon the practice of defaming the acts which pertain to this god <sup>c</sup>.

After these remarks Plutarch recited from memory the verses from *Phaedrus* by Alexis <sup>d</sup>: "As I was walking up from the Peiraeus, I was moved by perplexity over my troubles <sup>e</sup> to meditate in philosophic mood. And I think that the painters, or, to put it most concisely, all who make images of this god, are unacquainted with Eros. For he is neither female nor male; again, neither god nor man, neither stupid nor yet wise, but rather composed of elements from everywhere, and bearing many qualities in a single frame. For his audacity is that of a man, his timidity a woman's, his folly argues madness, his reasoning good sense, his impetuosity is that of a wild animal, his persistence that of adamant, his love of honour that of a god. Now all this, Athena and the gods are my witnesses, I cannot explain, but still it is something like this, and I've come close to the general idea."

<sup>a</sup> *F.H.G.* iv. 406.

<sup>b</sup> Festival of Liberty.

<sup>c</sup> The tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogeiton were lovers, and an insult offered by Hipparchus to the sister of Harmodius prompted their conspiracy. Thucydides concedes this point, but denies that the liberties of Athens were won by the two young men, vi 52-59, cf. i. 20, Herod. v. 55.

<sup>d</sup> Kock ii. 386.

<sup>e</sup> In love, as the lines following show.

Εὐβουλος δ' ἢ Ἀραρῶς ἐν Καμπυλίῳ

τίς ἦν ὁ γράψας πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων ἄρα  
ἢ κηροπλαστήσας Ἐρωθ' ὑπόπτερον,  
ὥς οὐδὲν ἦδει πλὴν χελιδόνας γράφειν,  
ἀλλ' ἦν ἄπειρος τῶν τρόπων τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ  
1 ἐστὶν γὰρ οὔτε κοῦφος οὔτε ῥάδιος  
ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῷ φέροντι τὴν νόσον,  
βαρὺς δὲ κομιδῇ. πῶς ἂν οὖν ἔχοι πτερὰ  
τοιοῦτο πρᾶγμα; λῆρος, εἰ κᾶψῃ<sup>1</sup> τις.

Ἀλεξίς δ' ἐν Ἀποκοπτομένῳ·

λέγεται γὰρ λόγος  
ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν μὴ πέτεσθαι τὸν θεὸν  
τὸν Ἐρωτα, τοὺς δ' ἐρῶντας· αἰτίαν δ' ἔχειν  
ἐκείνων ἄλλως, ἡγνοηκότας δὲ τοὺς  
e γραφεῖς ἔχοντα πτέρυγας αὐτὸν ζωγραφεῖν

Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ Ἐρωτικῷ Χαιρήμονά φησι  
τὸν τραγικὸν λέγειν ὥς τὸν οἶνον τῶν χρωμένων  
τοῖς τρόποις<sup>2</sup> κεράννυσθαι, οὕτως καὶ τὸν Ἐρωτα·  
ὃς μετριάζων μὲν ἐστὶν εὐχαρις, ἐπιτεινόμενος  
δὲ καὶ διαταράττων<sup>3</sup> χαλεπώτατος . . . . διόπερ

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf· εἰ κὰν φήσῃ A.

<sup>2</sup> τοῖς τρόποις added by Grotius from Plut.

<sup>3</sup> διαταραττόμενος CE

<sup>a</sup> Kock II. 178. The scholiast on Aristoph. *Av.* 574 says that the representation of Nikê and Eros with wings was an innovation, but the words καὶ τὸν Ἐρωτα have been regarded as an interpolation. The earliest art, but not earlier than the end of the sixth century B.C., depicts him as winged, Roscher, *Lex. griech. u. röm. Myth.* I. 1350.

And Eubulus, or Ararôs, says in *The Hunchback*<sup>a</sup> : " Who was the fellow, I wonder, who first painted or modelled Eros with wings ? He didn't know anything but how to paint swallows ; on the contrary, he was utterly ignorant of the god's character. For the god is neither light<sup>b</sup> nor easy to throw off when one is carrying the pest, but he is out-and-out heavy. How, then, can such a thing have wings ? It's nonsense, no matter if one *has* said it " And Alexis in *Cut Loose*<sup>c</sup> . " It is commonly said by the wiseacres that the god Eros cannot fly, but that lovers can ; and that he is falsely charged with being winged, and the painters knew nothing about it when they depicted him as having wings "

Theophrastus,<sup>d</sup> in his essay *On Love*, quotes<sup>e</sup> the tragic poet Chaeremon as saying<sup>f</sup> that just as wine is mixed to suit the character of the drinkers, so also is the emotion inspired by Eros<sup>g</sup> ; when he comes in moderation, he is gracious,<sup>h</sup> but when he comes too intensely and puts men to utter confusion, he is most

<sup>b</sup> In weight, like a bird. For the sake of consistency, the name of the god is given throughout the translation of the passages following. But it should be remembered, as in the case of other gods who represent the emotions, that love in the abstract is also meant. Cf. the use of *êris*, an abstraction, and *Êris*, a person, in Aesch. *Agam.*

<sup>c</sup> Kock II 305. At 431 c (vol. IV. p. 454) the title is given as feminine, Ἀποκοπτομένη.

<sup>d</sup> This paragraph is out of its original position, since ὁ δ' αὐτὸς οὗτος ποιητῆς in 562 f, below, refers again to Alexis, just quoted in c-d. Something also is lost in the middle.

<sup>e</sup> Frag. cvii Wimmer

<sup>f</sup> T.G.F.<sup>2</sup> 785

<sup>g</sup> Plut. *De Pyth. orac.* 406 B. ὁ μὲν γὰρ οἶνος, ὡς ἔλεγε Χαιρήμων, τοῖς τρόποις κεράννυται τῶν πινόντων

<sup>h</sup> So of Aphrodite, Eur. *Med.* 630. εἰ δ' ἄλῃς ἔλθοι Κύπρις, οὐκ ἄλλα θεὸς εὐχαρῖς οὕτως

## ATHENAEUS

ὁ ποιητὴς οὗτος οὐ κακῶς αὐτοῦ τὰς δυνάμεις διαιρῶν φησι “ δίδυμα (γὰρ)<sup>1</sup> τόξα αὐτὸν ἐντείνεσθαι Χαρίτων, τὸ μὲν ἐπ’ εὐαίῳνι τύχα, τὸ δ’ ἐπὶ συγχύσει βιοτᾶς ”

f ‘Ο δ’ αὐτὸς οὗτος ποιητὴς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐρώντων ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Τραυματίᾳ φησὶν οὕτως·

τίς οὐχὶ φησι τοὺς ἐρώντας ζῆν πόνοις,<sup>2</sup>  
οὓς δεῖ<sup>3</sup> γε πρῶτον μὲν στρατευτικωτάτους  
εἶναι πονεῖν τε δυναμένους τοῖς σώμασιν  
μάλιστα προσεδρεύειν τ’ ἀρίστους τῷ πότῳ,  
ποιητικούς, ἱταμούς, προθύμους, εὐπόρους  
ἐν τοῖς ἀπόροις, βλέποντας ἀθλιωτάτους.<sup>4</sup>

3 Θεόφιλος δ’ ἐν τῷ Φιλαύλῳ

τίς φησι τοὺς ἐρώντας οὐχὶ νοῦν ἔχειν,  
ἧ πού τίς ἐστι τοὺς τρόπους ἀβέλτερος  
εἰ γὰρ ἀφέλοι τις τοῦ βίου τὰς ἡδονάς,  
καταλείπεται οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν τεθνηκέναι.  
ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὐτὸς κιθαριστρίας ἐρῶν,<sup>5</sup>  
παιδὸς κόρης, οὐ νοῦν ἔχω πρὸς τῶν θεῶν;  
κάλλει καλῆς, μεγέθει μεγάλης, τέχνῃ σοφῆς  
ἦν ἐστ’ ἰδεῖν ἡδίων ἢ τὸ θεωρικόν<sup>6</sup>  
ἔχουσιν ὑμῖν<sup>7</sup> διαπονεῖν<sup>8</sup> ἐκάστοτε.

<sup>1</sup> γὰρ not a part of the quotation but belonging to the speaker

<sup>2</sup> Kock: μόνουσ Α

<sup>3</sup> οὓς δεῖ Casaubon: ἔδει Α.

<sup>4</sup> ἀλκιμωτάτους Dobree, ἀσχολωτάτους Lumb

<sup>5</sup> ἐρῶ AC. <sup>6</sup> Canter. ἦν ἰδεῖν ἰδίον ἐστὶν ἢ τὸ θεωρητικόν Α.

<sup>7</sup> Grotius· ἡμῖν Α.

<sup>8</sup> Herwerden: διανέμειν Α.

<sup>a</sup> Not Chaerephon, but Euripides, *Iph. Aul.* 548 ff.:

δίδυμ’ Ἔρως ὁ χρυσοκόμας  
τόξ’ ἐντείνεται Χαρίτων,  
τὸ μὲν ἐπ’ εὐαίῳνι πότῳ,  
τὸ δ’ ἐπὶ συγχύσει βιοτᾶς



cruel           Wherefore this poet,<sup>a</sup> aptly distinguishing the influences of Eîos, says "With two arrows (venily) from the Graces he stretches his bow, the one bringing a happy lot, the other, utter confounding of life."

Now this same poet<sup>b</sup> speaks of lovers in the play entitled *The Wounded Man* as follows: "Who denies that lovers live at hard labour? Why, in the first place, they must ever be on the war-path, their bodies must be able to endure toil to the utmost, and they must be most patient in pursuing their desire, inventive, impulsive, eager, skilfully managing the unmanageable, in utter misery while they live!" And Theophilus in *He liked to play the Flute*<sup>c</sup> "Who says that lovers have no sense? Surely, it must be somebody whose make-up is stupid. For if one take away from life its pleasures, there's nothing else left to do but die. Take my own case, in loving a harp-girl, a little maid, haven't I sense, in the gods' name? In beauty beautiful, in stature stately, in art clever; just to look at her is pleasanter than working for you all the time when you have the price of admission." <sup>d</sup>

Wilamowitz thinks that Frag. 967 (*T.G.F.* 2 673) may have occupied the gap *εἷς μοι, μέτριος δέ πως εἷς μηδ' ἀπολείποις*. But many other passages from Euripides would be appropriate here, as *Hipp.* 443, *Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητὸς ἦν πολλή ρύη*.

<sup>b</sup> Alexis, Kock II 382; see note *d* on p. 39.

<sup>c</sup> Kock II 477

<sup>d</sup> The text is uncertain, and many changes have been proposed. Herwerden's *διαπονεῖν* for *διανέμειν* involves the least change. The actor, playing the rôle of the lover, steps out of the picture to make a sarcastic remark to the audience. The Theoric Fund supplied to the poor the price of admission to the theatre, against the abuses of it Demosthenes directs the 1st and 3rd Olynthiac Speeches. Important military advantages were often sacrificed to it, Dem *Olynth* III. 11, *οἱ (νόμοι) τὰ στρατιωτικὰ τοῖς οἴκοι μένουσι διανέμουσι θεωρικά*.

Ἀριστοφῶν δὲ ἐν Πυθαγοριστῇ·

εἴτ'<sup>1</sup> οὐ δικαίως ἔστ' ἀπειψηφισμένος  
 ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν τῶν δώδεκ' εἰκότως τ'<sup>2</sup> Ἐρως,  
 ἐτάραττε κακείνους γὰρ ἐμβάλλων στάσεις  
 ὅτ' ἦν<sup>3</sup> μετ' αὐτῶν ὡς δὲ λίαν ἦν θρασὺς  
 καὶ σοβαρός, ἀποκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τὰ πτερὰ  
 ἵνα μὴ πέτῃται πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν πάλιν,  
 δεῦρ' αὐτὸν ἐφυγάδευσαν ὡς ἡμᾶς κάτω,  
 τὰς δὲ πτέρυγας ἃς εἶχε τῇ Νίκῃ φορεῖν  
 ἔδοσαν, περιφανὲς σκῦλον ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων

περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐρᾶν Ἀμφίς ἐν Διθυράμβῳ φησίν

τί φῆς, σὺ ταυτὶ προσδοκᾷς πείσειν ἐμέ  
 ὡς ἔστ' ἐραστής ὅστις ὥραϊον φιλῶν<sup>4</sup>  
 τρόπων ἐραστής ἐστι, τὴν ὄψιν παρείς;  
 ἄφρων γ'<sup>5</sup> ἀληθῶς οὔτε τοῦτο πείθομαι  
 οὔθ' ὡς πένης ἄνθρωπος ἐνοχλῶν πολλάκις  
 τοῖς εὐποροῦσιν οὐ λαβεῖν τι βούλεται.

Ἀλεξίς Ἑλένη

ὡς ὅστις αὐτῆς τῆς ἀκμῆς<sup>6</sup> τῶν σωμάτων  
 ἐρᾷ, τὸν ἄλλον δ' οὐδὲ γινώσκει λόγον,<sup>7</sup>  
 τῆς ἡδονῆς ἔστ', οὐχὶ τῶν φίλων φίλος,  
 ἀδικεῖ τε τὸν Ἐρωτ' ἐμφανῶς θνητὸς θεόν,  
 ἄπιστον αὐτὸν πᾶσι τοῖς καλοῖς<sup>8</sup> ποιῶν.

τούτων τῶν Ἀλέξιδος ἀπομνημονεύσας ὁ Μυρτίλος  
 κᾶτα ἀποβλέψας εἰς τοὺς τὰ τῆς στοᾶς αἰρουμένους

<sup>1</sup> Musurus: ἐτ' A.

<sup>2</sup> τ' added by Porson

<sup>3</sup> CE: ὁ τῆν A

<sup>4</sup> Jacobs ὥραϊων φίλων A.

<sup>5</sup> Jacobs. τ' A

<sup>6</sup> αὐτῆς τῆς ἀκμῆς Jacobs: αὐτῆς ἀκμῆς A, αὐθις ἀκμῆς CE

And Aristophon in *The Disciple of Pythagoras*<sup>a</sup>:  
 “ And so is it not right and fitting that Eros has been banished by the twelve gods from their company? For he used to upset even them by the quarrels he provoked when he lived among them. And since he was so very bold and haughty, they cut off his wings to keep him from flying back to Heaven, drove him hither into exile among us down below, while they gave the wings which he had worn to Victory to wear—manifest booty taken from the enemy.” And on the subject of love Amphis says in *Dithyrambus*<sup>b</sup>:  
 “ What’s that you say? Do you expect to convince me of this, that there is any lover who, loving a handsome boy, is a lover of his character, without regard to his looks? A silly fool, really! I do not believe that any more than I believe that a pauper who often bothers the rich does not want to get something ”

And yet Alexis says in *Helen*<sup>c</sup>: “ For anyone who loves only the ripe beauty of the body, but knows no other reason<sup>d</sup> for loving, is a lover of his pleasure, not of his friends, and though a mortal, plainly wrongs Eros, a god, because he makes Eros distrusted by all the pretty boys ”<sup>e</sup> After Myrtilus had recited these lines from Alexis, he then cast a glance at those who hold to the principles of the

<sup>a</sup> Kock II 280. The title is derogatory, like Κορινθιαστής, quite different from Πυθαγόρειοι, Pythagoreans

<sup>b</sup> Kock II 240 On the title see vol. II. p. 295 note c

<sup>c</sup> Kock II. 320. At this point the discussion begun by Plutarch at 562 a is taken up by Myrtilus.

<sup>d</sup> Or, reading τρόπον for λόγον, “ regards not character besides.”

<sup>e</sup> See critical note 8

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<sup>7</sup> λόγον Musurus · χρόνον A, τρόπον Musurus

<sup>8</sup> τοῖς καλοῖς Meineke · τοῖς ἄλλοις A.

τὰ Ἑρμείου τοῦ Κουριέως ἐκ τῶν Ἰάμβων προ-  
ειπών·

ἀκούσατ', ὦ Στύακες,<sup>1</sup> ἔμποροι λήρου,  
λόγων ὑποκριτῆρες,<sup>2</sup> οἳ μόνοι πάντα  
τὰν τοῖς πῖναξι πρὶν τι<sup>3</sup> τῷ σοφῷ δοῦναι,  
αὐτοὶ καταρροφεῖτε κᾶθ' ἄλίσκεσθε  
ἐναντία πράσσοντες οἷς τραγωδεῖτε,

παιδοπίπαι ὄντες καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἐξηλωκότες τὸν  
ἀρχηγὸν ὑμῶν τῆς σοφίας Ζήνωννα τὸν Φοίνικα, ὃς  
οὐδέποτε γυναικὶ ἐχρήσατο, παιδικοῖς δ' αἰεὶ, ὡς  
Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ  
Βίου αὐτοῦ. θρυλεῖτε<sup>4</sup> γὰρ ὅτι δεῖ μὴ τῶν  
σωμάτων ἀλλὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐρᾶν οἷτινες μέχρι ὀκτῶ  
καὶ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν δεῖν λέγοντες συνέχειν τοὺς ἐρω-  
μένους καὶ μοι δοκεῖ Ἀρίστων ὁ Κεῖος<sup>5</sup> ὁ περι-  
πατητικὸς οὐ κακῶς εἰρηκέναι ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ  
τῶν Ἑρωτικῶν Ὁμοίων πρὸς τινα Ἀττικόν,<sup>6</sup>  
μέγαν τινὰ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐπιδεικνύντα ὡς  
καλόν, ᾧ Δῶρος ἦν ὄνομα “ τὴν πρὸς Δόλωναί μοι,  
φησί, δοκῶ παρ' Ὀδυσσέως ἀπάντησιν ἐπὶ σέ' ”  
μεταφέρειν·

ἡ ρά νύ τοι μεγάλων Δώρων ἐπεμαίετο θυμός ”

Ἡγήσανδρος δ' ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασι τῶν ἡδυ-  
σμάτων φησὶν ἐρᾶν πάντας, οὐ τῶν κρεῶν οὐδὲ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> στύακας CE (in a different construction) · στόακας A.

<sup>2</sup> Musurus. ὑποκρητῆρες A. <sup>3</sup> Porson: πρηνή A.

<sup>4</sup> Musurus: θρυλεῖται A.

<sup>5</sup> C: κῖος AE. <sup>6</sup> στωικόν Kaibel.

<sup>7</sup> Musurus · ἔπεισι A.

<sup>a</sup> Powell 237, Diehl iii 301; the verses are choliambic, and in rhythm and cynical bitterness recall Hipponax. In

Porch, first quoting the verses from the *Iambics* of Hermeias of Curium <sup>a</sup> "Hear, ye Styacs, vendors of twaddle, hypocritical mouthers of words who alone by yourselves gobble up everything on the platters before the wise man can get a share, and then are caught doing the very opposite of what you solemnly chant;" oglers of boys you are, and in that alone emulating the founder of your philosophy, Zeno the Phoenician,<sup>b</sup> who never resorted to a woman, but always to boy-favourites, as Antigonos of Carystus records <sup>c</sup> in his *Biography* of him For you are always repeating that one should not love *bodies* but *soul*; you, who say that favourites should be retained until twenty-eight years old <sup>d</sup> And it seems to me that the Peripatetic Ariston of Ceos, in the second book of his *Erotic Likenesses*, made a good retort to an Athenian <sup>e</sup> who was pointing out a certain person, named Dorus, large in stature, as being handsome, he said. "Methinks I can apply to you the answer which Odysseus made to Dolon <sup>f</sup>: 'Surely now thy heart was eager for large rewards.'" <sup>g</sup>

Hegesander in his *Commentaries* says <sup>h</sup> that all persons love the sauces, not the meat or the fish; at

the form Στύακες, the reading in CE, Diehl sees a retort to the epithet σκύλακες, "pups," bestowed on the Cynics. But παιδοπίπαι below shows that there is also an allusion to στύω, *penem erigere*

<sup>b</sup> His native city, Citium, was in Cyprus.

<sup>c</sup> Wilamowitz 117, *S.V.F.* 1. 58.

<sup>d</sup> See below, 564 f, p. 51 note *e*.

<sup>e</sup> Or, reading στωικόν for Ἀττικόν, "a certain Stoic"

<sup>f</sup> *Il.* x 401.

<sup>g</sup> Punning on the name Dorus and the word dorôn, meaning gifts, favours

<sup>h</sup> *F.H.G.* iv. 418. The source is still Ariston

ἰχθύων· ἀπογενομένων γοῦν τούτων οὐδεὶς ἡδέως ἔτι προσφέρεται τὸ κρέας οὐδὲ τὸν ἰχθύν οὐδ' ἐπιθυμεῖ τῶν ὠμῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνηδύντων

Καὶ γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν παίδων ἥρων, ὡς καὶ ὁ Ἀρίστων<sup>1</sup> ἔφη, ὅθεν καὶ καλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐρωμένους συνέβη παιδικά. πρὸς ἀλήθειαν γάρ, καθάπερ φησὶ Κλέαρχος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Ἑρωτικῶν, Λυκοφρονίδην εἰρηκέναι φησὶν<sup>2</sup>.

- b οὔτε παιδὸς ἄρρενος οὔτε παρθένων  
τῶν χρυσοφόρων οὐδὲ γυναικῶν βαθυκόλπων  
καλὸν τὸ πρόσωπον, ἂν μὴ<sup>3</sup> κόσμιον πεφύκη.<sup>4</sup>  
ἡ γὰρ αἰδὼς ἄνθος ἐπισπείρει.

καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἔφη τοὺς ἐραστὰς εἰς οὐδὲν ἄλλο τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἐρωμένων ἀποβλέπειν ἢ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἐν οἷς τὴν αἰδῶ κατοικεῖν. Σοφοκλῆς δέ που περὶ τοῦ κάλλους τοῦ Πέλοπος διαλεγομένην ποιήσας τὴν Ἰπποδάμειαν φησιν·

- τοίαν Πέλοψ ἔγγα<sup>5</sup> θηρατηρίαν  
3 ἔρωτος, ἀστραπὴν τιν' ὀμμάτων ἔχει·  
ἥ θάλπεται<sup>6</sup> μὲν αὐτός, ἐξοπτᾷ δ' ἐμέ,<sup>7</sup>  
ἴσον μετρῶν<sup>8</sup> ὀφθαλμόν, ὥστε τέκτονος  
παρὰ στάθμην ἰόντος ὀρθοῦται κανών

<sup>1</sup> Meineke: ἀριστοφῶν A.

<sup>2</sup> φησὶν deleted by Meineke.

<sup>3</sup> ἂν (ἐάν) μὴ Meineke ἀλλὰ A

<sup>4</sup> Meineke· πεφύκει A.

<sup>5</sup> τοίαν Πέλοψ ἔγγα Valckenaer: τοιάνδ' ἐν ὄψει ACE, ἔγγα Musurus, λύγα A, λύκα CE.

<sup>6</sup> Papageorgius: ἥ θάλλεται A

<sup>7</sup> Brunck: δέ με A.

<sup>8</sup> μετρῶν A.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. the seasonings ("sweetenings") that go with meat and fish.

any rate, if they <sup>a</sup> be absent, no one any longer likes to take meat or fish, and no one wants them raw and unseasoned

It is a fact that even in ancient times they loved boys, as Ariston has said, whence it came about that those who were loved were called *paidika* <sup>b</sup> For in truth, as Clearchus says <sup>c</sup> in the first book of his *Love Stories*, quoting Lycophronides <sup>d</sup>: "Neither in boy, nor in gilded <sup>e</sup> maid, nor in deep-bosomed matron is the countenance fair if it be not modest. For it is modesty that sows the seed of beauty's flower" And Aristotle also has said <sup>f</sup> that lovers look to no other part of their favourite's body than the eyes, in which dwells modesty. And Sophocles, I believe, representing Hippodameia as discoursing on the beauty of Pelops, says <sup>g</sup>: "Such is the charm to ensnare love, a kind of lightning-flash that Pelops has in his eyes; with it he is warmed himself, but scorches me with the flame, measuring me with even glance of eye, just as the craftsman's rule is laid straight when he proceeds according to the pattern-line." <sup>h</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "boy-favourites"

<sup>c</sup> *F.H.G.* II 314.

<sup>d</sup> *P.L.G.* <sup>4</sup> III 633, Diehl II. 157, Edmonds III. 414

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "wearing gold." But Wilamowitz interprets as τῶν τὰ καλλιστεῖα νενικηκυῖων, "girls who have won prizes for beauty," below, 609 f

<sup>f</sup> Frag. 96 Rose.

<sup>g</sup> *T.G.F.* <sup>2</sup> 235, doubtless from the lost *Oenomaus*, the tragedy in which the orator Aeschines, acting the title part, came to grief, *Vit. Aeschin.* 269. 26, cf *Demosth. De Cor.* 242.

<sup>h</sup> The literal translation means: "as the carpenter's rule exactly follows the line, so the flash of Pelops' eye is answered by an equal flash in mine"

Λικύμνιος δ' ὁ Χίος τὸν Ὑπνον φήσας ἐρᾶν τοῦ  
Ἐνδυμίωνος οὐδὲ καθεύδοντος αὐτοῦ κατακαλύπτει  
τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἀλλὰ ἀναπεπταμένων τῶν βλε-  
φάρων κοιμίζει τὸν ἐρώμενον, ὅπως διὰ παντὸς  
ἀπολαύῃ τῆς τοῦ θεωρεῖν ἡδονῆς λέγει δ' οὕτως·

- 1 Ὑπνος δὲ χαίρων ὀμμάτων αὐγαῖς ἀναπεπταμένοις  
ὅσοις ἐκοίμιζεν κούρον.

καὶ ἡ Σαπφῶ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ὑπερβαλλόντως θαυμα-  
ζόμενον τὴν μορφήν καὶ καλὸν εἶναι νομιζόμενόν  
φησιν·

σταῖθι κᾶντα, φίλος,<sup>1</sup>  
καὶ τὰν ἐπ' ὅσοις ἀμπέτασον χάριν.

ὁ δ' Ἀνακρέων τί φησιν;

ὦ παῖ παρθένιον βλέπων,<sup>2</sup>  
δίζημαί σε, σύ δ' οὐκ ᾄεις,<sup>3</sup>  
οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι τῆς ἐμῆς  
ψυχῆς ἡνιοχεύεις.

ὁ δὲ μεγαλοφωνότατος Πίνδαρος·

- 3 τὰς δὲ Θεοξένου (φησὶν) ἀκτῖνάς ποτ' ὅσων<sup>4</sup>  
μαρμαρυζοίσας δρακεῖς  
ὅς μὴ πόθῳ κυμαίνεται, ἐξ ἀδάμαν-  
τος ἢ σιδάρου κεχάλκευται μέλαιναν καρδίαν<sup>5</sup>  
ψυχρᾷ φλογί.<sup>6</sup>

ὁ δὲ τοῦ Κυθηρίου Φιλοξένου Κύκλωψ ἐρῶν τῆς

<sup>1</sup> σταῖθι καντα φίλος A, στάθι κᾶντα φίλος C. σταθι καὶ ἄντα φίλος φίλα μοι Kaiabel, ὅσταθι (=ἀνάσθηθι) κᾶντα θᾶ με φίλαν φίλος Edmonds

<sup>2</sup> βλέπουσαν CE.

<sup>3</sup> οὐκ ᾄεις (=ἀίεις O. Schneider): οὐ καιεισ A, οὐκ αἴεις CE, οὐ κοεῖς Bergk.



Licymnius of Chios, after explaining that Sleep was in love with Endymion says that Sleep does not cover the eyes of Endymion when he slumbers, but lays his beloved to rest with eyelids wide opened, that he may enjoy the delight of gazing upon them continually. His words are <sup>a</sup>: "Sleep, joying in the light of his eyes, was wont to lay the boy to rest with lids wide open" And Sappho, too, says to the man who is extravagantly admired for his beauty and commonly deemed fair <sup>b</sup> "Stand thou even before me, dear one, and open wide the charm that lies in thine eyes" And what says Anacreon <sup>c</sup>? "O lad with eyes of a maiden, I seek for thee, but thou heedest not, not knowing that thou holdest the reins of my heart." And Pindar, the most grandiloquent of all <sup>d</sup>. "But whosoever, once he hath seen the rays flashing from the eyes of Theoxenus, is not tossed on the waves of desire, hath a black heart forged, in cold flame, of adamant or of iron." But the Cyclops of Philoxenus of Cythera,

<sup>a</sup> *P L G* <sup>4</sup> iii 598, Diehl ii 131, Edmonds iii 338 Cf. Diogenian. iv 40.

<sup>b</sup> *P L G*. <sup>4</sup> iii. 100, Diehl i. 387, Edmonds i. 268 Wilamowitz rightly takes the verses as ironical. The quotation is incomplete.

<sup>c</sup> *P L G*. <sup>1</sup> iii 255, Diehl i 448, Edmonds ii. 138. Perhaps addressed to the lad Cleobulus, Max Tyr viii. 96, μεστὰ αὐτοῦ [Ἀνακρέοντος] τὰ ἄσματα τῶν Κλεοβούλου ὀφθαλμῶν Below, 599 a, p 227 n g Cf Philostr *Ep* 33 ἐμοὶ δὲ μόνοις πρόπινε τοῖς ὀμμασιν, "drink to me only with thine eyes"

<sup>d</sup> *P L G*. <sup>5</sup> iii 437, Sandys 584, Puech, *Pindare* ii 189, more fully quoted Athen. 601 d (pp 241-243)

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<sup>4</sup> ποτ' ὄσσων Wilamowitz (Kaibel πρὸς): προσώπου 601 d, ὄσσων alone A

<sup>5</sup> Athen 601 d ψυχὰν A

<sup>6</sup> φλογί added from 601 d

Γαλατείας καὶ ἐπαινῶν αὐτῆς τὸ κάλλος, προ-  
μαντευόμενος τὴν τύφλωσιν πάντα μᾶλλον αὐτῆς  
ἐπαινεῖ ἢ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μνημονεύει, λέγων ὦδε·

ὦ καλλιπρόσωπε,  
χρυσεοβόστρυχε Γαλάτεια,  
χαριτόφωνε, κάλλος<sup>1</sup> Ἐρώτων.

† τυφλὸς δ<sup>2</sup> ἔπαινος καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ὅμοιος τῷ  
Ἰβυκείῳ<sup>3</sup> ἐκείνῳ·

Εὐρύαλε, γλαυκέων<sup>4</sup> Χαρίτων θάλος,<sup>5</sup>

καλλικόμων μελέδημα, σὲ μὲν Κύπρις  
ἅ τ' ἀγανοβλέφαρος Πειθὼ ῥοδέοισιν ἐν ἄνθεσι  
θρέψαν

Φρύνιχός τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Τρωίλου ἔφη “ λάμπειν ἐπὶ  
πορφυραῖς παρῆσι<sup>6</sup> φῶς ἔρωτος.”

Ἵμεῖς δὲ ξυρουμένους τὰ γένεια περιφέρετε  
τοὺς ἐρωμένους τοῦ ξύρεσθαι τὸν πώγωνα κατ'  
65 Ἀλέξανδρον εὐρημένου, ὥς φησιν ὑμῶν ὁ Χρῦς-  
ιππος ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ περὶ τοῦ Καλοῦ καὶ τῆς  
Ἡδονῆς. οὐκ ἀκαίρως δ', ὥς ἑμαυτὸν πείθω,  
μεμνήσομαι τῆς λέξεως χαίρω γὰρ πάνν τῷ ἀνδρὶ  
διὰ τε τὴν πολυμαθίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἥθους ἐπιείκειαν.  
λέγει δὲ οὕτως<sup>7</sup> ὁ φιλόσοφος “ τὸ ξύρεσθαι τὸν  
πώγωνα κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον προῆκται, τῶν πρώτων<sup>8</sup>  
οὐ χρωμένων αὐτῷ. καὶ γὰρ Τιμόθεος ὁ αὐλητῆς  
πώγωνα μέγαν ἔχων ἤϋλει, καὶ ἐν Ἀθήναις δια-

<sup>1</sup> κάλλος ACE: θάλος Jacobs (θάλλος)

<sup>2</sup> ὁ CE· om. A.

<sup>3</sup> CE: ἰβυκίῳ A.

<sup>4</sup> AC: γλυκέων Jacobs

<sup>5</sup> Lacuna indicated by Bergk. Μουσῶν supplied by Hecker.

<sup>6</sup> E· παρῆσι C, παρησι A.

in love with Galateia and praising her beauty, has a premonition of his own blindness, and so praises everything else about her rather than mention her eyes; he says <sup>a</sup>. "O thou of the fair countenance, Galateia, with golden curls and voice that charms, a beauty among the Loves!" <sup>b</sup> Blind this praise is, and nothing like that which Ibycus utters <sup>c</sup>. "Euryalus, scion of the blue-eyed Graces . . . darling of the fair-haired Muses, thee did Cyprius and Persuasion of the tender eyes rear amid the flowers of the rose" And so Phrynichus said of Troilus <sup>d</sup>. "There shines upon his crimson cheeks the light of love"

Now you Stoics take your favourites about with their chins shaven <sup>e</sup>; shaving the beard came into fashion under Alexander, as your Chrysippus says in the fourth book of his work *On Pleasure and the Good*. It will not be inappropriate, I am convinced, if I recall his exact words, for I like the man very much for his wide learning and respectable character. The philosopher speaks as follows <sup>f</sup>: "The custom of shaving the beard increased under Alexander, although the foremost men did not follow it. Why, even the flute-player Timotheus wore a long beard when he played the flute." <sup>g</sup> And at Athens they

<sup>a</sup> *P.L.G.*<sup>4</sup> III 611, Diehl II. 132, Edmonds III 390.

<sup>b</sup> Or, reading *θάλος* for *κάλλος*, "child of the Loves."

<sup>c</sup> *P.L.G.*<sup>4</sup> III 238, Diehl II. 55, Edmonds II. 88

<sup>d</sup> *P.L.G.*<sup>4</sup> III 561, *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 723, cf. below, 604 a, p. 254.

<sup>e</sup> These words seem to have been originally attached to the reproach against the Stoics in 563 e, above, p. 44.

<sup>f</sup> *S.V.F.*<sup>4</sup> III 198, below, 565 e-f, p. 55.

<sup>g</sup> In the presence of Alexander, Athen. 538 f (vol. v. p. 436) See critical note 8

<sup>7</sup> Musurus: οὗτος A

<sup>8</sup> AC: *προτέρων* Meineke wrongly

τηροῦσιν<sup>1</sup> οὐ σφόδρα ἀρχαῖον τὸν πρῶτον περι-  
b κειράμενον<sup>2</sup> παρωνύμιον ἔχειν Κόρσην.” διὸ καὶ  
”Αλεξίς ἔφη που·

ἂν<sup>3</sup> πιττοκοπούμενόν τιν’ ἢ ξυρούμενον  
ὄρᾱς, δυοῖν<sup>4</sup> τούτων<sup>5</sup> ἔχει τι θάτερον  
ἢ γὰρ στρατεύειν<sup>6</sup> ἐπινοεῖν μοι φαίνεται  
καὶ πάντα τῷ πώγωνι δρᾶν ἐναντία,  
ἢ πλουσιακὸν τούτῳ τι<sup>7</sup> προσπίπτει κακόν.  
τί γὰρ αἱ τρίχες λυποῦσιν ἡμᾶς,<sup>8</sup> πρὸς θεῶν;  
δι’ ἧς ἀνὴρ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν φαίνεται,

c εἰ μή τι ταύταις ἀντιπράττεσθ’ ὑπονοεῖς

“ Διογένης δὲ ἰδὼν τινα οὕτως ἔχοντα τὸ γένειον  
ἔφησεν· ‘ μή τι ἔχεις ἐγκαλεῖν τῇ φύσει ὅτι ἄνδρα  
σέ ἐποίησε καὶ οὐ γυναικα; ’ ἕτερον δέ τινα ἐπὶ  
ἵππου ἰδὼν παραπλησίως ἔχοντα καὶ μεμυρισμένον  
καὶ τούτοις ἀκολουθῶν ἡμφιεσμένον, πρότερον μὲν  
ἔφησε ζητεῖν τί ἐστὶν ὁ ἵππόπορνος, νῦν δ’ εὐ-  
ρηκέναι. ἐν Ῥόδῳ δὲ νόμου ὄντος μὴ ξύρεσθαι  
οὐδ’ ὁ ἐπιληψόμενος οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν διὰ τὸ πάντας

<sup>1</sup> διασύρουσιν, “ridicule,” Lumb

<sup>2</sup> Kaibel: προσκειράμενον A, προκειράμενον CE

<sup>3</sup> ἂν added by Meineke.

<sup>4</sup> δυοῖν added by Erfurdt.

<sup>5</sup> CE· τοῦτον A.

<sup>6</sup> ἢ μαστροπεύειν Jacobs

<sup>7</sup> τι added by Meineke.

<sup>8</sup> ὑμᾶς C.

<sup>a</sup> Kock II 394. This quotation interrupts the remarks of Chrysippus

<sup>b</sup> See Athen. 518 a and note a (vol. v. p. 333). Philemon wrote a comedy entitled Πιττοκοπούμενος.

<sup>c</sup> The text is in dispute and the meaning far from clear.

maintain that it is not so very long ago that the first man shaved his face all round, and had the nickname Shavei." Hence, also, Alexis said, I believe<sup>a</sup>: "If you see a man whose hair has been removed by pitch<sup>b</sup> or by shaving, one or other of two things ails him: either he plainly means to 'go on a campaign' and do all kinds of things inconsistent with a beard, or else some vice peculiar to a rich man is descending upon him<sup>c</sup>. For really, what harm do our hairs do us, in the gods' name? By them each one of us shows himself a real man, unless you secretly intend to do something which conflicts with them."—"Again, Diogenes, seeing a man with a chin in that condition, said. 'It cannot be, can it, that you have any fault to find with nature because she made you a man instead of a woman?' And seeing another person on horse-back in nearly the same condition, reeking with perfume and dressed in a style of clothing to match these practices, he said that he had often before asked what the word horse-bawd<sup>d</sup> meant, but now he had found out. At Rhodes, although there is a law which forbids shaving, there is not so much as a single prosecutor who will try to stop

*στρατεύειν* may be a slang term for "go a-whoring," Heysch *στρατά, στατή πόρνη*.

<sup>a</sup> "A big prostitute", here, however, the word slants in meaning toward "prostitute on horseback." Cf. the use of *ἵππος* for "loose woman" 532 f (vol. v. p. 405 note f). The prefix *hippo-* "horse," was used to denote great size; Aristoph. *Ran* 931:

ἦδη ποτ' ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ νυκτὸς διηγρύπνησα  
τὸν ξουθὸν ἵππαλεκτρύονα ζητῶν τίς ἐστὶν ὄρνις,

"for a long time before this I've lain awake nights asking what kind of bird the nimble horsecock is." See also Aristoph. *Av.* 800, Eustath. 1909. 63.

d ξύρεσθαι ἐν Βυζαντίῳ δὲ ζημίας ἐπικειμένης τῷ  
 ἔχοντι κουρεῖ<sup>1</sup> ξυρὸν οὐδὲν ἤττον πάντες χρώνται  
 αὐτῷ." καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ θαυμάσιος εἶρηκε  
 Χρύσιππος

Ἦ δὲ σοφὸς ἐκεῖνος Ζήνων, ὥς φησιν Ἀντίγονος  
 ὁ Καρύστιος, προμαντευόμενος ὑμῶν, ὥς τὸ εἰκός,  
 περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς προσποιητοῦ ἐπιτηδεύσεως  
 ἔφη ὥς οἱ παρακούσαντες αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων καὶ  
 μὴ συνέντες ἔσονται ῥυπαροὶ καὶ ἀνελεύθεροι,  
 καθάπερ οἱ τῆς Ἀριστίππου παρενεχθέντες αἰρέ-  
 σεως ἄσωτοι καὶ θρασεῖς καὶ δὴ τοιοῦτοι ὑμῶν  
 e εἰσιν οἱ πλείστοι, συνεσπασμένοι καὶ κακοπινεῖς οὐ  
 μόνον τοῖς ἡθεσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔξει βουλόμενοι γὰρ  
 ἐνδύεσθαι τὴν αὐτάρκειαν καὶ τὴν εὐτέλειαν εὐρί-  
 σκεσθε<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ ταῖς τῆς φιλαργυρίας θύραις ῥυπαρῶς  
 ζῶντες καὶ τριβωνάρια περιβαλλόμενοι μικρὰ καὶ  
 ἡλῶν<sup>3</sup> ἐμπιπλάντες τὰ<sup>4</sup> καττύματα καὶ κιναιδούς  
 καλοῦντες τοὺς ἢ μύρου προσβάλλοντας ἢ μικρῶ  
 μαλακωτέραν ἡμφιεσμένους ἐσθῆτα. οὐ δεῖ οὖν  
 οὕτως ἐσταλμένους περὶ ἀργύριον ἐπτοῆσθαι καὶ  
 f ἐρωμένους περιάγεσθαι ξυρουμένους τὴν ὑπὴν  
 καὶ τὸν ὄρρον τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας

ἐν τῷ Λυκίῳ<sup>5</sup> μετὰ σοφιστῶν, νῆ Δία,  
 λεπτῶν, ἀσίτων, σκυτίνων,<sup>6</sup>

κατὰ τὸν Ἀντιφάνην.

<sup>1</sup> κουρεῖ deleted by Cobet.

<sup>2</sup> Musurus: εὐρίσκεσθαι A.

<sup>3</sup> ἡλῶν Meineke τῶν ἡλῶν A.

<sup>4</sup> τὰ Schweighauser: ὁ τὰ A

<sup>5</sup> λυκίῳ A.

<sup>6</sup> σκυτίνων Athen. 98 f.

<sup>a</sup> Wilamowitz 118

<sup>b</sup> The Hedonist.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "contracted," as by cold.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "self-sufficiency," the philosopher's ideal.

it, because everybody shaves And in Byzantium, although a fine is imposed on the barber who has a razor, everybody resorts to him just the same." These, then, are the remarks of the admirable Chrysippus

As for your wise Zeno, says Antigonus of Carystus,<sup>a</sup> he, having a premonition, as it would seem, of the lives you were to lead, and of your hypocritical profession, asserted that they who listened casually to his precepts and failed to understand them would be filthy and mean, just as those who have gone wrong in respect of the principles of Aristippus<sup>b</sup> are prodigal and insolent And so most of you are like that, all wizened<sup>c</sup> and foul not only in your manners but also in your morals. For, professing to clothe yourselves in the garments of independence<sup>d</sup> and economy, you are discovered living squalidly at the gates of avarice, while you wrap yourselves about with worn cloaks too small for you,<sup>e</sup> and fill the soles of your shoes with hobnails,<sup>f</sup> and give the name of sodomite to those who either put on a little perfume or dress in garments a little too dainty You ought not, therefore, when rigged up in that fashion, to be in such a flutter over money, or take about in your train lovers with shaven chins and posteriors, the lads who follow along "in the Lyceum in the company of the Sophists—Heaven save the mark!—skinny, unfed, mere skin and bones,<sup>g</sup>" as Antiphanes put it<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Cf Theophr. *Char* iv. of the boor, "wearing a cloak which does not reach to the knee, he sits down."

<sup>f</sup> *Ibid.* εἰς τὰ ὑποδήματα δὲ ἥλους ἐγκροῦσαι, "driving nails into his shoes"

<sup>g</sup> Or, reading *σुकίνων* for *σκυτίνων*, "worthless"

<sup>h</sup> Kock ii 58, Athen. 98 f (vol. i p 426), cf 551 c and note c (vol v p 502)

Ἐπαινῶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς<sup>1</sup> τὸ κάλλος καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς Εὐανδρίαις τοὺς καλλίστους ἐγκρίνουσι καὶ τούτους<sup>2</sup> πρωτοφορεῖν<sup>3</sup> ἐπιτρέπουσιν. ἐν Ἡλιδι δὲ καὶ κρίσις γίνεται κάλλους, καὶ τῷ πρώτῳ τὰ τῆς θεοῦ φέρειν τεύχη δίδονται, τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ τὸν βοῦν ἄγειν, ὃ δὲ τρίτος τὰς θυηλὰς ἐπιτίθησιν. Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Λέμβος ἱστορεῖ ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Σπάρτην θαυμάζεται παντὸς<sup>4</sup> μᾶλλον ὁ κάλλιστος καὶ γυνὴ ἢ καλλίστη, καλλίστας γεννώσης τῆς Σπάρτης τὰς<sup>5</sup> γυναικάς διὸ καὶ φασιν περὶ<sup>6</sup> Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ βασιλέως, γυναικὸς αὐτῷ καλῆς φαινομένης, ἐτέρας δὲ αἰσχυρᾶς καὶ πλουσίας, ὡς ἀπέκλινεν ἐπὶ τὴν πλουσίαν, ζημιῶσαι τοὺς ἐφόρους αὐτόν, ἐπιλέγοντας ὅτι “ βασιλίσκους<sup>7</sup> ἀντὶ βασιλέων τῇ Σπάρτῃ<sup>8</sup> γεννᾶν ” προαιρεῖται. Εὐριπίδης τε ἔφη·

πρῶτον μὲν εἶδος ἄξιον τυραννίδος·

καὶ οἱ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ δὲ δημογέροντες θαυμάζοντες τῆς Ἑλένης τὸ κάλλος φασίν

<sup>1</sup> Meineke: αὐτὸ A.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦτοις?

<sup>3</sup> πρωτοφορεῖν “ carry branches,” like the θαλλοφόροι, Valois.

<sup>4</sup> παντὸς added by Gulick

<sup>5</sup> τὰς om CE.

<sup>6</sup> περὶ added by Schweighauser.

<sup>7</sup> Musurus· βασιλικούσ AC.

<sup>8</sup> τῇ Σπάρτῃ Meineke: ταῖς Σπάρταις ACE.

<sup>a</sup> Contests were held among the ten tribes of Attica at the Panathenaea and the Theseia; see Harpocr s.v (Philochorus). From Xen. *Mem.* iii. 3 12 ff., it would appear that not only bodily size and strength but also mental and moral qualities were taken into account. Later, apparently, the handsomest boys were especially favoured, contrast



And yet I too praise beauty. Indeed, in the contests of physical fitness <sup>a</sup> they select the handsomest boys and command them to be the first among the carriers. But in Elis there is actually held a contest of beauty, and to the winner of the first prize is assigned the duty of carrying the vessels of the goddess, <sup>b</sup> to the winner of the second, leading the ox, while the winner of the third lays the preliminary offerings on the fire <sup>c</sup>. Further, Heracleides Lembus records <sup>d</sup> that in Sparta the handsomest man and the prettiest woman are admired above all things, the prettiest women in the world being born in Sparta <sup>e</sup>. Hence they say of King Archidamus, that when a beautiful woman was presented to him, along with another who was ugly and rich, and he showed an inclination to take the rich woman, the Ephors fined him, adding the remark that he was preferring to "beget princelings instead of princes for Sparta" <sup>f</sup>. Euripides has said <sup>g</sup> · "First of all, a form that is worthy of kingly rule;" and even the elders of the people in Homer say, as they admire Aristot. *E.N.* 1099 a 3 (of the Olympian Games). *πρωτοφορεῖν* occurs only here, and taken with the accusative *τούτους*, is under suspicion. See *crit.* note 3. For other "beauty-contests" see below, 609 e, p. 284.

<sup>b</sup> *Heia* ?

<sup>c</sup> *Il.* ix 220 of Patroclus, *ὁ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε θυηλάς*

<sup>d</sup> *F.H.G.* iii 168

<sup>e</sup> *Od.* xiii 412, *Σπάρτην ἐς καλλιγύναικα*.

<sup>f</sup> Theophrastus *ap.* Plut. *Ages.* 2 (*cf. De Educ. Puer.* 1 c-d) tells the story somewhat differently · the Ephors fined him for marrying a little woman, saying *οὐ γὰρ βασιλεῖς ἄμμιν ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖδια γεννάσει*. *Cf.* the story of Lysander, above, 555 c, p. 5.

<sup>g</sup> *T.G.F.* <sup>2</sup> 367, from the lost *Aeolus* (Stobaeus, *Flor.* 65. 1). The poet goes on to say that it is a great merit to have a physical beauty in keeping with a noble estate.

οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἑυκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς  
 τοιῇδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν·  
 αἰνῶς ἀθανάτησι θεῇς εἰς ὧπα ἔοικεν.

ἐκπέπληκται γοῦν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Πρίαμος ἐπὶ τῷ  
 κάλλει τῆς γυναικός, καίτοι ἐν δεινοῖς ὑπάρχων  
 c θαυμάζει γοῦν ἐπὶ κάλλει τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα τοιαῦτα  
 ἐκφωνῶν

καλὸν δ' οὕτω ἐγὼν οὗ πω ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν  
 οὐδ' οὕτω γεράρον· βασιλῆι δὲ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικεν.

καθίστων δὲ καὶ πολλοὶ τοὺς καλλίστους βασιλέας,  
 ὥς μέχρι νῦν οἱ Ἀθάνατοι καλούμενοι Αἰθίοπες,  
 ὥς φησι Βίων ἐν Αἰθιοπικοῖς ὥς ἔοικε γάρ, τὸ  
 κάλλος βασιλείας οἰκεῖόν ἐστιν. θεαὶ περὶ κάλλους  
 l ἤρρισαν πρὸς ἀλλήλας, καὶ διὰ κάλλος οἱ θεοὶ  
 ἀνηρεύσαντο<sup>1</sup> Διὶ οἰνοχόον τὸν Γανυμήδη

κάλλεος εἵνεκα οἶο, ἔν'<sup>2</sup> ἀθανάτοισι μετείη

αἱ θεαὶ δὲ τίνας ἀναρπάζουσιν,<sup>3</sup> οὐ τοὺς καλ-  
 λίστους; οἷς καὶ σύνεισιν· Ἡὼς μὲν Κεφάλῳ καὶ  
 Κλείτῳ καὶ Τιθωνῷ, Δημήτηρ Ἰασίῳνι,<sup>4</sup> Ἀφρο-  
 δίτη Ἀγχίση καὶ Ἀδώνιδι διὰ κάλλος δὲ καὶ ὁ  
 μέγιστος τῶν θεῶν διὰ κεράμων χρυσὸς ἔρχεται,  
 ταῦρος γίνεται, αἰτὸς πτεροῦται πολλάκις, ὥσπερ

<sup>1</sup> ἀνερύψαντο A.

<sup>2</sup> οἱ ἐν' A

<sup>3</sup> ἤρπασαν C, ἀρπάζουσιν E

<sup>4</sup> E· ἰασίονι C, ἰάσωνι A.

<sup>a</sup> Π. iii. 156, Athen. 188 b (vol ii p 352)

<sup>b</sup> Implied in Π. iii. 162, 172.

<sup>c</sup> Π iii. 169.

<sup>d</sup> F H G iv. 351, so Herod. iii. 20, Aristot. Pol. 1290 b 5,

Helen's beauty <sup>a</sup>. " 'Tis no cause for anger that Trojans and well-greaved Achaeans should suffer woes a long time for such a woman as she, for she is marvellously like the deathless goddesses in countenance " Even Priam himself, at any rate, is struck with admiration of the woman's beauty, although he is in the midst of dangers. <sup>b</sup> At least he admires Agamemnon for beauty, uttering praise such as this <sup>c</sup> " Yet I have never beheld with my eyes one so beautiful or so majestic ; for he is like unto a king " And many people have set upon the throne their handsomest men as kings, as, for instance, the Ethiopians called the Immortals, who do it to this day, as Bion says in his *Ethiopian History* <sup>d</sup> In fact, it would seem that beauty is a special attribute of kingship. Goddesses quarrelled with one another on the question of their beauty, and because of his beauty the gods " caught up and carried off " Gany-mede to be Zeus's cupbearer, " for the sake of his beauty, that he might dwell among the immortals " <sup>e</sup> As for the goddesses, whom do they carry off ? Is it not the most beautiful men ? Certainly they live together with them : Dawn with Cephalus, <sup>f</sup> Cleitus, <sup>g</sup> and Tithonus, <sup>h</sup> Demeter with Iasion, <sup>i</sup> Aphrodite with Anchises and Adonis. Attracted by beauty, too, the highest of the gods goes through roof-tiles in the form of gold, or turns into a bull, or as an eagle frequently

and Newman's note on 1282 b 27 (iii 228) With the epithet Ἀθάνατοι cf μακρόβιοι Αἰθίοπες, Herod. iii 23 and How and Wells's note

<sup>a</sup> *Il.* xx. 235, cf 234

<sup>f</sup> J. E. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, lx-lxiii.

<sup>g</sup> *Od.* xv 250.

<sup>h</sup> See vol. v p 489 and note c

<sup>i</sup> *Od.* v. 125.

καὶ ἐπ' Αἰγίνῃ Σωκράτης δ' ὁ φιλόσοφος ὁ πάντων καταφρονῶν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου κάλλους οὐχ ἡττων ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ ὁ σεμνότατος Ἀριστοτέλης τοῦ Φασηλίτου μαθητοῦ. ἡμεῖς δ' οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων τὰ κάλλιστα προκρίνομεν, ἐπαινείται καὶ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν τὸ ἔθος τὸ γυμνοῦν τὰς παρθένους τοῖς ξένοις. ἐν Χίῳ δὲ τῇ νήσῳ καὶ βαδίζειν ἡδιστόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τὰ γυμνάσια<sup>3</sup> καὶ τοὺς δρόμους καὶ ὁρᾶν προσπαλαίοντας τοὺς νέους ταῖς κόραις.

Καὶ ὁ Κύνουλκος “ταυτὶ<sup>3</sup> καὶ τολμᾶς σὺ λέγειν,” οὐ “ῥοδοδάκτυλος οὖσα” κατὰ τὸν Κρατῖνον, ἀλλὰ βολίτινον ἔχων θάτερον σκέλος, ἐκείνου τοῦ ὁμωνύμου σοι ποιητοῦ τὴν κνήμην φορῶν· ὅς ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις καὶ τοῖς πανδοκείοις αἰεὶ διατᾶ,<sup>4</sup> καίτοι Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ ῥήτορος ἐν τῷ Ἀρεοπαγитικῷ εἰρηκότος· “ἐν καπηλείῳ δὲ φαγεῖν ἢ πιεῖν οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἂν<sup>5</sup> οἰκέτης ἐτόλμησεν.

<sup>1</sup> ἐπαινείται καὶ CE: ἐπαινοῦντες A, Kaibel (who assumed a lacuna before it)

<sup>2</sup> ἐν χίῳ δὲ καὶ βαδίζειν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡδὺ πρὸς τὰ γυμνάσια CE

<sup>3</sup> Dobree: ταυτῇ (sic) A.

<sup>4</sup> Schweighauser: διατᾶται A.

<sup>5</sup> οὐδεὶς δ' ἂν A

<sup>a</sup> Daughter of the Boeotian King Asopus, and mother of Aeacus, Nonnus vii. 211 ff But Ovid, *Met.* vi. 113, says that Zeus came upon her in the form of fire, “aureus ut Danaen, Asopida luserit ignis” In gold and bull the allusion is, of course, to the stories of Danae and Europa. Against such metamorphoses see Plato's protest, *Rep* 381 d, etc.

<sup>b</sup> Plat. *Symp* 222 d, Athen 219 b (vol ii p. 492)

<sup>c</sup> Theodectas. Steph Byz s Φασηλῖς, Θ. δ' ἦν γένος κάλλι διαφέρων, Val Max viii 14 3. Against all such slanders one may cite the verse of Eudemus: ἀνδρὸς (Aristotle) ὃν οὐδ' αἰνεῖν τοῖσι κακοῖσι θέμις

sprouts feathers, as when he went to get Aegina.<sup>a</sup> Is not even the philosopher Socrates, who scorns all things, overcome by the beauty of Alcibiades? <sup>b</sup> Even so the most august Aristotle, by that of his pupil from Phaselis.<sup>c</sup> As for ourselves, do we not prefer even those inanimate objects which are most beautiful? The Spartan custom, also, of stripping young girls before strangers <sup>d</sup> is highly praised. And on the island of Chios it is very pleasant just to walk to the gymnasia and running-tracks and watch the young men wrestling with the girls.<sup>e</sup>

Whereupon Cynulcus burst forth in Cratinus's words <sup>f</sup>: "This you dare to say to me?" though you are not "rosy-fingered," but rather have one leg made of cow-dung,<sup>g</sup> while the shank which you carry about is that of the poet, your namesake <sup>h</sup>; for you spend all your time in the wineshops and the public houses, although the orator Isocrates has said in his *Areopagiticus* <sup>i</sup>: "No one, not even a slave,<sup>j</sup> would have stooped to eat or drink in a wineshop. For

<sup>a</sup> Or, "their guests"

<sup>e</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 63, uses *vita Chra* as a commonplace term describing licentiousness. But Thuc. viii. 24. 4 says the Chians were remarkable for sobriety joined with wealth. Great freedom was permitted to girls on the island of Ceos, Plut. 249 D, but it is not necessary, with Wilamowitz, to alter the text above. This ends the discourse of Myrtilus, begun by him at 563 d.

<sup>f</sup> Kock i 104; obviously Aurora is the person addressed. The original line reads - "This you dare to say to me, rosy-fingered though you are."

<sup>g</sup> Aristoph. *Ran.* 294-295

<sup>h</sup> Myrtilus, poet of the Old Comedy

<sup>i</sup> § 49, of the good old times

<sup>j</sup> Isocrates says, "not even a slave who was decent (*ἐπιεικής*)."

σεμνύνεσθαι γὰρ ἐμελέτων, οὐ βωμολοχεύεσθαι.”  
 Ὑπερείδης δὲ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους, εἰ γνήσιος  
 ὁ λόγος, τοὺς Ἀρεοπαγίτας φησὶν ἀριστήσαντά  
 τινα ἐν καπηλείῳ κωλύσαι ἀνιέναι εἰς Ἀρειον  
 πάγον.<sup>1</sup> σύ δέ, ὦ σοφιστά, ἐν τοῖς καπηλείοις  
 συναναφύρῃ οὐ μετὰ ἐταίρων ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἐταιρῶν,  
 μαστροπευούσας περὶ σαυτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγας ἔχων καὶ  
 περιφέρων αἰεὶ τοιαυτὴ βιβλία Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ  
 Ἀπολλοδώρου καὶ Ἀμμωνίου καὶ Ἀντιφάνους,  
 ἔτι δὲ Γοργίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, πάντων τούτων  
 συγγεγραφότων περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι<sup>2</sup> Ἑταιρίδων ὧ  
 τῆς καλῆς σου πολυμαθίας, ὡς κατ’ οὐδὲν ἐμιμήσω  
 Θεόμανδρον τὸν Κυρηναῖον, ὃν φησι Θεόφραστος  
 ἐν τῷ περὶ Εὐδαιμονίας περιόντα ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι  
 διδάσκειν<sup>3</sup> εὐτυχίαν, ἐρωτοδιδάσκαλε· οὐδὲν ἄρα  
 διαφέρεις Ἀμάσιος τοῦ Ἡλείου, ὃν Θεόφραστος ἐν  
 τῷ Ἑρωτικῷ περὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας δεινὸν γεγονέναι  
 λέγει. οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι δέ τίς σε καὶ πορνογράφον  
 καλῶν, ὡς Ἀριστείδην καὶ Πausίαν<sup>4</sup> ἔτι τε Νικο-  
 φάνη τοὺς ζωγράφους. μνημονεύει δὲ αὐτῶν ὡς  
 ταῦτα καλῶς γραφόντων Πολέμων ἐν τῷ περὶ  
 τῶν ἐν Σικυῶνι Πινάκων. ὧ τῆς καλῆς πολυ-  
 μαθίας, ἄνδρες φίλοι, τῆς τοῦ γραμματικοῦ τοῦδε,

<sup>1</sup> τὸν ἄρειον πάγον C.<sup>2</sup> ἀθήνησι A.<sup>3</sup> διδάξειν CE.<sup>4</sup> Sillig· παυσανίαν ACE

they used to study dignity, not vulgarity " And Hypereides, in the speech *Against Patroclus*, if that speech be genuine, says <sup>a</sup> that the Areopagites debarred anyone who had lunched in a wineshop from being promoted to the Court of the Areopagus. But you, my professor of wisdom, wallow in the wineshops, not with male friends, but with mistresses, keeping around you not a few female pimps, and always carrying round books of that sort,<sup>b</sup> by Aristophanes,<sup>c</sup> Apollodorus,<sup>d</sup> Ammonius, and Antiphanes; further, Gorgias of Athens, all these have written treatises *On the Prostitutes at Athens*.<sup>e</sup> Ah, that beautiful erudition of yours! How true it is that you are not in the least like Theomander of Cyrene, of whom Theophrastus says,<sup>f</sup> in his book *On Happiness*, that he went about professing to teach happiness, you teacher of lust! So you differ in no respect from Amasis of Elis, who, Theophrastus tells <sup>g</sup> us in his essay *On Love*, was an adept in love affairs. One would make no mistake in calling you a pornographer also, like the painters Anisteides<sup>h</sup> and Pausias<sup>i</sup> and again Nicophanes. They are mentioned<sup>j</sup> as good painters of these subjects by Polemon in his work *On the Painted Tablets of Sicyon*. Ah, the beautiful erudition, my dear friends, of our scholar here, who does not even

<sup>a</sup> Frag. 138 Kenyon

<sup>b</sup> i.e. seductive, pandering books.

<sup>c</sup> Of Byzantium.

<sup>d</sup> Of Athens.

<sup>e</sup> See also below, 583 d, 586 a, 591 d and the article *Hetairai* in P-W viii. 1331 ff.

<sup>f</sup> Frag. 80 Wimmer.

<sup>g</sup> Frag. 108.

<sup>h</sup> Of Thebes. Plin *N H.* xxxv. 98 gives him a better character

<sup>i</sup> Of Sicyon, Plin *N H.* xxxv. 123. See critical note 4

<sup>j</sup> Frag. 16 Preller

## ATHENAEUS

ὅς οὐδ' ἐγκαλύπτεται, ἀλλ' ἀναφανδὸν τὰ Εὐβούλου αἰεὶ ἐκ Κερκώπων λέγει·

- c      Κόρινθον ἦλθον ἡδέως ἐνταῦθά πως  
 λάχανόν τι τρώγων Ὡκιμον διεφθάρην·  
 κἀνταῦθα κατελήρησα τὴν ἐξωμίδα.

καλὸς γε ὁ τῶν Κορινθίων σοφιστής, ὁ τοῖς μαθη-  
 ταῖς διηγούμενος ὅτι Ὡκιμον ἑταίρας ὄνομα. καὶ  
 ἄλλα δὲ πολλά, ὠναιδές, δράματα ἀπὸ ἑταιρῶν<sup>1</sup>  
 ἔσχε τὰς ἐπιγραφάς,<sup>2</sup> Θάλαττα Διοκλέους, Φερε-  
 κράτους Κοριαννῶ, Εὐνίκου ἢ Φιλυλλίου Ἄντεια,  
 Μενάνδρου δὲ Θαις καὶ Φάνιον, Ἀλέξιδος Ὀπώρα,  
 Εὐβούλου Κλεψύδρα. οὕτω δ' ἐκλήθη αὕτη ἡ  
 1 ἑταίρα, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς κλεψύδραν συνουσίαζεν ἕως  
 κενωθείη,<sup>3</sup> ὡς Ἀσκληπιάδης εἶρηκεν ὁ τοῦ Ἀρείου  
 ἐν τῷ περὶ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως συγγράμματι,  
 τὸ κύριον αὐτῆς ὄνομα φάσκων εἶναι Μητίχην.

Ἔστιν δ' ἑταίρα,

ὥς Ἀντιφάνης φησὶν ἐν Ἀγροίκῳ,

τῷ τρέφοντι συμφορά·

εὐφραίνεται γὰρ κακὸν ἔχων οἴκοι μέγα.

διόπερ καὶ θρηνῶν τις αὐτὸν παράγεται ὑπὸ Τιμο-  
 e κλέους ἐν Νεαίρᾳ·

<sup>1</sup> ἑταίρων C ἑτέρων A

<sup>2</sup> ὀνόματα δὲ ἑταιρῶν, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ δράματα ἐπεγράφη, ἄλλα τε καὶ τάδε C.

<sup>3</sup> κενωθείη Cobet, Meineke: κενωθῆι ACE

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<sup>a</sup> Kock ii. 182. On Ocimon, whose name meant also "sweet basil," cf Athen 570 e, 587 c. Corinth was notorious for vice ἀναφανδόν means that Mytilus openly



veil his face in shame, but ever speaks right out the words of Eubulus in *The Cercopes*<sup>a</sup>. "I went to Corinth There, finding pleasure somehow in tasting a sweet moisel named Ocimon, I came to grief, and there in idle chat I lost my shirt" Noble, at the least, is this sophist of the Corinthians,<sup>b</sup> who informs his pupils that Ocimon is the name of a prostitute And many dramas, besides, you shameless one, have taken their titles from prostitutes *Thalatta*<sup>c</sup> by Diocles, *Corianno* by Pherecrates, *Anteia* by Eunicus or Philyllus, *Thais* and *Phanion* by Menander, *Opora*<sup>d</sup> by Alexis, *Clepsydra*<sup>e</sup> by Eubulus Now this last prostitute got her name because she timed her favours by the water-clock, stopping when it was emptied, as Asclepiades, the son of Areius,<sup>f</sup> records<sup>g</sup> in his *History of Demetrius of Phalerum*, alleging that her real name was Metichê

"Now a courtesan," as Antiphanes says<sup>h</sup> in *The Farmer*, "is a calamity to the man who keeps her; indeed, he rejoices in keeping a mighty pest in the house." Wherefore a man is brought on the scene by Timocles in *Neaera* bemoaning his fate<sup>i</sup> "But I, exemplifies in his own conduct the words of Eubulus, whose speaker may be the dissolute Heracles.

<sup>b</sup> Meaning either that he is an authority on the vice of the Corinthians (Dalechamps), or that he posed as a sophist in Corinth, below, 573 c, p. 97 Myrtilus was really a Thessalian (see *Intro* vol. 1. p. xiii)

<sup>c</sup> Lit "The Sea" Cf the sea-woman in Semon. *Amorg.* frag 7. 27 ff, and on such titles in general see Kock 1 162-163

<sup>d</sup> "Ripe Fruit"

<sup>e</sup> "Water Clock."

<sup>f</sup> Or perhaps, "the disciple of Areius" Nothing is known of either person.

<sup>g</sup> *F.H.G.* III 306, J. 2 B 883.

<sup>h</sup> Kock II. 13

<sup>i</sup> *Ibid* 462, cf below, 591 d, p 188

ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' ὁ δυστυχὴς  
Φρύνης ἐρασθεὶς ἡνίκ' ἔτι τὴν κάππαριν  
συνέλεγεν οὕτω τ' εἶχεν ὅσαπερ νῦν ἔχει,  
πάμπολλ' ἀναλίσκων ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τῆς θύρας  
ἀπεκλειόμην

καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δ' Ὁρεσταυτοκλείδης δ<sup>1</sup>  
αὐτὸς Τιμοκλῆς φησι·

περὶ δὲ τὸν πανάθλιον  
εὐδουσι γράες, Νάννιον, Πλαγγών, Λύκα,  
f Γνάθαινα, Φρύνη, Πυθιονίκη, Μυρρίνη,  
Χρυσίς, Κοναλὶς,<sup>2</sup> Ἱερόκλεια, Λοπάδιον.

τούτων τῶν ἐταιρῶν καὶ Ἀμφίς μνημονεύει ἐν  
Κουρίδι λέγων·

τυφλὸς ὁ Πλοῦτος εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ,  
ὅστις γε παρὰ ταύτην μὲν οὐκ εἰσέρχεται,  
παρὰ δὲ Σινώπῃ καὶ Λύκα καὶ Ναννίῳ  
ἐτέραις<sup>3</sup> τε τοιαύταισι παγίσιν τοῦ βίου  
ἔνδον κάθητ' ἀπόπληκτος οὐδ' ἐξέρχεται

568 Ἀλεξίς δ' ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι Ἴσο-  
στάσιον τὴν ἐταιρικὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ τὰς δι'  
ἐπιτεχνήσεως κομμώσεις τῶν ἐταιρῶν οὕτως ἐκ-  
τίθεται·

πρῶτα<sup>4</sup> μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ κέρδος καὶ τὸ συλᾶν  
τοὺς πέλας  
πάντα τᾶλλ' αὐταῖς πάρεργα γίνεται, ῥάπτουσι δὲ  
πᾶσιν ἐπιβουλάς. ἐπειδὴν δ' εὐπορήσωσιν ποτε,

<sup>1</sup> ὁ added by Schweighäuser.

<sup>2</sup> χρυσισκοναλὶς A. Κοβαλὶς Meineke, Κονισαλὶς Kaibel,  
Κοναλλίς Kock

unlucky that I was, fell in love with Phrynê in the days when she was picking up capers <sup>a</sup> here and there and did not yet have all the wealth she has to-day; and in spending huge sums for each visit I came to be excluded from her door." And in the play entitled *Orestautocleides* the same Timocles says <sup>b</sup> "Around this abject creature sleep old hags like Nannion,<sup>c</sup> Plangôn,<sup>d</sup> Lyca,<sup>e</sup> Gnathaena,<sup>f</sup> Phrynê, Pythonicê,<sup>g</sup> Myrrhinê, Chrysis, Conalis, Hierocleia, and Lopadion" These prostitutes are mentioned also by Amphis in *The Tirewoman*, he says <sup>h</sup> "I'm sure that Plutus is blind, because he never visits this girl here, but sits paralysed in the house of Sinopê, or Lyca, or Nannion, and other traps of this sort set to catch a man's substance, and never goes out of their doors" Alexis, in the play entitled *Fair Measure*, sets forth the elaborate devices of the prostitutes and the artful tricks by which they care for their bodies in these words: "First of all, to make their gains and plunder their neighbours, they count all other means as trivial, but stitch plots against all. And once they have become rich, they take into their houses fresh

<sup>a</sup> Capers were cheap, Athen. 161 e (vol. II p 234), Phrynê was still unknown and poor

<sup>b</sup> Kock II. 462. Autocleides was a paederast, Aeschin. Or 1. 52, cf. Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 347.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. above, 558 c and 587 a.

<sup>d</sup> 558 b, 594 c.

<sup>e</sup> 558 b, 594 c

<sup>f</sup> Lyca = Lycaena, "she-wolf"

<sup>g</sup> Pythonicê in Diod. xvii. 108 Her relations with Harpalus are described below, 594 e, p 205.

<sup>h</sup> Kock II. 242.

<sup>i</sup> Kock II. 329, Clem Alex. *Paed.* iii 2 8 quotes the same, with many variants

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<sup>3</sup> Musurus · ἑταίραις ACE

<sup>4</sup> Clement Alex : πρῶτον A

ἀνέλαβον καινὰς<sup>1</sup> ἑταίρας, πρωτοπείρους τῆς τέχνης.

εὐθὺς ἀναπλάττουσι ταύτας, ὥστε μήτε τοὺς τρόπους

μήτε τὰς ὄψεις ὁμοίας διατελεῖν οὕσας ἔτι.

b τυγχάνει μικρά τις οὔσα· φελλὸς ἐν ταῖς βαυκίσιν ἐγκεκάττυται. μακρά τις· διάβαθρον λεπτὸν φορεῖ

τὴν τε κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ὦμον καταβαλοῦσ' ἐξέρχεται·

τοῦτο τοῦ μήκουσ ἀφείλεν. οὐκ ἔχει τις ἰσχία ὑπενέδυσ' ἔρραμμέν' αὐτήν, ὥστε τὴν εὐπυγίαν ἀναβοᾶν τοὺς εἰσιδόντας.<sup>2</sup> κοιλίαν ἀδρὰν<sup>3</sup> ἔχει· στηθί<sup>4</sup> ἔστ' αὐταῖσι τούτων ὧν ἔχουσ' οἱ κωμικοί

c ὀρθὰ προσθεῖσαι τοιαῦτα τοῦνδυτὸν<sup>5</sup> τῆς κοιλίας ὥσπερ εἰ κοντοῖσι τούτοις εἰς τὸ πρόσθ' ἀπήγαγον.<sup>6</sup>

τὰς ὀφρῦς πυρρὰς ἔχει τις· ζωγραφοῦσιν ἀσβόλῳ. συμβέβηκ' εἶναι<sup>7</sup> μέλαιναν· κατέπλασε<sup>8</sup> ψιμυθίῳ. λευκόχρως λίαν τίς ἐστίν· παιδέρωτ' ἐντρίβεται καλὸν ἔχει τοῦ σώματός τι· τοῦτο<sup>9</sup> γυμνὸν δείκνυται.

εὐφυεῖς ὀδόντας ἔσχεν· ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖ γελᾶν,

<sup>1</sup> Musurus· κένας A.

<sup>2</sup> Sylburg τοὺς ἰδόντας ACE, τοὺς εἰσιόντας Clem

<sup>3</sup> ἀδρὰν Clem.· om. A.

<sup>4</sup> τιθί Clem.

<sup>5</sup> Sylburg (τοῦνδυτον) γ' οὖν αὐτῶν A, ταῦτα οὐτοντυνδυτον Clem, τοῦκλυτον "loose skin" (?) Kaibel

<sup>6</sup> κοντοῖσιν εἰς τοῦπισθε τοῖσδ' ἀνήγαγον (?) Kaibel.

<sup>7</sup> CE, Clem.· συμβεβηκέναι A.

<sup>8</sup> κατέπλασε C: κατέπασε, κατέσπασε Clem. codd., κατέπλασεν A.

<sup>9</sup> τοῦτο Clem: ταυτο A, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ CE.

prostitutes, who are making their first trial of the profession. They straightway remodel these girls, so that they retain neither their manners nor their looks as they were before. Suppose that one girl is too small. a cork sole is stitched into her dainty shoes. Another is too tall: she wears a thin slipper, and cocks her head on one side when she walks abroad. This reduces her height. One has no hips. she sews together a bustle and puts it on beneath her dress, so that all who catch sight of the fine curves of her back cry out in applause. One has a stomach that is too fat. such have bosoms made of the stuff the comic actors <sup>a</sup> use. padding themselves straight out in such fashion, they then pull forward, as with punting-poles, the covering of their stomachs <sup>b</sup>. Another woman has eyebrows too light. they paint them with lamp-black. Still another, as it happens, is too dark. she plasters her self over with white lead <sup>c</sup>. One has a complexion too white. she rubs on rouge. A part of one's body is beautiful. this part she displays bare. She has pretty teeth: she must, of course, laugh, that the

<sup>a</sup> Women's rôles were played by men.

<sup>b</sup> The text is unsound, and a mere male can scarcely offer a sure interpretation. ἐνδυτόν may be a kind of corse drawn so tightly over the hips as to suggest to the comedian that a windlass is used in the process, we should expect εἰ τοῦπισθ' (Emperius) for εἰς τὸ πρόσθ', but to read it would require, for metrical reasons, other alterations less probable. If the fastening of the ἐνδυτόν was in the front, εἰς τὸ πρόσθ' is fairly intelligible. The main idea is that much pulling and hauling were necessary to adjust the figure as the women desired. For ὀρθὰ προσθεῖσαι cf. Suid s. ὀρθοτίθησις ἢ παρθένος ἢ ὀρθοὺς τοὺς τιτθοὺς ἔχουσα.

<sup>c</sup> Aristoph. *Eccles* 878.

ἐγὼ δὲ καταπεπλασμένη ψιμυθίῳ  
ἔστηκα.

# ATHENAEUS

ἵνα θεωρῶσ' <sup>1</sup> οἱ παρόντες τὸ στόμ' ὥς κομφὸν  
φορεῖ

1 ἂν δέ μὴ χαίρη γελῶσα, διατελεῖ <sup>2</sup> τὴν ἡμέραν  
ἔνδον, ὥσπερ τοῖς μαγείροις ἃ παράκειθ' ἐκά-  
στοτε,

ἥνικ' ἂν πωλῶσιν αἰγῶν κρανία, ξυλήφιον  
μυρρίνης ἔχουσα λεπτὸν ὀρθὸν ἐν τοῖς χεῖλεσιν  
ὥστε τῷ χρόνῳ σέσηρεν, <sup>3</sup> ἂν τε βούλητ' <sup>4</sup> ἂν τε μή.  
<sup>5</sup> ὅψεις διὰ τούτων σκευοποιούσι τῶν  
τεχνῶν

Διὸ συμβουλεύω σοι, “Θετταλὲ ποικιλόδιφρε,”  
τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ κατανα-  
λίσκειν εἰς οὐδὲν δέον τὰ τῶν νύων κέρματα.  
e ὄντως γὰρ “ἄριστα χωλὸς οἴφεις,” τοῦ κρηπιδο-  
ποιοῦ πατρός σου <sup>6</sup> πολλὰ σε σωφρονίσαντος καὶ  
διδάξαντος σκύτῃ βλέπειν ἢ οὐκ οἶδας κατὰ τὴν  
Εὐβούλου Παννυχίδα

τὰς φιλωδοὺς <sup>7</sup> κερμάτων παλευτρίας,  
. . . πώλους Κύπριδος ἐξησκημένας,  
γυμνὰς ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ κέρως <sup>8</sup> τεταγμένας,  
ἐν λεπτοπῆγοις <sup>9</sup> ὕφουσιν <sup>10</sup> ἐστῶσας, οἷας

<sup>1</sup> Clem.· θεωροῖεν ACE

<sup>2</sup> Clem.· διατελουσ A, διὰ τέλους CE

<sup>3</sup> Clem.: σεσηρέναι ACE

<sup>4</sup> βούληται C, βου <sup>7</sup> E, βούλετ' Clem., βούλωνται A

<sup>5</sup> The entire verse, omitted in CE and Clem., is spurious

<sup>6</sup> Dobree: οὐ A

<sup>7</sup> Dobree: φειδωλοῦσ ACE

<sup>8</sup> Musurus: ἐπικαιρωσ A, ἐπικαίρους CE

<sup>9</sup> CE (νήτοις superscr)· λεπτονήτοις A.

<sup>10</sup> Porson ὑμέσιν (sic) ACE

<sup>a</sup> Compare the treatment of blackbirds in the poulterers' shops, Aristoph. *Av.* 1081 τοῖς τε κοψίχοισιν ἐς τὰς ρίνας  
70

company present may see what a nice mouth she has. But if she doesn't like to laugh, she must spend the whole day indoors, and like the wares always displayed by the butchers, when they offer goats' heads for sale,<sup>a</sup> she must keep a thin piece of myrtle wood upright between her lips ; hence in course of time, she opens her mouth in a grin, whether she wants to or not. It is by such artful devices that they make up their bodies and faces."

Wherefore I advise you, "Thessalian of the decorated chariot-board,<sup>b</sup>" to limit your embraces to the ladies who run the houses<sup>c</sup> and not squander unprofitably the cash belonging to your sons. For it is really true that "the lame man rides best,"<sup>d</sup> meaning you, whose cobbler-father often whipped you and taught you "to wear a hang-dog look."<sup>e</sup> Or don't you know, to quote *The Vigil* of Eubulus,<sup>f</sup> that "those tuneful decoy-birds which lure the coin, Aphrodite's trained filles, stripped for action and posted in battle-line,<sup>g</sup> stand in scarfs of finest weaving, like the

ἐγχεῖ τὰ περὰ ("their feathers") C. Bonner, *Cl Phil* x 210, H. J. Rose *ibid.* xxi 257

<sup>b</sup> Or, "decorated throne," cf Athen 28 b (vol 1 p 122). The address of Cynulcus to Myrtilus is quoted from an oracle, Pollux vii. 112; Myrtilus hailed from Thessaly, hence he is called τὸ Θετταλὸν σόφισμα, 11 b (vol 1. p. 48), and Θετταλὸν πάλαισμα 308 b (vol iii. p. 384).

<sup>c</sup> Instead of keeping a more expensive mistress.

<sup>d</sup> A proverb, Diogenianus ii. 2, in which "ride" is used *sens. obsc*. See Suid. s. ἄριστα. Kock iii 404 gives it as a fragment from the Old Comedy

<sup>e</sup> σκύτη βλέπειν, "to look leather," was an expression used of one who looked as if he were about to be whipt; Aristoph *Vesp.* 643, ἦ μὲν ἐγὼ σε τήμερον σκύτη βλέπειν ποιήσω.

<sup>f</sup> Kock ii. 193.

<sup>g</sup> The figure changes from trained colts to battleships and then back to women.

Ἡριδανὸς ἀγνοῖς ὕδασι κηπεύει κόρας  
 παρ' ὧν<sup>1</sup> βεβαίως ἀσφαλῶς τ' ἔξεστί σοι  
 f μικροῦ πρίασθαι κέρματος τὴν ἡδονήν  
 καὶ ἐν Ναννίῳ<sup>2</sup> εἰ<sup>3</sup> Εὐβούλου τὸ δρᾶμα καὶ μὴ  
 Φιλίππου,<sup>4</sup> φησὶν

ὅστις λέχη γὰρ σκότια νυμφεύει λάθρα,  
 πῶς οὐχὶ πάντων ἐστὶν ἀθλιώτατος;  
 ἐξὸν θεωρήσαντι πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον  
 γυμνὰς ἐφ' ἑξῆς ἐπὶ κέρως<sup>5</sup> τεταγμένας,  
 ἐν λεπτοπήνοις<sup>6</sup> ὕφειν<sup>7</sup> ἐστώσας, οἷας  
 Ἡριδανὸς ἀγνοῖς ὕδασι κηπεύει κόρας,  
 μικροῦ πρίασθαι κέρματος τὴν ἡδονήν,  
 39 καὶ μὴ λαθραῖαν Κύπριν, αἰσχίστην νόσων<sup>8</sup>  
 πασῶν, διώκειν, ὕβρεος<sup>9</sup> οὐ πόθου χάριν.  
 Ἑλλάδος ἔγωγε τῆς τάλαιπώρου στένω,<sup>10</sup>  
 ἣ Κυδίαν<sup>11</sup> ναύαρχον ἐξεπέμψατο

ἐπιτιμᾷ δὲ καὶ Ξέναρχος ἐν Πεντάθλῳ τοῖς παρα-  
 πλησίως σοι βιοῦσιν καὶ ἐσπουδακόσι περὶ τὰς  
 μεγαλομίσθους ἐταίρας καὶ τὰς ἐλευθέρας ἰῶν  
 γυναικῶν ταυτὶ λέγων

δεινά, δεινὰ κοῦκ ἀνασχετὰ  
 ἐν τῇ πόλει πράττουσιν οἱ νεώτεροι.  
 b ὅπου γὰρ οὐσῶν μειράκων μάλ' εὐπρεπῶν

<sup>1</sup> CE. παρὼν A.

<sup>2</sup> ἐννανιω A

<sup>3</sup> εἰ added by Coraes.

<sup>4</sup> B, Meineke: φιλιππίδου A.

<sup>5</sup> ἐπικαιρῶς A

<sup>6</sup> So A here. cf above in e.

<sup>7</sup> ὑμέσιν A.

<sup>8</sup> Casaubon: ὄσων A.

<sup>9</sup> Musurus: ὕβρεως A.

<sup>10</sup> Eur περιστένω A.

<sup>11</sup> Musurus: ηκυδια A.



maidens <sup>a</sup> whom the Eridanus refreshes with his pure waters ? From them, constantly and securely, you may purchase your pleasure for a little coin " Again, in *Nannion*, if that is by Eubulus and not by Philip, the poet says <sup>b</sup> " Whosoever pively seeks unions in the dark,<sup>c</sup> is he not the most pitiable man in the world ? For he may, in the broad sunlight, gaze at girls stipped for action and posted in battle-line, standing in scarfs of finest weaving, like the maidens whom the Eridanus refreshes with his pure waters ; and he may purchase his pleasure for a little coin, and not pursue a clandestine love—most scandalous of all maladies—to gratify his rioting, not his desire. ' For my part, I mourn for our wretched Greece ' <sup>d</sup> for sending forth Cydias <sup>e</sup> as admiral of the fleet " Xenarchus, also, in *The Pentathlum* <sup>f</sup> condemns those who live as you do and are devoted to high-priced mistresses and freeborn married women in these words . " Dreadful, dreadful, and utterly intolerable, are the practices of the young men in our city. For here there are very pretty lasses at the brothels,

<sup>a</sup> The Heliades, sisters of Phaethon, were changed into poplars in the gardens of the fabled river Eridanus. The verse has an Euripidean sound Is it borrowed from his *Phaethon* ? See frag 782, Athen 503 d (vol v p 256). Cf. the next quotation, with its borrowing from Euripides.

<sup>b</sup> Kock ii. 187.

<sup>c</sup> With other men's wives

<sup>d</sup> A verse from Eur. *Iph Aul.* 370, spoken by Menelaus in dispute with Agamemnon.

<sup>e</sup> A Cydias is quoted in Plat *Charm* 155 D as giving good advice in love affairs. He may possibly be the sober statesman mentioned by Aristotle, *Rhet* ii. 6. 24 (see Cope's note) in connexion with the Athenian occupation of Samos, 352 B.C.

<sup>f</sup> Or, *The Man who entered for the Pentathlum* ; Kock ii. 468.

ἐπὶ τοῖσι πορνείοισιν, ἃς ἔξεσθ' ὁρᾶν  
 εἰληθερούσας, στέρν' ἀπημφιεσμένας,<sup>1</sup>  
 γυμνὰς ἐφεξῆς τ' ἐπὶ κέρως<sup>2</sup> τεταγμένας·  
 ὧν ἔστιν ἐκλεξάμενον ἢ τις<sup>3</sup> ἥδεται,  
 λεπτῇ, παχείᾳ, στρογγύλῃ, μακρᾷ, ῥικνῇ,  
 νέᾳ, παλαιᾷ, μεσοκόπῳ, πεπαιτέρᾳ,  
 μὴ κλίμακα<sup>4</sup> στησάμενον<sup>5</sup> εἰσβῆναι λάθρα,  
 μηδὲ δι' ὀπῆς κάτωθεν εἰσδύνα<sup>6</sup> στέγης  
 c μηδ' ἐν ἀχύροισιν εἰσενεχθῆναι τέχνη.  
 αὐταὶ<sup>7</sup> βιάζονται γὰρ εἰσέλκουσί τε  
 τοὺς μὲν γέροντας ὄντας ἐπικαλούμεναι  
 πατρίδια, τοὺς δ' ἀπφάρια, τοὺς νεωτέρους.  
 καὶ τῶνδ' ἐκάστην<sup>8</sup> ἔστιν ἀδεῶς, εὐτελῶς,  
 μεθ' ἡμέραν, πρὸς ἑσπέραν, πάντας τρόπους·  
 ἃς δ' οὐτ' ἰδεῖν<sup>9</sup> ἔστ', οὐθ' ὁρῶντ' ἰδεῖν σαφῶς,  
 αἰεὶ δὲ τετρεμαίνοντα<sup>10</sup> καὶ φοβούμενον<sup>11</sup>  
 δεδιότα, ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοντα.<sup>12</sup>  
 d ἃς πῶς ποτ', ὧ δέσποινα ποντία Κύπρι,  
 βινεῖν δύνανται, τῶν Δρακοντείων νόμων  
 ὁπόταν ἀναμνησθῶσι προσκινούμενοι,

<sup>1</sup> Tyrwhitt: στερμνατ' ἡμφιεσμένας A (στέρνα B).

<sup>2</sup> ἐπικαιρῶς A, ἐπικαίρους CE.

<sup>3</sup> ἢ τις E· ητισ A, ἦ τις C.

<sup>4</sup> Musurus. See next note

<sup>5</sup> Meineke: μη καὶ μακαυτησάμενον A, καὶ μὴ λάθρα εἰσδύνα<sup>6</sup> CE (εἰσδύνα<sup>6</sup> C)

<sup>6</sup> Dobree: ἐκδύνα<sup>6</sup> AE, ἐκδυναστείης C (cf Aristoph. *Vesp.* 351).

<sup>7</sup> Dobree αὐταὶ CE, αὐταὶ A.

<sup>8</sup> Dalechamps: ἕκαστον A.

<sup>9</sup> Musurus: τροπουσας δουτιδεῖν A.

<sup>10</sup> Musurus. τετραμένοντε A. <sup>11</sup> Lacuna marked by Kock

<sup>12</sup> The verse bracketed by Kaibel.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Aristoph. *Ran* 411,

παραβλέψας τι μειρακίσκης  
 νῦν δὴ κατεῖδον καὶ μάλ' εὐπροσώπου

whom the boys may see basking in the sun, their breasts uncovered,<sup>a</sup> stripped for action and posted in battle-line, of these one may select the girl that pleases his fancy, thin or fat, tubby or tall or squat, young, old, middle-aged, over-ripe, and not be obliged to set up a ladder<sup>b</sup> and climb in secretly, nor crawl in through the smoke-hole below the roof, nor be trickily carried in under a heap of straw<sup>c</sup>. Not at all! For the guls themselves use force and pull them in, dubbing those who are old, Daddy, and those who are younger, Big Boy. And any one of these may be visited fearlessly, cheaply, by day, at evening, in any manner desired; but the married women you either cannot see, or if seen, you cannot see them plainly, but always in a state of tremor and fright . . . in fear, and carrying your life in your hands<sup>d</sup>. How then, pray, O mistress Aphrodite of the Sea, can the men press their attentions too far, once they remember the laws of Draco<sup>e</sup> while dandled in the woman's embraces?<sup>f</sup>

συμπαιστρίας  
χιτωνίου παραρραγέν-  
τος τιτθίου προκύψαν.

But there the exposure was caused by the jostling crowd at the Dionysiac revel. For *εὐληθερούσας* see Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 235.

<sup>b</sup> Illustrated on the well-known Phlyakes vase, representing Zeus in the act of climbing up to Alcmena's window

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *Merry Wives of Windsor*, III. iv., of Falstaff

<sup>d</sup> A verse from Eur. *Hipp.* 415, in a speech by Phaedra denouncing unfaithful wives

<sup>e</sup> On the laws of Athens relating to adultery see Gardner and Jevons, *Greek Antiquities*, p. 555. There is no proof that they go back to Draco; see Aeschin. *Or.* 1. 6, P-W. v. 1655

<sup>f</sup> For the exact meaning of *προσκινούμενοι* see Aristoph. *Eccl.* 227, 257.

Καὶ Φιλήμων δὲ ἐν Ἀδελφοῖς<sup>1</sup> προσιστορῶν<sup>2</sup> ὅτι  
πρῶτος Σόλων διὰ τὴν τῶν νέων ἀκμὴν<sup>3</sup> ἔστησεν  
ἐπὶ οἰκημάτων γύναια πριάμενος, καθὰ καὶ Νίκ-  
ανδρος ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τρίτῳ<sup>4</sup> Κολοφ-  
νιακῶν φάσκων αὐτὸν καὶ πανδήμου Ἀφροδίτης  
ἱερὸν πρῶτον ἰδρύσασθαι ἀφ' ᾧ ἡργυρίσαντο αἱ  
προσῆσαι τῶν οἰκημάτων. ἀλλ' ὁ γε Φιλήμων  
οὕτως φησί

σὺ δ' εἰς ἅπαντας εὔρες ἀνθρώπους νόμον<sup>5</sup>  
σέ γὰρ λέγουσιν τοῦτ' ἰδεῖν πρῶτον, Σόλων,<sup>6</sup>  
e δημοτικόν,<sup>7</sup> ᾧ Ζεῦ, πρᾶγμα καὶ σωτήριον  
(καί μοι λέγειν τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀρμοστόν, Σόλων),  
μεστήν ὀρώντα<sup>8</sup> τὴν πόλιν νεωτέρων  
τούτους τ' ἔχοντας τὴν ἀναγκαίαν φύσιν  
ἀμαρτάνοντάς τ' εἰς ὃ μὴ προσῆκον ἦν,  
στήσαι πριάμενόν τοι<sup>9</sup> γυναῖκας κατὰ τόπους  
κοινὰς ἅπασι καὶ κατεσκευασμένας  
ἐστᾶσι γυμναί, μὴ ἔαπαθηθῆς πάνθ' ὅρα  
f οὐκ εὖ σεαυτοῦ τυγχάνεις ἔχων· ἔχεις  
λυποῦν τί<sup>9</sup> πως. ἀλλ'<sup>10</sup> ἡ θύρα ἔστ'<sup>11</sup> ἀνεωγμένη.  
εἰς ὀβολός· εἰσπῆδησον· οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲ εἰς  
ἀκκισμός οὐδὲ λῆρος, οὐδ' ὑφῆρπασεν

<sup>1</sup> Casaubon δελφοῖς A.

<sup>2</sup> προιστορῶν Meineke

<sup>3</sup> ἀνάγκην Kaibel, cf. below

<sup>4</sup> 5' (= ἕκτω) Harpocration s. Πάνδημος.

<sup>5</sup> νόμον and Σόλων transposed by Kock.

<sup>6</sup> δημοτικόν A.

<sup>7</sup> Grotius: ὀρώντι A.

<sup>8</sup> τότε for τοι Meineke

<sup>9</sup> λυποῦν τί added by Capps.

Now Philemon, also, in *Brothers*, records incidentally that Solon, impelled by the crisis <sup>a</sup> which comes in young men's lives, purchased and established wenches <sup>b</sup> in houses of resort; just so Nicander of Colophon records <sup>c</sup> the same in the third book of his *History of Colophon*; Nicander alleges that Solon was the first to found a temple of Aphrodite Pandemus <sup>d</sup> from the profits taken in by the women in charge of the houses. But to return to Philemon, he, at least, says <sup>e</sup> "But you found a law for the use of all men; for you, they say, Solon, were the first to see this—a thing democratic, Zeus is my witness, and salutary (yes, it is fitting that I should say this, Solon), seeing our city full of young men, seeing, too, that they were under the compulsion of nature, and that they went their erring way in a direction they should not, purchased and stationed women in various quarters, equipped and ready for all alike. They stand in nakedness, lest you be deceived; take a look at everything. Perhaps you are not feeling quite up to your form; maybe you have something that distresses you. But their door stands open. Price, one obol; hop in! There isn't a bit of prudishness or nonsense, nor does she snatch herself away;

<sup>a</sup> See critical note 3. Perhaps ἀκμή, if right, is used with the medical meaning of acne, itch.

<sup>b</sup> The Greek form of the word is derogatory, "common women."

<sup>c</sup> Frag. 9, 10 Schneider.

<sup>d</sup> Contrasted with Aphrodite Urania, Plat *Symp* 180 D, πῶς δ' οὐ δύο τῶ θεά, ἡ μὲν γέ που πρεσβυτέρα καὶ ἀμήτωρ Οὐρανοῦ θυγάτηρ, ἣν δὲ καὶ Οὐρανίαν ἐπονομάζομεν ἡ δὲ νεωτέρα Διὸς καὶ Διώνης, ἣν δὲ Πάνδημον καλοῦμεν, so Xen *Symp*. 8. 9.

<sup>e</sup> Kock II. 479.

<sup>10</sup> ἀλλ' added by Gulick

<sup>11</sup> Bentley. ἔσται A

ἀλλ' εὐθύς ὡς βούλει σὺ χῶν<sup>1</sup> βούλει τρόπον.  
ἐξῆλθες οἰμώζειν λέγ', ἄλλοτρία ὅτι<sup>2</sup> σοι.

καὶ Ἀσπασία δὲ ἡ Σωκρατικὴ ἐνεπορεύετο πλήθῃ  
καλῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ ἐπλήθυνεν ἀπὸ τῶν ταύτης<sup>3</sup>  
ἐταιρίδων ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὡς καὶ ὁ χαρίεις Ἀριστοφάνης  
παρασημαίνεται, λέγων τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πό-  
570 λεμον<sup>4</sup> ὅτι Περικλῆς διὰ τὸν Ἀσπασίας ἔρωτα  
καὶ τὰς ἀρπασθείσας ἀπ' αὐτῆς θεραπαίνας ὑπὸ  
Μεγαρέων ἀνερρίπισεν<sup>5</sup> τὸ δεινόν.

πόρνην δὲ Σιμαίθαν ἰόντες Μεγάραδε  
νεανίαι κλέπτουσι μεθυσκοκότταβοι·  
καὶ οἱ Μεγαρῆς ὀδύναις πεφυσιγγωμένοι  
ἀντεξέκλεψαν Ἀσπασίας πόρνas δύο<sup>6</sup>  
κακείθεν<sup>7</sup> ἀρχῇ<sup>8</sup> τοῦ πολέμου κατερράγη  
b Ἑλλῃσι πᾶσιν ἐκ τριῶν λαικαστριῶν

Τῶν οὖν μεγαλομίσθων ἐταιρῶν ἀποτρέπω σε,  
γραμματικώτατε, διότι

τὰς μὲν ἄλλas ἔστιν αὐλούσας ἰδεῖν  
αὐλητρίδας πάσας Ἀπόλλωνος νόμον,  
· · · · · Διὸς νόμον·  
αὗται δὲ μόνον αὐλοῦσιν Ἰέρακος νόμον,

Ἐπικράτης φησὶν ἐν Ἀντιλαίδι, ἐν ᾧ δράματι  
καὶ περὶ τῆς πολυθρυλήτου Λαίδος τάδε λέγει·

<sup>1</sup> σὺ χῶν Bentley: συχνόν A.

<sup>2</sup> Grotius. τί A

<sup>3</sup> τῶν ἀπὸ ταύτης Schweighauser.

<sup>4</sup> τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον deleted by Jacobs

<sup>5</sup> ὑπὸ Μεγαρέων repeated after ἀνερρίπησεν (sic A) deleted  
by Musurus.

but straight to it, as you wish and in whatever way you wish. You come out; you can tell her to go hang, she is nothing to you." Even Aspasia, who belonged to the Socratic circle,<sup>a</sup> imported large numbers of beautiful women, and Greece came to be filled with her prostitutes, as the witty Aristophanes notes in passing, when he says of the Peloponnesian War that Pericles fanned its terrible flame because of his love for Aspasia and the serving-maids who had been stolen from her by Megarians<sup>b</sup>. "Some young fellows, made drunk at too many games of cottabos,<sup>c</sup> went to Megara and stole a whore named Simaetha; thereupon the Megarians, in agonies of excitement, as though stuffed with garlic,<sup>d</sup> stole in revenge two whores of Aspasia; and with that began the war which broke out over all Greece, caused by three strumpets."

So, then, most learned grammarian, I urge you to keep away from the high-priced prostitutes, because "you may see all the other flute-girls playing Apollo's tune, . . . Zeus's tune; but these ladies play nothing but the Hawk's tune<sup>e</sup>;" so says Epicrates in *Anti-Lais*, in which play he has this also to say about

<sup>a</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Acharn* 526. ἡ δὲ Ἀσπασία Περικλέους ἦν σοφίστρια ("a female sophist") καὶ διδάσκαλος λόγων ῥητορικῶν ὕστερον δὲ καὶ γαμετὴ γέγονε ("later she became his wife").

<sup>b</sup> *Acharn* 524-529, Dicaeopolis speaks. See Athen. 533 d and note c (vol. v. p. 408). The kidnapping was laid at the door of Alcibiades, according to Schol. *Ach.* 523.

<sup>c</sup> Athen. 427 d and note b (vol. iv p. 437)

<sup>d</sup> Fighting-cocks were fed on garlic.

<sup>e</sup> Alluding to their rapacity. Cobet, to fill out the preceding line, suggested "Hermes' tune, Pan's tune"

<sup>6</sup> δύο A

<sup>7</sup> κἀντεῦθεν codd Aristoph.

<sup>8</sup> ἀρχὴ Meineke.

αὐτὴ<sup>1</sup> δὲ Λαῖς ἀργός ἐστι καὶ πότις,  
 τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ὀρώσα πίνειν κάσθιεν  
 μόνον, πεπονθέναι δὲ ταυτὰ μοι<sup>2</sup> δοκεῖ  
 c τοῖς ἀετοῖς οὗτοι γὰρ ὅταν ὦσιν νέοι  
 ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν πρόβατ' ἐσθίουσι καὶ λαγῶς  
 μετέωρ' ἀναρπάζοντες<sup>3</sup> ὑπὸ<sup>4</sup> τῆς ἰσχύος  
 ὅταν δὲ γηράσκωσιν ἤδη, τότε θεῶν<sup>5</sup>  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς νεὼς ἵζουσι πεινῶντες κακῶς  
 κᾶπειτα τοῦτ' εἶναι νομίζεται τέρας.  
 καὶ Λαῖς οὖν<sup>6</sup> ὀρθῶς νομίζοιτ' ἂν τέρας  
 αὕτη γὰρ ὁπότ' ἦν μὲν<sup>7</sup> νεοττὸς καὶ νέα,  
 ὑπὸ τῶν στατήρων ἦν ἀπηγριωμένη,  
 εἶδες δ' ἂν αὐτῆς Φαρνάβαζον θᾶπτον ἂν  
 d ἐπεὶ δὲ δόλιχον τοῖς ἔτεσιν ἤδη τρέχει  
 τὰς ἀρμονίας τε διαχαλᾷ τοῦ σώματος,  
 ἰδεῖν μὲν αὐτὴν ῥᾶόν ἐστιν ἥ<sup>8</sup> πτύσαι·  
 ἐξέρχεται τε πανταχόσ' ἤδη πετομένη,<sup>9</sup>  
 δέχεται δὲ καὶ στατήρα καὶ τριώβολον,  
 προσίεται δὲ καὶ γέροντα καὶ νέον  
 οὕτω δὲ τιθασὸς γέγονεν ὥστ', ὦ φίλτατε,<sup>10</sup>  
 τὰργύριον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς ἤδη λαμβάνει.

μνημονεύει δὲ τῆς Λαίδος καὶ Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν

<sup>1</sup> Schweighauser: αὕτη A.

<sup>2</sup> E: ταυτὰ μοι AC.

<sup>3</sup> A. ἀναρπάζοντες CE.

<sup>4</sup> Porson: ἀπὸ ACE

<sup>5</sup> θεῶν added by Meineke

<sup>6</sup> οὖν transposed by Kailbel from following verse (after γὰρ).

<sup>7</sup> μὲν added by Porson.

<sup>8</sup> Valckenaer: καὶ ACE.

<sup>9</sup> Kock: πιομένη ACE, πενομένη Meineke

<sup>10</sup> CE φίλταται A



the notorious Lais <sup>a</sup>. " Now Lais herself is lazy and bibulous, having an eye only for her daily drinks and food,<sup>b</sup> and she seems to me to have had the same things happen to her that the eagles have ; for these when they are young snatch up in their strength and carry off in mid-air the sheep and hares from the mountain side to devour ; but when they begin to grow old they then perch in miserable hunger upon the temples of the gods <sup>c</sup>, and this act of theirs is thereupon accounted a portent So Lais, too, must rightly be accounted a portent. For when she was a fresh young chick, she was made wild and untamed by all her golden fees,<sup>d</sup> and you could have got a sight of Pharnabazus <sup>e</sup> sooner than of her ; but since she has now run the long course <sup>f</sup> in years, and the symmetries of her body are becoming distorted, it is easier to see her than to spit, what is more, she now goes out everywhere on the wing,<sup>g</sup> and will accept a sovereign or a thuppence, and submits to old man and young alike She has become so tamed, my very dear sir, that she now will take the money right out of your hand " Lais is mentioned also by Anaxandrides in *Old Men's*

<sup>a</sup> Kock II 282 Probably the elder Lais is meant ; she died in 392 B.C., Schol. Aristoph *Plut* 179

<sup>b</sup> Cf the ass-woman of Semonid *Am* 7 46, τόφρα δ' ἐσθίει μὲν ἐν μυκῶ πρόνυξ, προήμαρ, ἐσθίει δ' ἐπ' ἐσχάρῃ.

<sup>c</sup> Waiting, of course, to snatch pieces of meat from the altar, cf the fable of the fox and the eagle, Aesop *Fab* 5

<sup>d</sup> Lit " the staters," gold coins, each of which was worth more than a guinea

<sup>e</sup> As a Persian satrap he would grant audiences but sparingly. See below, 574 f (p. 104), and 535 e (vol v p. 420)

<sup>f</sup> The δόλιχος varied in length from 7 to 24 stades.

<sup>g</sup> Aristoph *Lys* 55, πετομένας ἤκειν, of eager, rapid motion, πτιομένη in the mss cannot be right on account of ι in this position. See critical note 9

Γερωντομανία καὶ ἄλλας ἑταίρας αὐτῇ συγκατα-  
λέγει διὰ τούτων·

- e τὴν ἐκ Κορίνθου Λαῖδ' οἶσθα, β πῶς γὰρ οὐ;  
τὴν ἡμετέρειον.<sup>1</sup> α ἦν ἐκείνη τις φίλη<sup>2</sup>  
"Αντεια. β. καὶ τοῦθ' ἡμέτερον ἦν παίγνιον.  
α. νῆ τὸν Δί', ἦνθει τότε Λαγίσκ', ἦνθει τότε<sup>3</sup>  
καὶ Θεολύτῃ<sup>4</sup> μάλ' εὐπρόσωπος καὶ καλή,  
ὑπέφαιν' ἑσομένη δ' "Ωκιμον λαμπρόν<sup>5</sup> πάνν

ταῦτά σοι παραινεῖν ἔχω, ἑταῖρε Μυρτίλε. καὶ  
κατὰ τὴν Φιλεταίρου Κυνηγίδα

- f παῦσαι, γέρων ὦν, τοὺς τρόπους. οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι  
οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδιστον<sup>6</sup> ἀποθανεῖν βινοῦνθ' ἅμα,  
ὥσπερ λέγουσιν ἀποθανεῖν Φορμίσιον;

ἢ ἡδιστόν ἐστί σοι, ὡς ἐν Μαραθωνίοις φησὶ  
Τιμοκλῆς·

ὅσον<sup>7</sup> τὸ μεταξὺ μετὰ κορίσκης ἢ μετὰ  
χαμαιτύπης τὴν νύκτα κοιμᾶσθαι. βαβαί,  
ἢ στιφρότης, τὸ χρώμα, πνεῦμα,<sup>8</sup> δαίμονες  
τὸ μὴ σφόδρ' εἶναι πάνθ' ἔτοιμα, δεῖν δέ τι  
ἀγωνιᾶσαι καὶ ῥαπισθῆναί τε καὶ  
πληγὰς λαβεῖν ἀπαλαῖσι χερσίν· ἡδύ γε  
νῆ τὸν Δία τὸν μέγιστον.

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<sup>1</sup> Abresch· ἡμεριον Α.

<sup>2</sup> Musurus φιαλη Α.

<sup>3</sup> Kaibel· λαγίσκη ἦν δὲ τότε Α.

<sup>4</sup> νεολύτῃ C.

<sup>5</sup> λαμπρά Dobree

<sup>6</sup> οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδιστον Α· ἡδιστόν ἐστιν (om οὐκ) Tour.

<sup>7</sup> Jacobs θεόν Α

<sup>8</sup> τὸ χρώμα πνεῦμα Α ὁ χρώς Wilamowitz τὸ πνεῦμα  
Meineke Read πνεῦμ', ὦ δαίμονες?

<sup>a</sup> Kock II. 138. The actor Philemon played the protagonist's rôle in this play, Aristot *Rhet.* 1413 b 26, cf. Aeschin. *Or.* I. 115.

*Madness*, and he joins with her in a list other courtesans in these lines <sup>a</sup> "A. You know Laïs, who came from Corinth? B Of course! She is from our home town A She had a friend named Anteia B Yes, she also was a pet of ours A Zeus knows, in those days flourished Lagiscê, flourished also Theolytê, who had a very pretty face and was lovely, and gave promise of becoming a very splendid Ocimon" <sup>b</sup> This, friend Myrtilus, is the advice I have to offer you And adapting the words of Philetaerus in *The Huntress* <sup>c</sup>: "Cease your ways, now that you are an old man Don't you know that it is *not* the most delightful thing to die in the act of coition, as they say Phormisus <sup>d</sup> died?" Or do you find it most delightful, as Timocles puts it in *The Marathomans* <sup>e</sup>: "What a great difference there is between sleeping at night with a nice girl and with a strumpet! Ah! Her firm young body, her complexion, her sweet breath, ye gods! Everything not being so very ready for business but that one has to struggle a bit, be slapped and receive blows from soft hands; it is pleasant indeed, by Zeus most mighty"

<sup>b</sup> Above, 567 c, p. 65, ocimon also meant "sweet basil"

<sup>c</sup> Kock II 232, Cynulcus inserts a negative in the second verse, distorting the metre as well as the original meaning, which was "Cease being an old man in your ways. Don't you know that it is most delightful," etc. Cf the hedonistic advice from the same play, Athen. 280 c (vol. III. p 258). See critical note 6.

<sup>d</sup> Mentioned before as having been corrupted by the Persian king, Athen 229 f (vol III p. 34). See Aristoph. *Ran.* 965 (and van Leeuwen's note), where he is represented as a true disciple of Euripides' immoral teaching

<sup>e</sup> Kock II 461, the only quotation from this play.

"Ἐτι πολλὰ τοῦ Κυνούλκου θέλοντος λέγειν καὶ τοῦλπιανοῦ<sup>1</sup> ἐπιρραπίσαι<sup>2</sup> βουλευθέντος αὐτὸν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Μυρτίλου, φθάσας ὁ Μυρτίλος (διήχθρευεν γὰρ τῷ Σύρῳ) ἔφη·

οὐχ ὧδ' ἐμόγησαν  
ἐλπίδες ὥστ' ἐχθρῶν συμμαχίαν καλέσαι,  
φησὶν ὁ Καλλίμαχος. οὐ γὰρ αὐτάρκεις ἡμεῖς  
ἀμύνασθαι, ὦ Κύνουλκε,

ὥς σκαιὸς εἰ κᾶγροικος αἰσχροεπῶν ἔα,  
ἐπ' ἀριστερ<sup>3</sup> ἐν τῷ στόματι τὴν γλῶσσαν φορεῖς,  
κατὰ τὴν Ἐφίππου Φιλύραν δοκεῖς γάρ μοι  
ἐκείνων εἶς εἶναι

οὓς ἐδίδαξαν ἀριστερὰ γράμματα Μοῦσαι,  
ὥς τις ἔφη τῶν παρωδῶν. ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες  
σύσσιτοι, οὐ κατὰ τὰς Μεταγένους Αὔρας ἢ τὸν  
Ἀρισταγόρου Μαμμάκυθον

ὕμιν ὀρχηστρίδας εἶπον ἑταίρας  
ῥαίαις πρότερον, νῦν δ' οὐχ<sup>4</sup> ὑμῖν ἀγορεύω  
ἄρτι χνοαζούσας αὐλητρίδας, αἳ τε τάχιστα  
ἀνδρῶν φορτηγῶν ὑπὸ γούνατα μισθοῦ ἔλυσαν,  
c ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ὄντως ἑταιρῶν τὸν λόγον πεποιήμαι,  
τουτέστιν τῶν φιλίαν ἄδολον συντηρεῖν δυναμένων,

<sup>1</sup> τοῦλπιανοῦ Kaihel τοῦ μάγνου A.

<sup>2</sup> Cf 422 c ἐπιρραπίσαι A. <sup>3</sup> Dindorf εαπαριστερα A.

<sup>4</sup> δ' οὐχ A, which seems to be due to Myrtilus (cf. note 6 p 82 and note c p. 83): δ' αὖθ' Bergk, probably what Metagenes wrote

<sup>a</sup> Ulpian.

<sup>b</sup> Frag 134 Schneider, om Mair, Wilamowitz

Although Cynulcus desired to say a great deal more, and Ulpian wanted to rebuke him in vindication of Myrtilus, the latter anticipated him (for he thoroughly hated the Syrian<sup>a</sup>) and said, quoting Callimachus<sup>b</sup>. "Our hopes have not sunk so far in wretchedness that we should summon help from our enemies." Are we not, in fact, able to defend ourselves alone, Cynulcus? "How stupid you are, and boorish, and given to foul language; ah! you carry your tongue on the left side of your mouth," as Ehippus says<sup>c</sup> in *Philyra*. It seems to me that you are one of those "whom the Muses have taught left-handed letters"<sup>d</sup> as one of the parodists has said.<sup>e</sup> As for myself, fellow-banqueteers, I have not discussed courtesans after the manner of Metagenes' *Breezes*, or *The Blockhead* of Aristagoras<sup>f</sup>. "I told you first of beautiful dancing prostitutes, and now I do not speak to you of flute-girls just beginning to be ripe,<sup>g</sup> who have very quickly, and for a price, undermined the strength of sailors aboard the freighters;" no, I have spoken of the real "companions," that is, those who are capable of preserving strictly a friendship with-

<sup>a</sup> Kock II. 263 To the Greeks the left side was unlucky, hence "towards the left" means awkward, *gauche*. So Poseidon rebukes the boorish Triballian god for wrapping his cloak from right to left, thus confining his right arm. Aristoph. *Av* 1567, ἐπ' ἀριστερ' οὕτως ἀμύνει, Soph. *Aj*. 182, φρενόθεν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ ἔβας.

<sup>d</sup> And so have not been taught at all.

<sup>e</sup> Brandt, p. 98; a parody of *Od.* VIII. 488, ἦ σέ γε Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε Cf. Athen. 104 c (vol. I. p. 446).

<sup>f</sup> Kock I. 705. Agam. Myrtilus changes the sense in the second line "but now, on the other hand, I speak to you," etc. The verses are dactylic hexameters; see J. W. White, *Verse of Greek Comedy*, pp. 153, 366.

<sup>g</sup> nuper puberes.

ἄς ὁ Κύνουλκος πολὺ λαιδορεῖν, μόνας τῶν ἄλλων  
 γυναικῶν τῷ τῆς φιλίας ὀνόματι προσηγορευμένας,  
 ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καλουμένης  
 Ἑταίρας τῆς Ἀφροδίτης. περὶ ἧς φησιν ὁ Ἀθη-  
 ναῖος Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Θεῶν οὕτως·  
 “Ἑταίραν δὲ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην τὴν τοὺς ἐταίρους  
 καὶ τὰς ἐταίρας συνάγουσαν τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶν φίλας.”  
 d καλοῦσι γοῦν καὶ αἱ ἐλεύθεραι γυναῖκες ἔτι καὶ νῦν  
 καὶ αἱ παρθέναι τὰς συνήθεις καὶ φίλας ἐταίρας,  
 ὡς ἡ Σαπφώ

τάδε νῦν ἐταίραις  
 ταῖς ἐμαῖσι<sup>1</sup> τερπνὰ καλῶς ἀείσω  
 καὶ ἔτι

Λατὼ καὶ Νιόβα μάλα μὲν φίλαι ἦσαν ἐταῖραι.  
 καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὰς μισθαρνούσας ἐταίρας καὶ τὸ  
 ἐπὶ συνουσίαις μισθαρνεῖν ἐταιρεῖν, οὐκ ἔτι πρὸς  
 τὸ ἔτυμον ἀναφέροντες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ εὐσχημονέ-  
 στερον, καθὼς δὴ καὶ Μένανδρος ἐν Παρακαταθήκῃ  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐταιρῶν τοὺς ἐταίρους διαστέλλων φησί·

e πεποιήκατ’ ἔργον οὐχ ἐταίρων γάρ, φίλαι,<sup>2</sup>  
 μὰ Δί’ ἄλλ’ ἐταιρῶν<sup>3</sup>. ταῦτά<sup>4</sup> δ’ ὄντα γράμματα  
 τὴν προσαγόρευσιν οὐ σφόδρ’ εὐσχημον<sup>5</sup> ποιεῖ

<sup>1</sup> Seidler: ἐμαῖς A.

<sup>2</sup> φίλαι added by Capps.

<sup>3</sup> μὰ ἐταιρῶν added by Zedelius (following Casaubon).

<sup>4</sup> Casaubon: ταῦτα A.

<sup>5</sup> εὐσχημον Schweighauser (confirmed by the error in the  
 next line, see note 1 p. 88) εὐσημον A.

<sup>a</sup> Above, 559 a, p. 22.

<sup>b</sup> F.H.G. 1. 431, J. 2 B 1074, Hesych. s. Ἑταίρας ἱερὸν, cf.  
 Macrob. iii. 8 3.

out tuckery, and whom Cynulcus insolently reviles, although they are the only women in all the world who are addressed by the title of "friendly," or who derive their name from that Aphrodite who, among the Athenians, is called "the Companion Aphrodite" <sup>a</sup> Concerning her, Apollodorus of Athens says in his work *On the Gods* <sup>b</sup>: "The Companion Aphrodite is she who brings companions together, male and female; that is, women friends" At any rate, even freeborn matrons, to this day, and young girls as well, call their intimate and dear friends "companions," as does Sappho <sup>c</sup> "These joyous songs I will sing well to-day in honour of my companions" And again <sup>d</sup> "Leto and Niobê were indeed very dear companions" Still it is true that they call the women also who make a business of love "companions," and taking pay for their favours they call "to companion," not so much with reference to the original sense <sup>e</sup> of the word, as for greater decency <sup>f</sup>; wherefore Menander also, while distinguishing in *The Deposit* male friends from female prostitutes, says <sup>g</sup>: "You, dear women, have verily done a deed, Zeus knows, more becoming to prostitutes than to friends; for although the letters are the same, <sup>h</sup> they make the appellation not very decent"

<sup>c</sup> *PLG*.<sup>4</sup> III. 93, Diehl i 332, Edmonds i 192, *cf.* 463 d (vol. v. p. 21, note c), Lesbian forms are disregarded in the text above

<sup>d</sup> *PLG*.<sup>4</sup> III. 100, Diehl i. 378, Edmonds i. 278.

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* of companion, comrade, chum, pal.

<sup>f</sup> *i.e.* euphemistically for prostitute

<sup>g</sup> Kock iii. 110, the text is incomplete. The title refers to the common custom of entrusting money or other valuables to the keeping of friends.

<sup>h</sup> In both words, genitive plural.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἑταίρων Ἐφίππος<sup>1</sup> ἐν Ἐμπολῇ τάδε φησὶν

ἔπειτά γ' εἰσιόντ', ἐὰν λυπούμενος  
τύχῃ τις ἡμῶν,<sup>2</sup> ἐκολάκευσεν ἡδέως  
ἐφίλησεν<sup>3</sup> οὐχὶ συμπίεσσα τὸ στόμα  
ὥσπερ πολέμιον, ἀλλὰ τοῖσι στρουθίοις  
ἐ<sup>4</sup> χανοῦσ'<sup>4</sup> ὁμοίως, ἦσε, παρεμυθήσατο<sup>5</sup>  
ἐποίησέ θ' ἱλαρὸν εὐθέως τ' ἀφείλε πᾶν  
αὐτοῦ τὸ λυποῦν<sup>6</sup> κατέδειξεν ἴλεων

Εὐβουλος δ' ἐν Καμπυλίῳ κοσμίαν ἑταίραν παρ-  
άγων φησὶν

ὥς δ' ἐδείπνει κοσμίως,  
οὐχ ὥσπερ ἄλλαι τῶν πράσων ποιούμεναι  
τολύπας ἔσαττον τὰς γνάθους καὶ τῶν κρεῶν  
ἐ<sup>7</sup> ἀπέβρυκον αἰσχροῶς, ἀλλ' ἐκάστου μικρὸν ἂν  
ἀπεγεύεθ'<sup>7</sup> ὥσπερ παρθένος Μιλησία

Ἀντιφάνης Ὑδρία<sup>8</sup>.

οὗτος δ' ὃν λέγω  
ἐν<sup>9</sup> γειτόνων αὐτῷ κατοικοῦσης τινὸς  
ιδῶν ἑταίρας εἰς ἔρωτ' ἀφίκετο,  
ἀστῆς, ἐρήμου δ' ἐπιτρόπου καὶ συγγενῶν,  
ἦθός τι χρυσοῦν πρὸς ἀρετὴν κεκτημένης,  
ὄντως ἑταίρας αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι<sup>10</sup> τοῦνομα  
βλάπτουσι τοῖς τρόποις γὰρ ὄντως ὃν καλόν.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐφίππος Casaubon (cf 363 c) εὐσχημοσ A.

<sup>2</sup> 363 c· ὑμῶν A.

<sup>3</sup> ἡδέως ἐφίλησεν 363 c· ἡ κατεφίλησεν A.

<sup>4</sup> Meineke: χανοῦσα A.

<sup>5</sup> ἦσε ἐ παρεμυθήσατο A· ἦ σε παρεμυθήσατο 363 c.

<sup>6</sup> 363 c· λοιπὸν A.

<sup>7</sup> ἂν ἀπεγεύεθ' Pierson: ἀναπετεε A.



Now concerning prostitutes Ehippus has the following to say in *Merchandise*<sup>a</sup>: "And then, let me tell you, if one of us happen to come in feeling downcast, she greets him with pleasant flattery; she kisses him, not tightly pressing her lips together, as if he were hateful to her, but opening her mouth as fledgling sparrows do; she gives him a chair, she speaks consoling words, she makes him cheerful, and soon takes away all his gloom, and renders him jolly again." Also Eubulus in *The Hunchback*, when bringing on a well-behaved prostitute, describes her thus<sup>b</sup>. "How well-behaved she was at the dinner-table! Not like other women, who stuffed their jaws with leeks which they rolled up in balls, and greedily bit off pieces of meat in ugly fashion, no! from each portion she would take a small taste, as demurely as a young girl from Miletus"<sup>c</sup>. Compare Antiphanes in *The Water Jar*<sup>d</sup>. "This lad of whom I speak saw a prostitute who lived in a neighbour's house and fell in love with her, she was of the citizen class,<sup>e</sup> but destitute of guardian and kinsmen; she had a character of golden excellence, a real pal. For all the other women of her profession spoil by their manners that name which is really so fair" Anaxilas

<sup>a</sup> Kock II 251, Athen 363 c (vol IV p 144).

<sup>b</sup> Kock II 178

<sup>c</sup> Milesian women were forbidden to drink wine, Athen. 429 a-b (vol IV p. 442) About their eating habits we are not informed The men of Miletus bore an evil reputation, Aristoph *Lys* 108 and Schol

<sup>d</sup> Kock II 103 On the term *ἐταίρα*, "companion," see above, p 87, and cf Ter *Andr.* I 1 42-52

<sup>e</sup> Not an alien, as many, if not most of them, were

<sup>8</sup> Schweighauser: ὕδρα A

<sup>9</sup> Sauppe: ἐκ A.

<sup>10</sup> Musurus ἃ μὲν ἄλλοι A.

b Ἀναξίλας Νεοττίδι·

ἐὰν δέ τις μετρίως ἔχουσα χρημάτων<sup>1</sup>  
τοῖς δεομένοις τινῶν ὑπουργῇ πρὸς χάριν,  
ἐκ τῆς ἐταιρίας<sup>2</sup> ἐταῖρα τοῦνομα  
προσηγορεύθη καὶ σὺ νῦν οὐχ ὡς λέγεις  
πόρνης, ἐταίρας δ' εἰς ἔρωτα τυγχάνεις  
ἐληλυθώς ἂρ' ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστι γοῦν<sup>3</sup>  
ἀπλῇ τις, B ἀστεία μὲν οὖν, νῆ τὸν Δία

Ὁ δὲ ὑμέτερος φιλοσοφομειρακίσκος τοιοῦτος  
οἶον Ἀλεξίς ἢ Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ὑπνῳ παράγει·

c διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ πόρνος οὗτος οὐδὲ τῶν πράσων  
ἐκάστοτ' ἐπεδείπνει<sup>4</sup> μεθ' ἡμῶν· τοῦτο δ' ἦν  
ἵνα μὴ τι λυπήσειε τὸν ἐραστὴν φιλῶν

καλῶς δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων Ἐφιππος ἐν Σαπφοῖ  
φῃσιν

ὅταν γὰρ ὦν νέος  
ἀλλότριον εἰσελθὼν τις οἶκον διαλάβῃ<sup>5</sup>  
ἀσύμβολόν<sup>6</sup> τε χεῖρα προσβάλλῃ βορᾷ,  
διδόναι νόμιζ' αὐτὸν σὺ τῆς νυκτὸς λόγον.

τὰ αὐτὰ εἶρηκεν καὶ Αἰσχίνης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ κατὰ  
d Τιμάρχου

<sup>1</sup> μετρίως ἔχουσα χρημάτων Meineke. μέτρια λέγουσι CE, μετρια καὶ λέγουσα A.

<sup>2</sup> ACE: ἐταιρείας Meineke.

<sup>3</sup> γοῦν Jacobi

<sup>4</sup> Bothe: ἐπιδειπνεῖ A

<sup>5</sup> εἰσελθὼν διαλάβῃ (?) Kaibel: εἰσελθὼν ὄφον ἐσθίειν μάθῃ AC.

<sup>6</sup> ἀσύμβολός Nauck.

<sup>a</sup> Kock II. 269: the title is the nickname of a prostitute, cf. French *poulette*.

in *The Chick*<sup>a</sup>. "A But if a girl who is tolerably well off as to money submits herself in service free to those who ask for certain favours, she gets from that act of companionship the name of 'companion.' And so in this instance, the girl with whom you have fallen in love is not, as you say, a common woman, but a companion; but is she, at the least, really so single-minded?"<sup>b</sup> B More than that; she's a lady, so help me Zeus!"

Now your philosopher-boy-lover<sup>c</sup> is of the same breed that Alexis or Antiphanes brings on the stage in *Sleep*<sup>d</sup>: "For these reasons this male whore on all occasions at dinner with us never took any leeks either; this was because he did not want to offend his lover when he kissed him." And Ephippus in *Sappho* puts it well concerning such persons<sup>e</sup>: "For when one who is young furtively enters another man's house and lays upon the food a hand that does not pay its share,<sup>f</sup> you may believe he pays the reckoning for the night." The orator Aeschines says the same thing in his speech *Against Timarchus*.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>b</sup> i.e. free from duplicity.

<sup>c</sup> The word φιλοσοφομειρακίσκος (lit. "philosopher-laddie") is coined in allusion to φιλομειράς (below, 602 e), with a contemptuous diminutive suffix.

<sup>d</sup> Kock II 385

<sup>e</sup> Kock II. 262 See critical note 5; the alterations of the text are diastich, but conform best to the passage from Aeschines. See note f.

<sup>f</sup> Or, reading ἀσύμβολος, "without paying his share."

<sup>g</sup> Or. I 75 τί χρὴ λέγειν ὅταν μειράκιον νέον ἐν ἄλλοτρίαις οἰκίαις νυκτερεύῃ, τὴν ὄψιν διαφέρον, καὶ πολυτελῇ δαίπνῃ δειπνῇ ἀσύμβολον, "What is one to say when a young lad, unusually good-looking, spends the night in other men's houses and dines on costly fare without paying his share?"

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ Φιλέταιρος ἐν Κυνηγίδι  
τάδε φησὶν

οὐκ ἐτὸς<sup>1</sup> Ἑταίρας ἱερὸν ἐστὶ πανταχοῦ,  
ἀλλ' οὐχὶ γαμετῆς οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος

οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴν Ἑταιρίδεια<sup>2</sup> ἀγομένην ἐν  
Μαγνησίᾳ οὐ διὰ τὰς ἑταίρας, ἀλλὰ δι' ἑτέραν  
αἰτίαν, ἧς μνημονεύει Ἡγήσανδρος ἐν Ὑπομνή-  
μασι γράφων ὧδε “ τὴν τῶν Ἑταιριδείων<sup>3</sup> ἑορ-  
τὴν συντελοῦσι Μάγνητες. ἱστοροῦσι δὲ πρῶτον  
Ἰάσονα τὸν Αἴσονος συναγαγόντα τοὺς Ἀργο-  
ναύτας Ἑταιρείῳ Διὶ θῦσαι καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν  
e Ἑταιρίδεια<sup>4</sup> προσαγορεῦσαι θύουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ  
Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖς τὰ Ἑταιρίδεια.” Πόρνης δὲ  
Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἐστὶ παρὰ Ἀβυδηνοῖς, ὥς φησι  
Πάμφιλος κατεχομένης γὰρ τῆς πόλεως δουλείᾳ  
τοὺς φρουροὺς τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ ποτε θύσαντας, ὥς  
ἱστορεῖ Νεάνθης<sup>5</sup> ἐν τοῖς Μυθικοῖς, καὶ μεθυσθέντας  
ἑταίρας πλείονας προσλαβέσθαι<sup>6</sup> ὧν μίαν κατα-  
κοιμηθέντας αὐτοὺς ἰδοῦσαν ἀνελομένην τὰς κλεῖς  
καὶ τὸ τείχος ὑπερβᾶσαν ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς Ἀβυ-  
f δηνοῖς. τοὺς δ' αὐτίκα μεθ' ὅπλων ἀφικομένους  
ἀνελεῖν μὲν τοὺς φύλακας, κρατήσαντας δὲ τῶν  
τειχῶν καὶ γενομένους ἐγκρατεῖς τῆς ἐλευθερίας  
χαριστήρια τῇ πόρني ἀποδιδόντας Ἀφροδίτης  
Πόρνης ναὸν ἰδρύσασθαι. Ἀλεξίς δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν  
δευτέρῳ Ὄρων Σαμιακῶν “ τὴν ἐν Σάμῳ Ἀφρο-

<sup>1</sup> ἐτὸς ἐτὸς A.

<sup>2</sup> ἑορτὴν ἑταιριδεια (sic) A, ἑορτὴ ἑταιρειδία (in different constr.) C <sup>3</sup> Casaubon · ἑταιριδίων A.

<sup>4</sup> ἑταιρειδία (ι written above ει) CE.

<sup>5</sup> Muller: κλεάνθησ A.

Concerning the professional "companions" Philtaerus says this in *The Huntress*<sup>a</sup>: "No wonder there is a shrine to the Companion everywhere, but nowhere in all Greece is there one to the Wife." But I know also of a festival, the Hetairideia, celebrated in Magnesia, not in honour of these "companions" (*hetaerae*), but for a different reason, which is mentioned by Hegesander in his *Commentaries*, writing thus<sup>b</sup>: "The Magnesians celebrate the festival of the Hetairideia. They record that Jason the son of Aeson, after gathering the Argonauts together, was the first to sacrifice to Zeus Hetaireios<sup>c</sup> and that he called the festival Hetairideia. And the kings of Macedonia also celebrate with sacrifices the Hetairideia." There is a sanctuary of Harlot Aphrodite in Abydos, according to Pamphilus; for when that city was oppressed by slavery, the guards in it once offered sacrifice, as recorded<sup>d</sup> by Neanthes in his *Legends*, and having got drunk, they had their will of a number of harlots, one of whom, seeing that the guards had fallen asleep, picked up the keys, and climbing over the wall, she reported to the Abydenes. They immediately came with weapons, and after killing the guards they got possession of the walls, and having recovered their liberty, they, by way of rendering thanks to the harlot, founded a temple of Harlot Aphrodite. Alexis of Samos, in the second book of his *Samian Annals*, says<sup>e</sup>: "The Aphrodite of

<sup>a</sup> Kock II 232. Cf. above 559 a, p. 21.

<sup>b</sup> *F H G.* IV. 418, Nilsson, *Griech Feste* 34.

<sup>c</sup> The god of good fellowship.

<sup>d</sup> *F H G.* III. 11, J 2 A 193.

<sup>e</sup> *F H G.* IV. 299

<sup>6</sup> Gulick: προσλαβεῖν A, προσελάβοντο (in different constr) CE.

<sup>7</sup> Schweighäuser: ὄρων A.

δίτην, ἣν οἱ μὲν ἐν καλάμοις καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἔλει, Ἀττικάι, φησὶν, ἑταῖραι ἰδρύσαντο αἱ συνακολουθήσασαι Περικλεῖ ὅτε ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Σάμον, 73 ἐργασάμεναι ἱκανῶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας'' Εὐάλκης δ' ἐν τοῖς Ἐφεσιακοῖς καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ φησὶν ἱερὸν<sup>1</sup> ἰδρῦσθαι Ἑταίρα Ἀφροδίτῃ Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Ἑρωτικῶν "Γύγης, φησὶν, ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς οὐ μόνον περὶ ζῶσαν τὴν ἐρωμένην περιβόητος<sup>2</sup> γέγονεν, ἐγχειρίσας αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκείνη πᾶσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτησάσης συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς χώρας Λυδοὺς πάντας ἔχωσε τὸ νῦν<sup>3</sup> ἔτι καλούμενον τῆς Ἑταίρας μνήμα, εἰς ὕψος ἄρας, ὥστε περιοδεύοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐντὸς b τοῦ Τμώλου χώραν, οὗ ἂν ἐπιστραφεῖς τύχη,<sup>4</sup> καθορᾶν τὸ μνήμα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τὴν Λυδίαν οἰκοῦσιν ἀποπτον εἶναι." Δημοσθένης δ' ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νεαίρας λόγῳ, εἰ γνήσιος, ὃν Ἀπολλόδωρος εἴρηκε, φησί "τὰς μὲν ἑταίρας ἡδονῆς ἔνεκα ἔχομεν, τὰς δὲ παλλακὰς τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν παλλακείας,<sup>5</sup> τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τοῦ παιδοποιεῖσθαι γνησίως καὶ τῶν ἔνδον φύλακα πιστὴν ἔχειν."

<sup>1</sup> C: ἱερὰ A, retained by Schweighauser

<sup>2</sup> τῇ σπουδῇ περιβόητος Kaibel following Schweighauser

<sup>3</sup> ἔχωσε τὸ νῦν C ἔχωσε μὲν λυδίας A. Kaibel deleted Λυδίας as a gloss on τῆς χώρας, leaving μὲν unexplained. Probably the woman's name stood here (Μαιναλίδος?), Schweighauser Μεναλίας, but the order of words is strange

<sup>4</sup> CE: τύχοι A.

<sup>5</sup> AC: θεραπείας τοῦ σώματος Dem.

<sup>a</sup> When the island seceded from the Athenian alliance, 440 B.C. The siege lasted nine months.

<sup>b</sup> F.H.G. IV. 406.

Samos,<sup>a</sup> whom some call by the title 'In the Reeds,' others, 'In the Swamp,' was dedicated by Athenian prostitutes who accompanied the army of Pericles when he was laying siege to Samos, after they had earned sufficient funds by their seductions." And Eualces in his *Ephesian Chronicles* says<sup>b</sup> that in Ephesus also there was a sanctuary dedicated to "Companion" Aphrodite. Again, Clearchus, in the first book of his *Love Stories* says<sup>c</sup>. "Gyges, the king of Lydia, became notorious for his devotion to his mistress, not only during her lifetime, giving himself and his empire entirely into her hands; but more than that, when she died he gathered all the Lydians of the country together and reared the monument which is to this day still named after the "Companion," raising it high so that when he made his royal progresses within the region of Mt Tmolus, wherever he chanced to turn, he could see the monument, and it was visible to all the inhabitants of Lydia." The orator Demosthenes, in the speech *Against Neaera*, if it be genuine, says—the speech was actually delivered by Apollodorus<sup>d</sup> "We keep mistresses for pleasure, concubines for daily concubinage,<sup>e</sup> but wives we have in order to produce children legitimately and to have a trustworthy guardian of our domestic property."

<sup>c</sup> F H G n. 314

<sup>d</sup> Or lx, cf the Hypothesis. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὐκ οἶονται Δημοσθένους εἶναι, ὕπτιον ὄντα καὶ πολλαχῇ τῆς τοῦ ῥήτορος δυνάμει ἐνδεέστερον Cf below, 586 e, Dionys Hal Dem 57, Phrynichus, p 306 Rutherford Apollodorus was the *συνήγορος*, or advocate, called in to assist his relative Theonnestus in the prosecution

<sup>e</sup> Of course a misquotation; the author said "concubines for the personal services of daily life."

Καταλέξω δέ σοι, Κύνουлке, Ἴωνικὴν τινα ῥῆσιν, μακρὰν<sup>1</sup> ἐκτείνας κατὰ τὸν Αἰσχύλου Ἀγαμέμνονα<sup>2</sup> 3 περὶ ἑταιρῶν, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς καλῆς Κορίνθου, ἐπειδὴ μοι τὴν αὐτόθι σοφιστείαν ὠνείδισας νόμιμόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ὡς καὶ Χαμαιλέων ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ περὶ Πινδάρου, ὅταν ἡ πόλις εὐχῆται περὶ μεγάλων τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, συμπαραλαμβάνεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἱκετείαν τὰς ἑταῖρας ὡς πλείστας, καὶ ταύτας προσεύχεσθαι τῇ θεῷ καὶ ὕστερον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς παρῆναι. καὶ ὅτε δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὴν στρατείαν ἤγεν ὁ Πέρσης, 1 ὡς καὶ Θεόπομπος ἱστορεῖ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ, αἱ Κορίνθιαι ἑταῖραι εὗξαντο ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐλθοῦσαι νεών. διὸ καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἀναθέντων τῶν Κορινθίων πίνακα τῇ θεῷ τὸν ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένοντα καὶ τὰς ἑταῖρας ἰδίᾳ γραψάντων τὰς τότε ποιησάμενας τὴν ἱκετείαν καὶ ὕστερον παρούσας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς<sup>3</sup> συνέθηκε τόδε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα

αἰδ' ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ εὐθυμάχων πολιητῶν<sup>4</sup>  
ἔσταθεν εὐχεσθαι Κύπριδι δαιμονία

οὐ γὰρ τοξοφόροισιν<sup>5</sup> ἐμήσατο δι' Ἀφροδίτα<sup>6</sup>

Πέρσαις Ἑλλάνων ἀκρόπολιν προδόμεν.

<sup>1</sup> μακρὰν added by Gulick.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀγαμέμνονα added by Meineke

<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς added by Kaibel

<sup>4</sup> πολινταν A <sup>5</sup> τοξηφόροισιν A.

<sup>6</sup> διὰ θεάων Boeckh.

<sup>a</sup> Mytilus speaks On the profligacy of the Ionians see Athen<sup>5</sup> 523 e-526 d (vol. 1 pp. 360 ff.), cf. 440 b (vol. iv. p. 492), hence "an Ionian speech (or discourse)" seems to mean here a poirographic treatise.

<sup>b</sup> Aesch. *Agam.* 916 μακρὰν γὰρ ἐξέτεινας, cf. 829.

<sup>c</sup> Above, 567 c, p. 65.



Now I<sup>a</sup> am going to recite for your benefit, Cynulcus, a kind of Ionian speech, "spinning it out far," as Aeschylus's Agamemnon would say,<sup>b</sup> on the subject of prostitutes, I will begin with the beautiful city of Corinth, since you have referred with insults to my residence there as a sophist<sup>c</sup>. It is an ancient custom in Corinth, as Chamaeleon of Heracleia records<sup>d</sup> in his book *On Pindar*, whenever the city prays to Aphrodite in matters of grave importance, to invite as many prostitutes as possible to join in their petitions, and these women add their supplications to the goddess and later are present at the sacrifices. When, accordingly, the Persian invaded Greece, as Theopompus records,<sup>e</sup> likewise Timaeus in the seventh book,<sup>f</sup> the Corinthian prostitutes entered the temple of Aphrodite and prayed for the salvation of the Greeks. Hence also, when the Corinthians dedicated in honour of the goddess the tablet which is preserved even to this day, recording separately the names of the prostitutes who had made supplication on that occasion and were later present at the sacrifices, Simonides composed the following epigram<sup>g</sup>. "These women were dedicated<sup>h</sup> to pray to Cyprus, with Heaven's blessing, for the Greeks and their fair-fighting fellow-citizens. For the divine Aphrodite willed it not that the citadel of Greece should be betrayed into the hands of the Persian bowmen."

<sup>a</sup> Frag. 16 Koepke, Nilsson, *Gr. Feste* 376.

<sup>b</sup> *F H G* 1 306, J 2 B 597, G and H 269

<sup>f</sup> *F H G* 1 204

<sup>g</sup> Plut 871 A, Schol. Pind. *Ol.* xiii 32, *P.L.G.* 4 iii 481, Diehl ii 102, cf. 101, Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus* (L.C.L.) ii. 380.

<sup>h</sup> Plutarch says that bronze images of them were set up at the commemoration. His text varies greatly from that of Athenaeus.

καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται δὲ κατεύχονται τῇ θεῷ τελεσθέντων  
περὶ ὧν ἂν ποιῶνται τὴν δέησιν ἀπάξειν<sup>1</sup> αὐτῇ καὶ  
τὰς<sup>2</sup> ἑταίρας ὑπάρχοντος οὖν τοῦ τοιούτου νο-  
μίμου περὶ τὴν θεὸν Ξενοφῶν ὁ Κορίνθιος ἐξιών  
εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπάξειν<sup>3</sup>  
ἑταίρας εὗξατο τῇ θεῷ νικήσας Πίνδαρός τε τὸ  
μὲν πρῶτον ἔγραψεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐγκώμιον οὗ ἡ  
ἀρχὴ “ τρισολυμπιονίκαν ἐπαινέων οἶκον,” ὕστερον  
δὲ καὶ σκόλιον τὸ παρὰ τὴν θυσίαν ἀσθέν, ἐν ᾧ τὴν  
ἀρχὴν εὐθέως πεποιῆται πρὸς τὰς ἑταίρας αἱ  
παραγενομένου τοῦ Ξενοφώντος καὶ θύοντος τῇ  
Ἀφροδίτῃ συνέθυσαν διόπερ ἔφη

ὦ Κύπρου δέσποινα, τεὸν δεῦτ’ ἐς ἄλσος  
φορβάδων κορᾶν ἀγέλαν<sup>4</sup> ἑκατόγγυι-  
ον Ξενοφῶν<sup>5</sup> τελέαις<sup>6</sup>  
ἐπήγαγ’<sup>7</sup> εὐχωλαῖς ἱανθείς

ἤρξατο δ’ οὕτως τοῦ μέλους<sup>8</sup>

πολύξεναι<sup>9</sup> νεάνιδες ἀμφίπολοι  
Πειθοῦς ἐν ἀφνειῷ<sup>10</sup> Κορίνθῳ,

<sup>1</sup> ἐπάξειν Schweighauser, cf. below, 574 a

<sup>2</sup> τακτὰς for καὶ τὰς Schweighauser Wilamowitz, on the other hand, deleted τὰς, retaining καὶ

<sup>3</sup> ἐπάξειν ν’ (= 50) Schweighauser

<sup>4</sup> Casaubon: κόραν ἀγέλαν ἑκατονγύιον A.

<sup>5</sup> Musurus ξενοφῶν A

<sup>6</sup> Boeckh τελείαις A

<sup>7</sup> ἀπάγαγ’ Meineke, cf. 573 e

<sup>8</sup> Casaubon· τέλους A.

<sup>9</sup> Boeckh πολύξειναι A

<sup>10</sup> ἀφνειῷ Schroeder, J. 26 16 cf. Athen 782 d (vol. v p. 12)

<sup>a</sup> Or, reading τακτὰς for καὶ τὰς, “a definite number of courtesans.” See critical note 2

Even private citizens vow to the goddess that, if those things for which they make petition are fulfilled, they will even render courtesans to her.<sup>a</sup> Such, then, being the custom regarding the goddess, Xenophon of Corinth also, when he went forth to Olympia to take part in the contest, vowed that he would render courtesans<sup>b</sup> to the goddess if he won the victory. And so Pindar at first wrote in Xenophon's honour the eulogy<sup>c</sup> which begins with the words, "Thrice victorious at Olympia is the house which I praise", and later he wrote also the round which was sung at the sacrificial feast, in which, at its very beginning, he has addressed the courtesans who joined in the sacrifice when Xenophon was present and offered it to Aphrodite. That is why he has said<sup>d</sup> "O Queen of Cyprus! Hither to thy sanctuary Xenophon hath brought a troupe of one hundred girls to biewse,<sup>e</sup> gladdened as he is by his vows now fulfilled". But the beginning of the lyric is as follows: "Young girls, who welcome many strangers with your hospitality, ministrants of Persuasion in rich Corinth—who on the altar send up in

<sup>b</sup> Or, accepting Schweighäuser's addition of  $\nu'$  after ἀπάξειν (see critical note 3), "fifty courtesans," known as ἱερόδουλοι. But see note *e* on ἐκατόγγυνον below.

<sup>c</sup> Ol. XIII 1, celebrating Xenophon's victory, 464 B.C., in the foot-race (στάδιον) and the pentathlon.

<sup>d</sup> P.L.G.<sup>5</sup> 1.435, Sandy's 580, Puech II 188. These editors class the fragment with the ἐγκώμια (so Bowra), but Fennell with the σκόλια, and Farnell (apparently) with the παρθένεια! See Suid. s. Πύδαρος.

<sup>e</sup> Euphemistic for "to practise prostitution." Puech, denying that γυῖον can refer to the whole body, translates, "fifty girls" i.e. one hundred arms (or legs!). He follows Schweighäuser's suggestion to add  $\nu'$  before ἐταίρας, see note *b*. Yet γυῖον seems to mean "body" in Pind. *Nem.* VII. 73.

# ATHENAEUS

αἶ τε τὰς χλωρᾶς<sup>1</sup> λιβάνου ξανθὰ δάκρη<sup>2</sup>  
 θυμιᾶτε,<sup>3</sup> πολλάκι ματέρ'<sup>4</sup> Ἐρώτων  
 οὐρανίαν πτάμεναι<sup>5</sup>  
 νόημα<sup>6</sup> ποττὰν Ἀφροδίταν  
 ὑμῖν ἄνευθεν ἐπαγορίας<sup>7</sup> ἔπορεν,  
 ὦ παῖδες, ἐρατειναῖς ἐν<sup>8</sup> εὐναῖς  
 μαλθακᾶς ὥρας<sup>9</sup> ἀπὸ καρπὸν δρέπεσθαι  
 σὺν δ' ἀνάγκῃ πᾶν καλόν.<sup>10</sup>

ἀρξάμενός θ' οὕτως ἐξῆς φησιν·

ἀλλὰ θαυμάζω τί με λεξοῦντι Ἰσθμοῦ<sup>11</sup>  
 δεσπόται τοιάνδε<sup>12</sup> μελίφρονος ἀρχὰν εὐρόμενον  
 σκολίου,  
 ξυνάορον ξυναῖς γυναιξί.

δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς τὰς ἐταίρας διαλεγόμενος  
 ἡγωνία ποῖόν τι φανήσεται τοῖς Κορινθίοις τὸ  
 πρᾶγμα. πιστεύων δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, αὐτὸς αὐτῷ  
 πεποιήκεν εὐθέως·

ἐδιδάξαμεν<sup>13</sup> χρυσὸν καθαρᾷ<sup>14</sup> βασάνῳ.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ Ἀφροδίσια ἴδια ἄγουσιν αὐτόθι αἱ  
 ἐταῖραι, Ἀλεξίς ἐν Φιλούσῃ φησίν·

Ἀφροδίσι' ἦγε<sup>15</sup> ταῖς ἐταίραις ἢ πόλιν,  
 ἔτερα δὲ χωρίς ἐστι ταῖς ἐλευθέραις.

<sup>1</sup> Tittmann: διαι τετασχειρασ Α.

<sup>2</sup> Bergk· δάκρυά Α.

<sup>3</sup> Tittmann (cf. Zonaras, *Lex. s. λίβανον*): τε ἡμῶν Α.

<sup>4</sup> Boeckh· πολλάκις ματέρας Α.

<sup>5</sup> Hermann: οὐρανίαν (sic) ὑπτάμεναι Α.

<sup>6</sup> Hermann: νοήματι Α.

<sup>7</sup> Meineke· ἄνωθεν ἀπαγορίας Α.

<sup>8</sup> ἐν added by Boeckh.

<sup>9</sup> Boeckh· μαλθακωρας Α.

smoke the auburn tears of fresh frankincense the many times that ye fly in thought up to the Mother of the Loves, heavenly Aphrodite, upon you, my children, free from reproach,<sup>a</sup> she hath bestowed the right to cull the fruit of soft beauty in your desired embraces. When Necessity requires it, all things are fair." And so, having begun in this way, Pindar continues "And yet I wonder what the lords of the Isthmus<sup>b</sup> will say of me, seeing that I have devised such a prelude as this to a glee with honeyed words, linking myself with common women" It is indeed plain that in addressing himself to these prostitutes the poet was anxious as to how the affair was going to appear in the eyes of the Corinthians. But having full confidence in his own integrity, as it would seem, he straightway adds "We have taught how to test gold by a pure touchstone" But that the prostitutes also celebrate their own festival of Aphrodite at Corinth is shown by Alexis in *The Gull in Love*<sup>c</sup>. "The city celebrated<sup>d</sup> a festival of Aphrodite for the prostitutes, but it is a different one from that held separately for freeborn women On these days it is

<sup>a</sup> Or, retaining with Kaibel the ms reading *ἄνωθεν ἀπαγορίας*, "above (and beyond the necessity of) defence", but this stretches the meaning of *ἄνωθεν* too far. The sense is the same with either reading: their trade was condoned in the name of Aphrodite, although in the following lines the poet confesses that he has qualms about it.

<sup>b</sup> The Corinthian officials who presided at the Isthmian games

<sup>c</sup> Kock ii. 389

<sup>d</sup> Or, "celebrates"; see critical note 15

<sup>10</sup> Boeckh: *παγκαλον* A.

<sup>11</sup> Casaubon. *ὁμοῦ* A.

<sup>12</sup> Schweighauser *τοιονδς (sic)* A.

<sup>13</sup> *ἐδίδαξαμεν* λ, *διδάξαμεν* Heilmann, *ἐδείξαμεν* Hecker.

<sup>14</sup> Casaubon *κιθάρα (sic)* λ

<sup>15</sup> *ἀγεί* μὲν Kaibel.

ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις δὲ κωμάζειν ἔθος  
 ἔστιν νόμος τε τὰς ἑταίρας ἐνθάδε  
 μεθύειν<sup>1</sup> μεθ' ἡμῶν.

Ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι, ὥς φησι Πολέμων ὁ περι-  
 ηγητὴς ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ἀναθη-  
 μάτων, εἰκὼν ἔστι τῆς διαβοήτου ἑταίρας Κοττίνας,  
 ἣν φησιν καὶ βοῦν ἀναθεῖναι χαλκῇν, γράφων  
 οὕτως “ καὶ τὸ Κοττίνας δὲ τῆς ἑταίρας εἰκόνιον,  
 ἥς διὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν οἴκημά τι λέγεται καὶ νῦν  
 ἐγγυτάτῳ τῆς Κολώνης, ἵνα τὸ Διονύσιόν ἔστιν,  
 ἐπιφανὲς καὶ πολλοῖς ἐγνωσμένον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει  
 ἀνάθημα<sup>2</sup> δ' αὐτῆς ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τὸ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου  
 βοίδιον τι χαλκοῦν καὶ τὸ προειρημένον εἰκόνιον ”  
 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ὁ καλός, ἐφ' οὗ τις τῶν κωμικῶν  
 ἔφη.

Ἀλκιβιάδην τὸν ἄβρόν, ὦ γῇ καὶ θεοί,  
 ὃν ἡ Λακεδαίμων μοιχὸν ἐπιθυμεῖ λαβεῖν,

ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀγίδος ἀγαπώμενος γυναικός, ἐπὶ τὰς  
 τῶν ἑταιριδῶν θύρας ἐκώμαζεν, ἀπολιπὼν τὰς  
 Λακαίνας καὶ τὰς Ἀττικάς. Μεδοντίδος γοῦν τῆς  
 Ἀβυδηνῆς ἐξ ἀκοῆς ἐρασθεῖς ἔστερξε καὶ πλεύσας  
 εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον σὺν Ἀξιόχῳ, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ τῆς  
 ὥρας ἐραστῆς, ὥς φησιν Λυσίας ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ

<sup>1</sup> μεθύειν added by Poison.

<sup>2</sup> ἀναθήματα (?) Kaibel.

<sup>a</sup> Preller 48

<sup>b</sup> Κολώνα in Paus. iii. 13 7; it was a hill in the eastern part of the city, near the Eurotas, Bursian *Geog.* ii 126.

<sup>c</sup> Dionysus Κολωνάτας, Paus. *loc cit* Frazer in his note takes οἴκημα to mean a chapel

<sup>d</sup> Kock iii 398.

customary for the prostitutes to revel, and it is quite in the mode for them to get drunk here in our company "

Now in Lacedaemon, as Polemon the geographer says in his work, *On the dedicatory offerings in Lacedaemon*, there is an image of the notorious courtesan Cottina who, he says, dedicated a bronze cow ; he writes as follows <sup>a</sup> " Further, there is the small image of the courtesan Cottina, who made such a sensation that even to-day a brothel is named after her, very near Colonê,<sup>b</sup> where the temple of Dionysus <sup>c</sup> is ; the house is conspicuous and well-known to many inhabitants of the city Her votive offering, beyond the statue of Athena of the Bronze House, consists of a small bronze cow and the small image of herself before mentioned " Now Alcibiades the beauty,—of whom a comic poet has said <sup>d</sup> " Alcibiades, that dainty one, Oh Earth and Gods ! whom Lacedaemon wants to arrest as an adulterer,"—although he was loved by the wife <sup>e</sup> of Agis, used to leave the married women of Sparta and Attica alone to break in at the doors of prostitutes For example, he conceived a passion for Medontis<sup>f</sup> of Abydus on mere report of her charms, and sailing to the Hellespont in company with Axiochus, who was captivated by Alcibiades' beauty, as the orator Lysias

<sup>e</sup> Timaea On her infatuation for Alcibiades, to whom she is said to have borne a son, see Plut *Alc.* 23, Athen 535 b (vol. v p 416).

<sup>f</sup> Athen 534 f (vol v p. 416), cf 525 b (vol v p. 368), see also 535 c, where the name of Timandra, who is there said to be the mother of the elder Laïs (so Plut *Alc.* 39), occurs in place of Damasandria, the latter, meaning "man-crusher," may be an epithet originating with some comic poet According to Plut *Alc.* 39, it was Timandria who cared for the dead Alcibiades.

κατ' αὐτοῦ λόγῳ, καὶ ταύτης ἐκοινώνησεν αὐτῷ. καὶ ἑτέρας δὲ δύο ἑταίρας περιήγετο<sup>1</sup> αἰεὶ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, Δαμασάνδραν τὴν Λαίδος τῆς νεωτέρας μητέρα καὶ Θεοδότην ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ἀποθανὼν ἐκηδεύθη ἐν Μελίσσῃ<sup>2</sup> κώμῃ τῆς Φρυγίας, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου εἶδομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τὸ ἐν Μελίσσῃ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου μνημα ἐκ Συννάδων εἰς Μητρόπολιν ἀφικνούμενοι ἐφ' ᾧ<sup>3</sup> καὶ κατ' ἔτος θύεται βοῦς, διακελευσαμένου τοῦτο τοῦ πάντα ἀρίστου Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως ὃς καὶ ἀνέστησεν ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι Παρίου λίθου εἰκόνα τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην.

Οὐ χρὴ δὲ θαυμάζειν εἰ ἐξ ἀκοῆς τινες ἡράσθησάν τινων, ὅποτε Χάρης ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ<sup>4</sup> τῶν Ἱστοριῶν τῶν περὶ Ἀλέξανδρόν φησιν πολλοὺς<sup>5</sup> ὀνειράτι θεασαμένους τινὰς οὓς μὴ πρότερον εἶδον ἐρασθῆναι αὐτῶν γράφει δὲ οὕτως “ Ὑστάσπῃ νεώτερος ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ζαριάδρης, περὶ ᾧ λέγουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ὅτι ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἀδώνιδος ἐγεννήθησαν ἐκυρίευσεν δὲ ὁ μὲν Ὑστάσπης Μηδίας καὶ τῆς ὑποκάτω χώρας, ὁ δὲ Ζαριάδρης τῆς<sup>6</sup> ὑπεράνω Κασπίων πυλῶν μέχρι τοῦ Τανάιδος. τῶν δὲ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Τανάιδος

<sup>1</sup> Meineke ἐπήγετο ACE.

<sup>2</sup> CE · μελίσση A.

<sup>3</sup> ἐφ' ᾧ Kaibel: ἐν ᾧ ACE.

<sup>4</sup> Kaibel. τῷ δεκάτῳ A.

<sup>5</sup> πολλοὺς added by Gulick from C (πολλοὶ in different constr.), om A

<sup>6</sup> Kaibel · τῶν ACE.

<sup>a</sup> Thalheim 346, Herwerden 239

<sup>b</sup> Above, 570 c, p. 81, 535 e (vol. v. p. 420). See the account



asserts in the speech against him,<sup>a</sup> he shared her with AΛΙΟCHUS. And further, Alcibiades always led about with him two other prostitutes, Damasandra, mother of the younger Lais, and Theodotê, the latter, when he died as the result of a plot by Pharnabazus,<sup>b</sup> gave him burial in Melissa, a village of Phrygia. We, too, saw the monument to Alcibiades in Melissa when we were on our way from Synnada to Metropolis, at this monument an ox is sacrificed every year by express command of the Emperor Hadrian, most noble in all things, who even set up at the monument an image of Alcibiades in Parian marble.<sup>c</sup>

We need not wonder that people have fallen in love with others on mere report, seeing that Chares of Mytilene in the tenth book of his *Histories of Alexander* asserts that many, having seen in a dream certain persons whom they had never seen before, fell in love with them; he writes as follows<sup>d</sup> "Hystaspes had a younger brother named Zariadres, concerning both of them the natives say that they were the sons of Aphrodite and Adonis. Now Hystaspes was overlord of Media and the territory below it, whereas Zariadres ruled over the region above the Caspian Gates, as far as the Tanais river.

of his tragic end in C. E. Robinson, *The Days of Alcibiades*, 300, F. Taeger, *Alcibiades*, 175.

<sup>c</sup> Bernoulli, *Gr. Ikon.* i 205-213. *Script. Al. M.* 119, J 2 B 660.

<sup>d</sup> On this folk-tale see Rohde, *Griech. Roman*<sup>3</sup> 47 ff. In some features it resembles the early English (Scandinavian) romance of King Horn. Even the exception who wrote Codd. C and E take the trouble to copy this story in full, perhaps because they lived at the time (13th century) when such stories were popular. See G. H. M'Knight, *King Horn* (1901).

Ὀμάρτη<sup>1</sup> βασιλεῖ Μαραθῶν<sup>2</sup> θυγάτηρ ἦν ὄνομα  
 Ὀδάτις<sup>3</sup> περὶ ἧς ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις γέγραπται ὡς  
 ἄρα κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ἰδοῦσα τὸν Ζαριάδρην ἐρα-  
 σθείη, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο κάκεινῳ πάθος συμπεσεῖν  
 πρὸς αὐτὴν διετέλουν γοῦν<sup>4</sup> ἀλλήλων ἐπιθυμοῦντες  
 διὰ τὴν κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον φαντασίαν ἦν δὲ ἡ  
 Ὀδάτις<sup>5</sup> καλλίστη τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν γυναικῶν,  
 καὶ ὁ Ζαριάδρης δὲ ἦν καλὸς πέμποντος οὖν τοῦ  
 Ζαριάδρου πρὸς τὸν Ὀμάρτην καὶ φιλοτιμουμένου  
 γῆμαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον, οὐ συνετίθετο ὁ Ὀμάρτης<sup>6</sup>  
 διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἀρρένων παίδων ἔρημος<sup>7</sup> ἤθελεν γὰρ  
 αὐτὴν δοῦναι ἐνὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκείων καὶ μετ'  
 οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ὁ Ὀμάρτης συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐκ  
 τῆς βασιλείας δυνάστας καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς  
 ἐποιεῖτο τοὺς γάμους, οὐ προειπὼν ὅτῳ μέλλοι  
 διδόναι τὴν θυγατέρα ἀκμαζούσης οὖν τῆς μέθης  
 εἰσκαλέσας τὴν Ὀδάτιν ὁ πατὴρ εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον  
 εἶπεν ἀκουόντων τῶν συνδείπνων ἡμεῖς, ὦ θύ-  
 γατερ Ὀδάτι,<sup>8</sup> νῦν ποιούμεθα τοὺς σοὺς γάμους  
 περιβλέψασα οὖν καὶ θεωρήσασα πάντας λαβοῦσα  
 χρυσὴν φιάλην καὶ πληρώσασα δὸς ὦ θέλεις γαμη-  
 θῆναι τούτου γὰρ κεκλήσῃ γυνή<sup>9</sup> κάκεινη περι-  
 βλέψασα πάντας ἀπῆει δακρύνουσα, ποθοῦσα τὸν  
 Ζαριάδρην ἰδεῖν· ἐπεστάλκει γὰρ αὐτῷ ὅτι μέλ-  
 λουσιν οἱ γάμοι συντελεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ στρατοπεδεύων  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ Ταναΐδος διαλαθὼν<sup>9</sup> τὴν στρατοπεδείαν

<sup>1</sup> ομαρτη A, ὀμάρτη C

<sup>2</sup> μαραθων A Μαιωτῶν or Σαρματῶν Holsten, Μαραφίων  
 (cf Herod 1 125) Scholl.

<sup>3</sup> ὀδατις A

<sup>4</sup> οὖν Cobet, Kaibel

<sup>5</sup> ὀδατις A

<sup>6</sup> ὀμάρτης A

<sup>7</sup> διὰ ἔρημος om C, which has ἤθελε for ἤθελεν. Kaibel,  
 placing the colon after ὁ Ὀμάρτης and dropping it after

And Homartes, who was king of the Maiathi, beyond the Tanais, had a daughter named Odatis, of her it is recorded in the histories that she saw Zariadres in a dream and became enamoured of him, while the same passion for her attacked him in the same way. At any rate they continued to long for each other in the imaginings of sleep. Now Odatis was the most beautiful woman in Asia, and Zariadres also was handsome. So Zariadres sent to Homartes in his eager desire to marry the woman, but Homartes would not agree to the match, because he lacked male children and wanted to give her to a male of his own household. After a brief interval Homartes gathered the princes of the kingdom together with his friends and relatives, and proceeded to celebrate the nuptials without announcing to whom he intended to give his daughter. Well, when the drinking was at its height the father summoned Odatis to the symposium, and in the hearing of the guests he said. 'My daughter Odatis, to-day we are celebrating your nuptials. Look around, therefore, and after inspecting all the men take a gold cup,<sup>a</sup> fill it with wine, and give it to the man to whom you wish to be married; for his wife you shall be called.' And the poor girl, after looking all around, turned away in tears, yearning as she did to see Zariadres; for she had warned him that the nuptials were to be celebrated. He, meanwhile, was encamped at the Tanais river, which he crossed with-

<sup>a</sup> The flat, saucer-like vessel called *φιάλη* was regularly used in pledging the bridegroom at the marriage feast, Pind. *Ol vii* 1, quoted by Athen. 504 a (vol v p 258).

*ἔρημος*, suggests *διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἦθελεν αὐτήν*, which is logically better, but not necessarily what Chares wrote.

<sup>8</sup> Ὀδάτι om CE

<sup>9</sup> *διαλαθὼν* CE καὶ *διαλαθὼν* A.

διέβη μετὰ μόνου τοῦ ἄρματηλάτου καὶ νυκτὸς ὁρμήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος διήλθεν διὰ γῆς πολλῆς,<sup>1</sup> διώξας περὶ τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους σταδίους. πλησίον δὲ τῆς κώμης γενόμενος ἐν ἧ τοὺς γάμους συνετέλουν<sup>2</sup> καὶ καταλιπὼν ἕν τινι τόπῳ αὐτῷ ἄρματι τὸν ἄρματηλάτην προῆγεν ἐνδεδυκῶς στολὴν Σκυθικὴν καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν Ὀδᾶτιν ἐστηκυῖαν πρὸ τοῦ κυλικείου<sup>3</sup> καὶ δακρύουσαν κερνασάν τε βραδέως τὴν φιάλην εἶπεν πλησίον στὰς παρ' αὐτήν· 'ὦ Ὀδάτι, πάρειμι δὴ σοι καθάπερ ἡξίωσας, ἐγὼ Ζαριάδρης' ἡ δὲ κατανόησασα ξένον ἄνδρα καὶ καλὸν καὶ ὅμοιον τῷ κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ἐωραμένῳ περιχαρὲς γενομένη δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν φιάλην· καὶ ὃς ἄρπασας αὐτὴν ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα καὶ ἔφυγεν ἔχων τὴν Ὀδᾶτιν. οἱ δὲ παῖδες καὶ αἱ θεράπαιναι συνειδυῖαι τὸν ἔρωτα κατεσιώπησαν καὶ κελεύοντος τοῦ πατρὸς λαλεῖν<sup>4</sup> οὐκ ἔφασαν εἰδέναι ὅπου<sup>5</sup> πεπόρευται. μνημονεύεται δὲ ὁ ἔρωσ οὗτος παρὰ τοῖς τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦσι βαρβάροις καὶ περισσῶς ἐστὶ ζηλωτός, καὶ τὸν μῦθον τοῦτον ζωγραφοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τοῖς βασιλείοις, ἔτι δὲ ταῖς ἰδιωτικαῖς οἰκίαις· καὶ ταῖς ἐαυτῶν θυγατράσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν δυναστῶν ὄνομα τίθενται Ὀδᾶτιν''

Τὸ ὅμοιον ἱστορεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Μασσαλιωτῶν Πολιτείᾳ γράφων οὕτως· "Φωκαεῖς οἱ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ ἐμπορίᾳ χρώμενοι ἔκτισαν Μασσαλίαν. Εὐξενος δὲ ὁ Φωκαεὺς Νάννῳ<sup>6</sup> τῷ βασιλεῖ (τοῦτο δ' ἦν αὐτῷ ὄνομα) ἦν ξένος. οὗτος

<sup>1</sup> γῆς πολλῆς Kaiibel: τῆς πόλεως ACE.

<sup>2</sup> ἐτέλει C. <sup>3</sup> CE. κυλικίου A.

<sup>4</sup> Kaiibel: καλεῖν A

<sup>5</sup> ὅποι Meineke.

<sup>6</sup> CE: νάννῳ A

out the knowledge of his army, and accompanied solely by his chariot-driver he started off at night in his chariot, traversing a large territory for a distance of about 800 stades <sup>a</sup> And getting near the village in which they were celebrating the nuptials he left the chariot-driver with the chariot in a certain place and proceeded on his way disguised in Scythian clothes. Passing into the court he spied Odatis standing in front of the sideboard weeping, while she slowly mixed the cup, and taking his stand beside her he said, 'Odatis, I am here according to your desire, I, Zaniadres' And she, perceiving a stranger there who was at once handsome and like the one she had seen in her sleep, was overjoyed, and gave the cup to him; he, catching her up, carried her off to his chariot and escaped with Odatis as his bride Meanwhile the slaves and the serving-maids, conscious that this was a love affair, lapsed into silence, and although the father commanded them to speak out they professed not to know where the young man had gone. Now this love affair is held in remembrance among the barbarians who live in Asia and it is exceedingly popular; in fact they picture this story in their temples and palaces and even in private dwellings; and most princes bestow the name Odatis on their own daughters."

Aristotle, also, records the occurrence of a similar affair in his *Constitution of Massiha*, writing as follows <sup>b</sup>: "The people of Phocaea, in Ionia, devoted as they were to commerce, founded Massiha.<sup>c</sup> Euxenus of Phocaea was a friend of the king, Nannus (for that was his name) This Nannus was celebrating

<sup>a</sup> One hundred miles

<sup>b</sup> Frag 549 Rose

<sup>c</sup> Marseilles, about 600 B.C

ὁ Νάννος ἐπιτελῶν γάμους τῆς θυγατρὸς κατὰ  
τύχην παραγενόμενον τὸν Εὐξενον παρακέκληκεν<sup>1</sup>  
ἐπὶ τὴν θοίνην ὁ δὲ γάμος ἐγίγνετο τόνδε τὸν<sup>2</sup>  
τρόπον ἔδει μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον εἰσελθοῦσαν τὴν  
παῖδα φιάλην κεκερασμένην ᾧ βούλοιτο δοῦναι τῶν  
b παρόντων μνηστήρων ᾧ δὲ δόϊ, τοῦτον εἶναι  
νυμφίον<sup>3</sup> ἢ δὲ παῖς εἰσελθοῦσα δίδωσιν εἴτε ἀπὸ  
τύχης εἴτε καὶ δι' ἄλλην τινὰ αἰτίαν τῷ Εὐξένῳ·  
ὄνομα δ' ἦν τῇ παιδί Πέττα<sup>4</sup> τούτου δὲ συμ-  
πεσόντος καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀξιοῦντος ὡς κατὰ θεὸν  
γενομένης τῆς δόσεως ἔχειν αὐτήν, ἔλαβεν ὁ  
Εὐξενος γυναικα καὶ συνῶκει μεταθέμενος τοῦνομα  
Ἀριστοξένην καὶ ἔστι γένος ἐν Μασσαλία ἀπὸ  
τῆς ἀνθρώπου μέχρι νῦν Πρωτιάδαι<sup>5</sup> καλούμενον  
Πρῶτις γὰρ<sup>6</sup> ἐγένετο υἱὸς Εὐξένου καὶ τῆς  
Ἀριστοξένης.”

c Θεμιστοκλῆς τε,<sup>7</sup> ὡς φησιν Ἰδομενεύς, οὐχ  
ἄρμα ζευξάμενος ἐταιρῶν πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς εἰσ-  
ῆλασεν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ; ἦσαν δ' αὐταὶ Λάμια καὶ  
Σκιώνη καὶ Σατύρα καὶ Νάννιον οὐ καὶ αὐτὸς  
Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐξ ἐταίρας ἦν γεγεννημένος<sup>8</sup> ὄνομα  
Ἀβροτόνου,<sup>9</sup> ὡς Ἀμφικράτης<sup>10</sup> ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῷ  
περὶ Ἐνδόξων Ἀνδρῶν συγγράμματι

Ἀβρότονον Θρήισσα γυνὴ γένος ἀλλὰ τεκέσθαι  
τὸν μέγαν Ἑλλησίν φασι<sup>11</sup> Θεμιστοκλέα.

<sup>1</sup> παρακεκληκεν Lumb, παρεκάλεσεν Kaibel.

<sup>2</sup> τὸν Musurus: om. A, κατὰ τὸν ἄνω ρῆθέντα τρόπον C,   
πειnar- ruzhel

<sup>3</sup> B, Musurus νῦν A.

<sup>4</sup> Πέττα (?) Kaibel πέττα A, πέττας (genitive, in a different   
constr.) C. <sup>5</sup> οἱ πρωτιάδαι C <sup>6</sup> Πρωτίας (?) Kaibel.

<sup>7</sup> δὲ Schweighauser.

<sup>8</sup> γεγεννημένος A

<sup>9</sup> ἀβροτόνου CE, ἀβροτόννου A, Ἀβροτόνου lemma in A.

<sup>10</sup> ἀμφικτῶν CE.

<sup>11</sup> φημί Plut *Anth Pal* vii. 306

his daughter's nuptials when, by chance, Euxenus arrived and was invited in to attend the festival banquet. Now the marriage was to be conducted in the following manner<sup>a</sup> after the dinner the girl was to come in and mix a cup and give it to any one of the suitors present that she desired; and he to whom she gave it was to be bridegroom. When the girl entered she gave the cup, whether by accident or for some other reason, to Euxenus, the girl's name was Petta<sup>b</sup>. When this befell, the father, believing that her giving the cup had been done by divine sanction, thought it only right that Euxenus should have her, so he took her to wife and lived with her, after changing her name to Aristoxenê. And there is a clan in Massilia to this day descended from the woman and called Protidae, for Protis was the son of Euxenus and Aristoxenê<sup>c</sup>."

Further, did not Themistocles, as Idomeneus says,<sup>d</sup> yoke a chariot with prostitutes and drive them into the city when the market-place was crowded? They were Lamia, Scionê, Satyra, and Nannion. Was not Themistocles himself born of a prostitute named Abrotonon? So Amphicrates records<sup>e</sup> in his treatise *On Famous Men*. "Abrotonon was a woman Thracian-born, yet, they say, she brought forth Themistocles, that mighty hero of Greece."

<sup>a</sup> Or, adopting the reading of C (see critical note 2), "the marriage was to be conducted in the manner described above."

<sup>b</sup> Justin 43. 3 gives her name as Gyptis.

<sup>c</sup> These two brief romances interrupt the story of licentiousness begun with Alcibiades at 574 d, p. 103; the story is now resumed.

<sup>d</sup> *F. H. G.* II. 491, Athen. 533 d (vol. v p. 408).

<sup>e</sup> *F. H. G.* IV. 300, cf. Plut. *Them.* 1, Ael. *V. H.* XII. 43.

d Νεάνθης δ' ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ τετάρτῃ  
 τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν Ἱστοριῶν Εὐτέρπης αὐτὸν εἶναι  
 φησιν υἱόν. Κῦρος δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπιστρα-  
 τεύσας οὐχὶ ἐταίραν οὔσαν τὴν Φωκαίδα τὴν σοφω-  
 τάτην καὶ<sup>1</sup> καλλίστην λεγομένην<sup>2</sup> εἶχε συστρα-  
 τευομένην; ἦν Ζηνοφάνης φησὶ πρότερον Μιλ-  
 τῶ καλουμένην Ἀσπασίαν μετονομασθῆναι. συν-  
 ηκολούθει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ Μιλησία παλλακίς ὁ δὲ  
 μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος οὐ Θαΐδα εἶχε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν  
 Ἀττικὴν ἐταίραν; περὶ ἧς φησι Κλείταρχος ὡς  
 e αἰτίας γενομένης τοῦ ἐμπρησθῆναι τὰ ἐν Περ-  
 σεπόλει βασιλεία. αὕτη δὲ ἡ Θαῖς μετὰ<sup>3</sup> τὸν  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατον καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ ἐγαμήθη τῷ  
 πρώτῳ βασιλεύσαντι Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐγέννησεν  
 αὐτῷ Λεοντίσκον<sup>4</sup> καὶ Λάγον, θυγατέρα δὲ Εἰρήνην,  
 ἣν ἔγημεν Εὐνοστος ὁ Σόλων τῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ  
 βασιλεὺς. καὶ ὁ δεύτερος δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου βα-  
 σιλεὺς, Φιλάδελφος δ' ἐπὶ κλην, ὡς ἱστορεῖ ὁ  
 Εὐεργέτης Πτολεμαῖος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Ὑπο-  
 μνημάτων, πλείστας ἔσχεν ἐρωμένας, Διδύμην μὲν  
 f μίαν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γυναικῶν μάλ' εὐπρεπεστάτην  
 τὴν ὄψιν καὶ Βιλιστίχην, ἔτι δὲ Ἀγαθόκλειαν καὶ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ added by Casaubon.

<sup>2</sup> λεγομένην Xen.. γενομένην A. <sup>3</sup> μετὰ CE· καὶ μετὰ A.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτῷ λεοντίσκον CE: αὐτῷ τέκνον λεοντίσκον A, τέκνον  
 Λεοντίσκον, deleting καὶ Λάγον Berve.

<sup>a</sup> F.H.G. III. 3, J. 2 A 192. Plut. *loc. cit.* quotes Neanthes further to the effect that she was a Carian, from Halicarnassus.

<sup>b</sup> Artaxerxes II, the expedition is the theme of Xenophon's *Anabasis*.

<sup>c</sup> Xen. *Anab.* i. 10. 2 calls her a concubine, παλλακίδα, not ἐταίραν.

<sup>d</sup> Xen. *Anab.* i. 10. 3



But Neanthes of Cyzicus, in the third and fourth books of his *History of Greece*, says<sup>a</sup> that Themistocles was the son of Euteipê. And as for Cyrus, who made the expedition against his brother,<sup>b</sup> did he not have with him on the expedition the woman of Phocaea, who was a prostitute, though she was called the most wise and most beautiful?<sup>c</sup> Of her Zenophanes says that she had formerly been called Milto, but her name was changed to Aspasia. Cyrus was also accompanied by the concubine from Miletus.<sup>d</sup> And did not Alexander the Great keep with him Thais, the Athenian prostitute?<sup>e</sup> Cleitarchus speaks<sup>f</sup> of her as having occasioned the burning of the palace at Persepolis. This Thais, after Alexander's death, was married to Ptolemy, the first king of Egypt, and bore to him Leontiscus and Lagus, also a daughter, Henê, who was married to Eunostus, the king of Soli in Cyprus. Again, the second king of Egypt surnamed Philadelphus, according to Ptolemy Euergetes in the third book of his *Commentaries*,<sup>g</sup> had a very great number of mistresses. Didymê, one of the native Egyptian women, of very extraordinary beauty, and Bilitichê,<sup>g</sup> also Agathocleia, and Stratonice, whose

<sup>a</sup> *Script. Alex. M.* 77, J. 2 B 745, 2 BD 490. See Plut. *Alex.* 38, who expands the narrative to show that the burning of the palace of Xerxes was in reprisal for what Xerxes had done to Athens. Arrian iii. 18. 10 places the conflagration in Pasargadae, and says that it was brought about in spite of Parmenion's protest, cf. Diod. xvii. 72, Q. Curt. v. 7 3-7, Berve, *Alexanderreich* ii. 175, cf. 304. How much truth is in the story cannot be determined. On such reprisals see Bickermann, *Rev. des études grecques*, 1934, 365-368.

<sup>f</sup> *F H G.* iii 186, J 2 B 984.

<sup>g</sup> Mentioned as his concubine by Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4. 48 Dindorf (Βλισίτην, Βλιστιχιν), cf. Plut. 753 c: below, 596 e, p. 217.

Στρατονίκην, ἧς τὸ μέγα μνημεῖον ὑπῆρχεν ἐπὶ τῇ  
 πρὸς Ἐλευσίνι θαλάσῃ, καὶ Μύρτιον καὶ ἄλλας  
 δὲ πλείστας, ἐπιρρεπέστερος ὢν πρὸς ἀφροδίσια.  
 Πολύβιος δὲ ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱσ-  
 τοριῶν Κλεινοῦς φησι τῆς οἰνοχοούσης αὐτῷ  
 εἰκόνας πολλὰς ἀνακεῖσθαι κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξ-  
 ἀνδρειαν μονοχίτωνας καὶ ῥυτὸν ἐχούσας ἐν ταῖς  
 χερσίν αἱ δὲ κάλλισται τῶν οἰκιῶν, φησίν, οὐ  
 Μυρτίου καὶ Μνησίδος καὶ Ποθεινῆς προσαγο-  
 ρεῦνται, καίτοι Μνησις μὲν ἦν αὐλητρίς, ἦν δὲ  
 καὶ Ποθεινὴ αὐλητρίς,<sup>1</sup> Μύρτιον δὲ μία τῶν  
 ἀποδεδειγμένων καὶ κοινῶν δεικτηριάδων.<sup>2</sup> τοῦ δὲ  
 577 Φιλοπάτορος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου οὐκ Ἀγαθό-  
 κλεια ἢ ἑταῖρα ἐκράτει, ἢ καὶ πᾶσαν ἀνατρέψασα  
 τὴν βασιλείαν, Εὖμαχος δὲ ὁ Νεαπολίτης ἐν τῇ  
 δευτέρᾳ τῶν περὶ Ἀντίβαν Ἱστοριῶν Ἱερώννυμόν<sup>3</sup>  
 φησι τὸν τυραννήσαντα Συρακοσίων ἀγαγέσθαι  
 γυναῖκα μίαν<sup>4</sup> τῶν ἐπ' οἰκήματος προεστηκυῶν,  
 Πειθῷ ὄνομα, καὶ ἀποδεῖξαι βασιλίδαν.

Τιμόθεος δ' ὁ στρατηγῆσας Ἀθηναίων ἐπι-  
 φανῶς ἑταῖρας ἦν υἱὸς Θράττης τὸ γένος, σεμνῆς  
 δ' ἄλλως τοὺς τρόπους μεταβάλλουσαι γὰρ αἱ  
 τοιαῦται εἰς τὸ σῶφρον τῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνυ-  
 νομένων εἰσὶ βελτίους. ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεος καὶ σκωπ-  
 τόμενός ποτε ὅτι τοιαύτης εἶη μητρὸς “ καὶ χάριν  
 γε αὐτῇ, φησίν, οἶδα, ὅτι δι' αὐτὴν Κόνωνός εἰμι

<sup>1</sup> ἦν δὲ and αὐλητρίς added from C: καὶ Ποθεινὴ alone A, after which Kaibel marked a lacuna, supplying ὀρχηστρίς.

<sup>2</sup> Casaubon: δικτηριάδων A

<sup>3</sup> ἱέρων (in different constr.) C. <sup>4</sup> μίαν added by Kaibel.

<sup>a</sup> Chap. 11. 2.

<sup>b</sup> See Athen. 425 e (vol. iv. p. 426), Navarre in *Rev. des ét.*

great monument used to stand on the seashore near Eleusis ; also Myrtion and very many others, since Ptolemy had a more than ordinary leaning to affairs of love Polybius, in the fourteenth book of his *Histories*, says <sup>a</sup> that many images of Cleino,<sup>b</sup> the girl who was his cupbearer, are set up in Alexandria, wearing only a tunic and holding a drinking-horn in her hand And are not the finest houses, Polybius asks, named after Myrtion and Mnesis and Poth-einê <sup>c</sup> And yet Mnesis was a flute-girl, Poth-einê also was a flute-girl, while Myrtion was one of the most notorious variety-actresses before the public And did not the prostitute Agathocleia hold sway over King Ptolemy Philopator—she who overturned his throne entirely <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> Eumachus of Neapolis, in the second book of his *Histories of Hannibal*, says <sup>a</sup> that Hieronymus, the tyrant of Syracuse, took to wife one of the prostitutes from a brothel, named Peitho, and made her queen.

Timotheus, the Athenian general, was known to be the son of a prostitute of Thracian birth, otherwise respectable in her manners For when such women change to a life of sobriety they are better than the women who pride themselves on their respectability. And when Timotheus was once jeered at because he came from such a mother he answered, "Yes. and what is more, I am grateful to her because she made

*anc.* 16 (1914), 39 (on the ἄβρα, "mi-servante, mi-demoiselle," in New Comedy), below, 589 f (p 181). On the drinking-horn (κύρυν) as an attribute also of Arsinoë see 497 b (vol v. p 218)

<sup>c</sup> So Trogus, *Prol.* xxx Her influence was so complete that Strab. 795 calls her his mother, cf Polyb xv 31 end See Plut. *Cleom.* 33, cf 753 D, on her death at the hands of the mob, Polyb xv. 33.

<sup>a</sup> F H G. III 102, J 2 B 906.

υἱός" Φιλέταιρον δὲ τὸν Περγάμου<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῆς  
 Καινῆς ταύτης λεγομένης βασιλεύσαντα χώρας  
 Βόας αὐλητρίδος, ἐταίρας τὸ γένος ἀπὸ Παφλα-  
 γονίας, υἱὸν φησι γενέσθαι Καρύστιος ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς  
 Ὑπομνήμασιν Ἀριστοφῶν δ' ὁ ῥήτωρ, ὁ τὸν  
 νόμον εἰσενεγκὼν ἐπ' Εὐκλείδου ἄρχοντος ὃς ἂν  
 μὴ ἐξ ἀστῆς γένηται νόθον εἶναι, αὐτὸς ἀπεδείχθη  
 c ὑπὸ Καλλιάρχου<sup>2</sup> τοῦ κωμικοῦ ἐκ Χορηγίδος τῆς  
 ἐταίρας παιδοποιησάμενος, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ  
 Καρύστιος ἐν τρίτῳ Ὑπομνημάτων Δημήτριος  
 δ' ὁ Πολιορκητῆς οὐ δαιμονίως ἦρα Λαμίας τῆς  
 αὐλητρίδος, ἐξ ἧς ἔσχε καὶ θυγατέρα Φίλαν, τὴν  
 δὲ Λάμιαν Πολέμων φησὶν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἐν  
 Σικυνῶνι Ποικίλης Στοᾶς θυγατέρα μὲν εἶναι  
 Κλεάνορος Ἀθηναίου, κατασκευάσαι δὲ Σικυνωνίοις  
 τὴν προκειμένην στοάν. ἦρα δὲ καὶ Λεαίνης καὶ  
 d αὐτῆς ἐταίρας Ἀττικῆς ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ ἄλλων  
 δὲ πλειόνων.

<sup>1</sup> Musurus: περὶ γάμου Α.

<sup>2</sup> Καλλίου Meineke

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<sup>a</sup> i.e. "New," adjacent to Pergamum; not the same as *Καινὸν χωρίον* in Pontus, Strabo 556, nor to be confused with the territory of the Caeni, a tribe in Thrace later conquered by Attalus II, Strabo 624

<sup>b</sup> *F H G* iv. 358. On Philetaerus, a eunuch whose brothers founded the Attalid dynasty, see Strabo 543, 623 and Bevan, *House of Seleucus* i. plate 1 no. 4. His rule lasted twenty years, to 263 or 260 B.C.

<sup>c</sup> 403-402 B.C.

me the son of Conon." Again, Philetæus, who was king of Pergamum and that country known as Caenê,<sup>a</sup> is said to have been the son of a flute-girl named Boa, a prostitute of Paphlagonian birth, according to Carystius of Pergamum in his *Historical Notes* <sup>b</sup> And the orator Aristophon, the same who in the archonship of Euclides <sup>c</sup> proposed the law that whoever was not born of a citizen mother should be accounted illegitimate,<sup>d</sup> was himself shown by the comic poet Calliades <sup>e</sup> to have had children by the prostitute Choregis, as Carystius again records in the third book of his *Notes* <sup>f</sup> And was not Demetrius Poliorcetes passionately in love with the flute-girl Lamia,<sup>g</sup> by whom also he had a daughter, Phila? Of Lamia Polemon says,<sup>h</sup> in his book *On the Painted Porch in Sicily*, that she was the daughter of Cleanor of Athens, and that she built for the Sicilyans the Porch in question But Demetrius was also in love with Leaena, also an Athenian prostitute, and with a good many other women besides <sup>i</sup>

<sup>d</sup> In the sense that he could not be enrolled as a citizen on coming of age

<sup>e</sup> A Calliades, poet of the New Comedy, is mentioned by Athen. 401 a (vol. iv. p. 314) Whether we accept Meineke's alteration to Καλλιόν, or (with greater probability) assume with Wilhelm, *Urkund dram. Auff.* 133, that Καλλιᾶδου is a by-form of Καλλιόν, it is still a question how he made his accusation—in a play or in a lawsuit (Kock i. 699), if the Callias of the Old Comedy is meant here, he must have had a very long career, since he appears first in 446 B.C. See vol. iv. p. 557, note *e* and P.-W. x. 1612, 1627, where, however, the statements are contradictory.

<sup>f</sup> *F.H.G.* iv. 358.

<sup>g</sup> Athen. 101 e, 128 b, 253 a (vol. i. p. 436, vol. ii. p. 90, vol. iii. p. 138)

<sup>h</sup> Preller 45-46, see Elderkin, *Am. J. Arch.* xxxviii. 1. 31.

<sup>i</sup> Below, 593 a, p. 197.

Μάχων δ' ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφο-  
 μέναις Χρείαις φησὶν οὕτως

ὑπερβολῇ δὲ τῆς Λεαίνης σχῆμά τι<sup>1</sup>  
 περαινομένης εὖ παρά τε τῷ Δημητρίῳ  
 εὐήμερούσης, φασὶ<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὴν Λάμιαν  
 τὸν βασιλέ' εὐμελῶς κελητίσαι ποτέ<sup>3</sup>  
 ἐπαινεθῆναί θ'.<sup>4</sup> ἡ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀπεκρίθη<sup>5</sup>

“ πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ Λέαιναν, εἰ βούλει, κράτει.”

ἦν δὲ ἡ Λάμια σφόδρα εὐθικτος καὶ ἀστικῆ<sup>6</sup> πρὸς  
 τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, καθάπερ καὶ Γνάθαινα, περὶ ἧς  
 εἰ ἐροῦμεν πάλιν δὲ περὶ τῆς Λαμίας ὁ Μάχων  
 οὕτω γράφει

Δημήτριός ποθ' ὁ βασιλεὺς γένη μύρων  
 Λαμία παρὰ πότον παντοδαπῶν ἐπεδείκνυτο  
 ἡ Λάμια δ' ἦν αὐλητρὶς, ἧς' σφόδρ' ἠδέως  
 σχεῖν<sup>8</sup> φασι κνησθῆναί τε τὸν Δημήτριον  
 ἀποδοκιμαζούσης δὲ<sup>9</sup> πάντα καὶ πάνν  
 κατεγγλιδώσης τῷ βασιλεῖ, νάρδον τινὰ  
 f διένευσ' ἐνεγκεῖν εὐχερῇ,<sup>10</sup> τῇ χειρὶ τε  
 ταῖδοιον ἀποτρίψας, θιγῶν<sup>11</sup> τοῖς δακτύλοις  
 “ τουτί γε, Λάμια, φησὶν, ὀσφράνθητι καὶ  
 εἴσει<sup>12</sup> παρὰ τᾶλλα διαφορὰν ὅσῃν ἔχει ”  
 κείνη<sup>13</sup> δὲ γελάσας “ ἀλλὰ τοῦτ', ἔφη, τάλαν,  
 ὅζειν<sup>14</sup> δοκεῖ μοι σαπρότατον πάντων πολὺ.”

<sup>1</sup> Jacobs. σχήματι A.

<sup>2</sup> Schweighauser φησι A.

<sup>3</sup> ποτέ CE (ἐπεὶ ποτε ἠδέως ταύτῃ ὁμιλήσοι ὁ Δημήτριος  
 κελητίσας εἶπε), om A.

<sup>4</sup> Meineke ὑπερεπαινεθῆναί τε A.

<sup>5</sup> τοῦτ' ἀπεκρίνατο (?) Kaibel.

<sup>6</sup> Schweighauser ἀπτική ACE.

<sup>7</sup> Lennep: ἡ A.

<sup>8</sup> Schweighauser: ἔχειν A.

<sup>9</sup> CE: τε A.

<sup>10</sup> A εὐτελεῖ Dobree

<sup>11</sup> θιγῶν Jacobs· καὶ θιγῶν ACE, Cobet, reading ταῖδοι'.

Now Machon the comic poet, in the collection entitled *Bright Sayings*,<sup>a</sup> has the following "With exquisite art Leaena, in lioness attitude,<sup>b</sup> offered herself readily, and found much favour with Demetrius; they say that Lamia also once bestrode the king with graceful art, and received praise therefor. And she made answer thus<sup>c</sup> 'In view of that, take on Leaena too if you like!'" For Lamia was very quick and witty in repartee, like Gnathaena,<sup>d</sup> of whom we shall speak. But of Lamia, again, Machon writes thus "Once upon a time at a drinking-party, King Demetrius was showing all kinds of perfumes to Lamia. Now Lamia was a flute-girl whom, they say, Demetrius was very sweet on and for whom he itched greatly. But she rejected all the perfumes and looked with very haughty disdain upon the king; so with a nod he ordered some spikenard to be brought and kept ready, while with his hand penem fricans tangensque digitis, 'Hoc quidem, inquit, olfacito, Lamia, et senties quantum praestet alius omnibus unguentis.' And she, with a laugh, replied, 'You wretch, I think this smells by far the most putrid

<sup>a</sup> The *Χρείαι* was not a comedy, hence it is not included in Kock's *Fragmenta*. See Athen. 348 d (vol. iv. p. 78); a similar work was ascribed to Aristippus, Diog. Laert. ii. 85, cf. Plut. 218 A.

<sup>b</sup> Leaena means "lioness." Schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 231 σχῆμα δέ ἐστὶν ἀκόλαστον καὶ ἐταιρικόν.

<sup>c</sup> A parody of Eur. *Med.* 1358 (Medea speaking to Jason) πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ λέαναν, εἰ βούλει, κάλει. For Lamia here Meineke reads Mania, below, 578 b.

<sup>d</sup> Athen. 384 e (vol. iv. p. 238), and 558 b (p. 16), 567 f (p. 67).

<sup>12</sup> A εἶση CE.

<sup>13</sup> Musurus: ἐκείνη ACE.

<sup>14</sup> Lennep: νομίζων A

Δημήτριος δ' εἶπ'<sup>1</sup>. “ ἀλλὰ μὲν, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς,  
ἀπὸ βαλάνου τοῦτ' ἐστί, Λάμια, βασιλικῆς ”

Πτολεμαῖος δ' ὁ τοῦ Ἀγησάρχου ἐν ταῖς περὶ  
578 τὸν Φιλοπάτορα Ἱστορίαις βασιλέων ἐρωμένας ἀνα-  
γράφων φησὶν “ Φιλίππου τοῦ Μακεδόνας<sup>2</sup> αὐξή-  
σαντος Φίλινναν τὴν ὀρχηστρίδα, ἐξ ἧς καὶ γεννῆσαι  
Ἀρριδαῖον τὸν μετ' Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλεύσαντα,  
Δημητρίου δὲ τοῦ Πολιορκητοῦ μετὰ τὰς προ-  
ειρημέναις Μανίαν, Ἀντιγόνου δὲ Δημῶ, ἐξ ἧς  
Ἀλκυνονέα γεννηθῆναι, Σελεύκου δὲ τοῦ νεωτέρου  
Μύσταν καὶ Νῦσαν ” Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ὁ Λέμβος  
ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Δημῶ  
b φησιν ἐρωμένην γενέσθαι τοῦ Δημητρίου· ἥ ἐπι-  
μανῆναι καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἀντίγονον καὶ  
ἀποκτεῖναι Ὁξύθεμιν ὥς καὶ πολλὰ συνεξαμαρ-  
τάνοντα τῷ Δημητρίῳ, καὶ ὅτι ἀπέκτεινε τὰς τῆς  
Δημοῦς θεραπαίνας στρεβλῶν.

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ εἰρημένου τῆς Μανίας ὀνόματος ὁ  
Μάχων τάδε φησὶν

ἴσως δ' ἂν ἀπορήσαι τις εὐλόγως θ' ἅμα  
τῶν νῦν ἀκροατῶν εἴ τις Ἀττικὴ γυνὴ  
προσηγορεύετ' ἢ ἐνομίσθη Μανία.

αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ὄνομα Φρυγιακὸν γυναικ' ἔχειν,  
c καὶ ταῦθ' ἐταίραν ἐκ μέσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος,

<sup>1</sup> εἶπεν ACE

<sup>2</sup> Madvig: μακεδόνας A, μακεδῶν (in different constr.) C

<sup>a</sup> Ptolemy iv. above, 576 f (p. 113).

<sup>b</sup> F.H.G. iii. 67, J. 2 B 888.

<sup>c</sup> Above, 557 c (p. 15).

<sup>d</sup> The One-Eyed, father of Demetrius

<sup>e</sup> Below, 593 e (p. 200). On Seleucus Callinicus see Bevan, *op. cit.* i. 181-203.



of all ' But Demetrius answered: ' Yes, but as the gods are my witnesses, Lamia, I would have you know that this is made from a royal gland ' "

Ptolemy, the son of Agesarchus, in his *Histories of Philopator*,<sup>a</sup> when giving a list of kings' mistresses says <sup>b</sup> " The mistress of Philip, who raised Macedonia to power, was the dancing-girl Philinna, by whom he became the father of Arrhidaeus,<sup>c</sup> who succeeded to the throne after Alexander; of Demetrius Poliorcetes, after the women mentioned above, there was Mania; of Antigonus,<sup>d</sup> Demo, who bore him Alcioneus; and of Seleucus the Younger, there were Mysta<sup>e</sup> and Nysa." But Heracleides Lembus in the thirty-sixth book of his *Histories* says<sup>f</sup> that Demo was the mistress of Demetrius; with her, he says, Demetrius's father Antigonus fell madly in love, and he put to death Oxythemis for sharing in the many crimes of Demetrius<sup>g</sup> and because Oxythemis had put to death on the rack the female attendants of Demo

Now regarding the name Mania<sup>h</sup> just mentioned, Machon has the following: " But perhaps one of my present hearers may ask, and with good reason, too, may doubt whether a woman of Attic birth was ever named or regularly called Mania For it is scandalous, you say, that a woman should bear a Phrygian name, especially when she comes from the very centre of Greece, even though she be a prostitute; scandalous

<sup>f</sup> *F.H.G.* III 168.

<sup>g</sup> *Cf* Athen. 614 f (p 310).

<sup>h</sup> It means " Madness," " Frenzy " (Mānia, with short *a*), used of the Bacchic revel, *cf.* Maenad But a Greek would also think of it as a foreign word, feminine of Mānes (Mānia, with long *a*), a common name for a slave, but not for a woman citizen Athen. 487 c and note *b* (vol. v. p. 169), 473 d (vol. v. p 90), Aristoph. *Ran* 1345.

μὴ τὴν Ἀθηναίων τι κωλύσαι<sup>1</sup> πόλιν,  
 ὑφ' ἧς ἅπαντές εἰς<sup>2</sup> ἐπηνωρθωμένοι<sup>3</sup>  
 τὸ μὲν οὖν ὑπάρχον εὐθέως ἐκ παιδίου  
 αὐτῇ Μέλιττ' ἦν ὄνομα τῷ μεγέθει μὲν ἦν<sup>4</sup>  
 τῶν τότε γυναικῶν βραχύ τι καταδεεστέρα  
 φωνῇ δ' ὁμιλία τε κεχορηγημένη,  
 πάνυ τ'<sup>5</sup> εὐπρόσωπος οὔσα καὶ καταπληκτική,  
 πολλοὺς ἐραστὰς καὶ πολίτας καὶ ξένους  
 ἔχουσ'—ὅπου περὶ τῆς<sup>6</sup> γυναικὸς τις λόγος  
 γένοιτο, μανίαν τὴν Μέλιτταν ὡς καλὴν  
 ἔφασκον εἶναι, καὶ προσεξειργάζετο  
 αὐτῇ<sup>7</sup> τὸ πλεῖον. ἡνίκα τις<sup>8</sup> σκώψειε γάρ,  
 ῥημάτων εὐθὺς τοῦτο “μανίαν” ἀνεβόα,  
 αὐτῇ θ' ὅτ' ἐπαινοίη τιν' ἢ ψέγοι πάλιν,  
 ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων προσέκειτο μανία τῶν λόγων  
 διὸ τῆς μανίας τὸ ῥῆμ'<sup>9</sup> ἐπεκτείνας δοκεῖ  
 καλέσαι τις αὐτὴν τῶν ἐραστῶν Μανίαν  
 μᾶλλον τὸ πάρεργον ἐπεκράτησ'<sup>10</sup> ἢ τοῦνομα.

Ἐδόκει δὲ λιθιάν, ὡς ἔοιχ', ἡ Μανία.  
 Γνάθαινα δ'<sup>11</sup> εἰς τὰ στρώμαθ' ὅτι προίετο,<sup>12</sup>  
 ἐνουθετήθη<sup>13</sup> τοῦτό πως ὑπὸ Διφίλου  
 μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἡ Γνάθαινα πρὸς τὴν Μανίαν  
 ἐλοιδορεῖτο καὶ λέγει “τί τοῦτο, παῖ,

<sup>1</sup> μὴ . κωλύσαι Kaibel, conjecturing γε for τι· ἡ τὴν Ἀθηναίων τι κωλύσαι A, ἢ τ' Ἀ. μὴ κωλύσαι CE.

<sup>2</sup> εἰσιν, εἰσὶν ACE.

<sup>3</sup> CE: ἐπηνωρθωμένοι A.

<sup>4</sup> τῷ ἦν Dindorf: τῷ μὲν μεγέθει (om. ἦν) A, τῷ μεγέθει alone CE.

<sup>5</sup> Kaibel: δ' A.

<sup>6</sup> τῆς added by Schweighauser.

<sup>7</sup> Schweighauser· αὐτῇ A.

<sup>8</sup> ἡνίκα τις Gulick: ἡνίκ' ἂν A.

<sup>9</sup> τὸ ῥῆμ' Meineke: ἐπιρρημ' A.

<sup>10</sup> ἐπεκράτησεν A.

that the city of Athens, by whose authority all men are kept in order, should not prevent it somehow<sup>a</sup> Now the name that had been given to her from babyhood was Melitta<sup>b</sup> In height, to be sure, she fell somewhat short of the other women of her age, but with voice and conversation she was well supplied; very good-looking too, and stunning, with many lovers, both citizens and foreigners Wherever any talk arose over this woman people would say, 'It's *madness*,<sup>c</sup> how beautiful Melitta is!' And then she would herself proceed to put the word to further use For whenever one made a joke she would straightway cry out that little word 'madness!' And when she herself praised anyone, or again blamed him, to both of her sentences she added 'madness.' Hence, it seems, one of her lovers lengthened the word *mânia* (madness) and called her *Mânia*, and so this by-word came to prevail more than her own name

"Now it seems, as is reported, that *Mama* suffered from the stone, but *Gnathaena*, because she soiled the bedclothes, was chastised somehow for this by *Diphilus*<sup>d</sup> And once after this *Gnathaena* was reviling *Mama* and said 'How about this, sister, even

<sup>a</sup> The text is uncertain; the speaker is indulging in comic exaggeration there ought to be a law, he thinks, against such use of names.

<sup>b</sup> An hetaera with the same name (*Melissa*) is mentioned by *Athen* 157 a (vol. II p. 214)

<sup>c</sup> Here *mânia* means "maddening," "monstrous"

<sup>d</sup> The comic poet; see *Athen* 243 e (vol. III. p. 96).

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<sup>11</sup> Kaibel:  $\tau\epsilon$  AE,  $\tau'$  C

<sup>12</sup> Kaibel:  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\iota\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$  ACE

<sup>13</sup> Lobeck.  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\theta\epsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\theta\eta$  A.

εἰ καὶ<sup>1</sup> λίθον εἶχες, <sup>2</sup> ὑπολαβοῦς ἡ Μανία  
 “ ἔδωκ’ ἄν, ἔν’ εἶχες, φήσ’,<sup>3</sup> ἀποψᾶσθαι, τάλαν.”

“Οτι δ’ ἦν καὶ ἀστεία τις ἀποκρίνασθαι, τάδε  
 f περὶ αὐτῆς ὁ Μάχων ἀναγράφει·

τῆς Μανίας ἦρα Λεοντίσκος ποτὲ  
 ὁ παγκρατιαστής καὶ συνεῖχ’ αὐτὴν μόνος  
 γαμετῆς τρόπον γυναικός ὑπὸ δ’ Ἀντήνορος  
 μοιχευομένην αἰσθόμενος<sup>4</sup> αὐτὴν ὕστερον  
 σφόδρ’ ἠγανάκτησ’ ἡ δὲ “ μῆθέν, φησί, σοί,  
 ψυχῇ,<sup>5</sup> μελέτω· μαθεῖν γὰρ αἰσθῆσθαι θ’ ἅμα  
 Ὀλυμπιονικῶν νυκτὸς ἀθλητῶν δυεῖν  
 579 πληγὴν παρὰ πληγὴν<sup>6</sup> τί δύναται ποτ’ ἤθελον ”  
 αἰτουμένην λέγουσι τὴν πυγὴν ποτε  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Μανίαν Δημητρίου  
 ἀνταξιῶσαι δωρεὰν καὐτόν τινα  
 δόντος δ’ ἐπιστρέψασα μετὰ μικρὸν λέγει  
 “ Ἀγαμέμνωνος παῖ, νῦν ἐκείν’<sup>7</sup> ἔξεστί σοι ”  
 εἶναι δοκῶν αὐτόμολος ἄνθρωπος ξένος  
 καὶ παρεπιδημήσας Ἀθήνησιν ποτε  
 τὴν Μανίαν μετεπέμψαθ’, ὅσον ἤτησε δούς.  
 εἰς τὸν πότον δ’<sup>8</sup> ἦν συμπαραλειφώς τινας  
 b ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τῶν ἐπιγελᾶν εἰθισμένων  
 ἅπαντα τοῖς τρέφουσιν αἰεὶ πρὸς χάριν  
 βουλόμενος εἶναι γλαφυρὸς ἀστεϊὸς θ’ ἅμα,

<sup>1</sup> CE: εἰ δὲ A.

<sup>2</sup> Kaibel· ἔχῃσ A, ἔχῃς C

<sup>3</sup> C: φηισ’ A

<sup>4</sup> CE: αἰσθανόμενος A.

<sup>5</sup> Musurus· ψυχῇ A.

<sup>6</sup> παρὰ πληγὴν added by Dobree

<sup>7</sup> ἐκεῖνα A.

<sup>8</sup> πότον added by Grotius, δ’ Kaibel· εἰς τονδε A.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. below, 584 c, and Aristoph *Plut* 817 ἀποψώμεθα δ’ οὐ λίθοις ἔτι, ἀλλὰ σκοροδίους ὑπὸ τρυφῆς ἐκάστοτε.

<sup>b</sup> The pancratium was a combination of boxing and wrestling On Leontiscus see Pausan. vi. 4 3.

if you did have a stone ?' Mania retorted, ' I should have given it to you, you wretch, that you might have had something with which to cleanse yourself.' " <sup>a</sup>

To show that Mania was witty in her answers Machon records the following about her " The pancratiast <sup>b</sup> Leontiscus was once the lover of Mania, and kept her for himself alone like a wedded wife. He later discovered that she was being seduced by Antenor, <sup>c</sup> and was very angry. But she said ' Let that not bother you at all, sweetheart ; for I just wanted to make sure and find out for myself what two athletes, victors at Olympia, could do, stroke for stroke, in a single night ' "

" They say that Mania, cum clunes eius aliquando poposcisset rex Demetrius, demanded in return a favour from him. And when the king had conferred it she, after a little, turned about and said, <sup>d</sup> ' Son of Agamemnon, now you may have that which you desired ' "

" A foreigner who was supposed to be a slacker and had come to live in Athens once sent for Mania, paying her all that she asked. And to his drinking-party he had invited some others from the town, men accustomed to laugh always with approval in gratitude to their patrons for all they gave. The host was eager to show himself both subtle and witty, while Mania

<sup>a</sup> Another ' + - - - - - Olympia in 308 B.C. See Athen 135 c

<sup>d</sup> Soph E

says to Orestes

νῦν ἐκεῖν' ἐξεστὶ σοι  
παρόντι λεύσσειν ὧν πρόθυμος ἦσθ' αἰεί,

" now you may see, since you are here, those things for which you were always so eager."

τῆς Μανίας ἄριστα παιζούσης σφόδρα  
 ἀνισταμένης τε πολλάκις, εἰς δασύποδα<sup>1</sup>  
 αὐτὴν ἐπικρουῖσαι βουλόμενος “ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,  
 μειράκια, τί δοκεῖ τῶν ἀγρίων ὑμῖν ποτε  
 c ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τάχιστα θηρίον<sup>2</sup> τρέχειν,”  
 ἡ Μανία δ’ “ αὐτόμολος, ὦ βέλτιστ’,” ἔφη  
 μετὰ ταῦτα δ’ ὥς εἰσῆλθε πάλιν ἡ Μανία,  
 τὸν αὐτόμολον ἔσκωπτε ῥίψασπιν τ’ ἔφη  
 αὐτὸν γεγονέναι προσβολῆς οὔσης ποτέ  
 ὁ δὲ στρατιώτης ὑπὸ τι δῆ<sup>3</sup> σκυθρωπάσας  
 ἀπεπέμψατ’ αὐτὴν διαλιποῦσα δ’ ἡμέραν<sup>4</sup>  
 “ μὴθὲν παρὰ τοῦτο, φησί, λυποῦ, φίλτατε·  
 οὐ γὰρ σὺ φεύγων ἀπέβαλες τὴν ἀσπίδα,  
 d μὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ἀλλ’ ὁ σοὶ χρήσας τότε.”  
 ἐν συμποσίῳ δ’, ὥς φασι, παρὰ τῇ Μανίᾳ  
 παρεδέξατ’ αὐτὴν τῶν πονηρῶν τις πάννυ.  
 καὶ ὥς<sup>5</sup> ἐπηρώτησε “ πότερ’ ἄνω θέλεις  
 ἔλθοῦς’ ἅμα βαλεῖν ἢ κάτω,” γέλασας “ ἄνω,  
 βέλτιστε, φησίν. ὑπὸ τι γὰρ δέδοικά σε  
 μή μου προπεσούσης<sup>6</sup> τοῦμπλόκιον ὑπεκτράγης.”

Καὶ ἄλλων δὲ ἑταιρῶν ἀπομνημονεύματα ὁ  
 e Μάχων συνήγαγεν, ὧν οὐκ ἄκαιρόν ἐστιν κατὰ τὸ  
 ἐξῆς μνημονεῦσαι Γναθαίνης μὲν οὕτως·

ἡ παρὰ Γναθαίνῃ Δίφιλος πίνων ποτὲ  
 “ ψυχρόν γ’, ἔφη, τὰγγεῖον, ὦ Γνάθαιν’, ἔχεις.”

<sup>1</sup> The faulty verse has not yet been satisfactorily emended.  
 C has· ἀνισταμένην πολλάκις καὶ παίζουσιν ὡς δασύποδα

<sup>2</sup> θηρίων CE

<sup>3</sup> δῆ added by Casaubon.

<sup>4</sup> Kaibel: ἀπέπεμψε ταύτην διαλιποῦσα δ’ ἡ ἑταῖρα AC.

<sup>5</sup> Hemsterhuys: καθὼς A.

played her very best tricks, but frequently had to retire, and he, intending to jeer at her as at some scurrying hare said, 'In the name of the gods, my lads, what wild animal in the forest do you think can run the fastest?' But Mania replied, 'The slacker, my fine fellow.' When Mania, after this, had entered the room once more, she began to jeer at the slacker and said he had been a shield-caster<sup>a</sup> on the occasion of some attack. The soldier scowling not a little at this, sent her home, but after a day's interval she said, 'Don't be disturbed, dearie, at what I have said; for, as Aphrodite is my witness, it wasn't *you* who lost the shield when you fled, but it was the man who lent it to you that day.'

"And at a symposium, so they say, in Mania's house, one of the guests, a very vicious man, took his turn to embrace her. And when he asked, 'Do you wish to come together from before or from behind?' she said with a laugh, 'From before, good sir. For I am rather afraid that otherwise you will bite off my braids'."

Machon has collected memorable sayings of other prostitutes as well, which it will not be out of place to record in order here. Of Gnathaena he has the following. "Diphilus, drinking once at Gnathaena's house, remarked, 'That vessel you have is cold,

<sup>a</sup> Both Archilochus and Horace humorously confess to throwing away their shields, but for ordinary men it was no slight disgrace, Aristoph. *Nub* 353 Κλεώνυμον τὸν ῥήλασπιν. For a German translation of this passage see K. Ohlert, *Ratsel u. Ratselspiele*<sup>2</sup> 66.

<sup>6</sup> Musurus. προσπεσούσης Α.

<sup>7</sup> These four vss. deleted by Dindorf, they are an abbreviated version of the following

“ τῶν σῶν γάρ, εἶπεν, ἐπιμελῶς, ὦ Δίφιλε,  
εἰς αὐτό γ’ αἰεὶ δραμάτων ἐμβάλλομεν ”

πρὸς τὴν Γνάθαιναν Δίφιλος κληθεὶς ποτε  
ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ὡς λέγουσι, τοῖς Ἀφροδισίοις,  
τιμώμενος μάλιστα τῶν ἐρωμένων  
(ἦσθε δ’<sup>1</sup> ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ἐκτενῶς ἀγαπώμενος)  
παρῆν ἔχων δύο Χῖα, Θάσια τέτταρα,  
μύρον, στεφάνους, τραγήματ’, ἔριφον, ταινίας,  
ὄψον, μάγειρον, τὰ μετὰ ταῦτ’ αὐλητρίδα

f καὶ τῶν ἐραστῶν Συριακοῦ τινος ξένου  
πέμψαντος αὐτῇ χιόνα σαπέρδην θ’ ἓνα,<sup>2</sup>  
αἰσχυνομένη τὰ δῶρα μή τις καταμάθῃ  
φυλαττομένη τε πολὺ μάλιστα Δίφιλον  
μὴ δῶ δίκην μετὰ ταῦτα κωμωδουμένη,  
τὸ μὲν τάριχος εἶπε ταχέως<sup>3</sup> ἀποφέρειν  
πρὸς τοὺς σπανίζειν ὁμολογουμένους<sup>4</sup> ἄλῶν,  
τὴν χιόνα δ’ εἰς τὸν ἄκρατον ἐνσεῖσαι λάθρα  
80 τῷ παιδί τ’ ἐπέταξ’<sup>5</sup> ἐγχεάνθ’ ὅσον δέκα  
κυάθους προσενεγκεῖν Διφίλῳ ποτήριον.  
ὑπερηδέως δὲ τὴν κύλικ’<sup>6</sup> ἐκπιὼν ἄφνω  
καὶ τὸ παράδοξον καταπλαγεὶς ὁ Δίφιλος  
“ νῆ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ θεούς, ψυχρόν γ’, ἔφη,  
Γνάθαιν’, ἔχεις τὸν λάκκον ὁμολογουμένως ”

<sup>1</sup> ἦσθη δ’ Peppink (ἦδει δ’ Kaibel): λήθη A.

<sup>2</sup> θ’ ἄμα Meineke

<sup>3</sup> CE: ταχέωςτ’ A.

<sup>4</sup> ὁμολογουμένως A, ὁμολογημένους CE.

<sup>5</sup> ἐπέταξεν A

<sup>6</sup> κύλικα A



Gnathaena.' 'Yes,' she said, 'we make it so on purpose; for we always pour in some of your plays, Diphilus'

"Once upon a time Diphilus was invited to Gnathaena's house, to dine, so they say, in celebration of the festival of Aphrodite; he, being the most esteemed of all her lovers (and he delighted in her passionate love for him), came with two jars of Chian, four of Thasian, perfume, wreaths, nuts, and raisins, a kid, ribbons,<sup>a</sup> relishes, a cook, and after all that a flute-girl. And one of her lovers, a stranger from Syria, had sent her some snow<sup>b</sup> and one saperda<sup>c</sup>; she, being ashamed if any one should learn of such gifts, and most of all fearing that Diphilus might punish her by putting her in one of his comedies afterwards, ordered the dried fish to be quickly carried away to those who were indubitably in want of a dole,<sup>d</sup> while the snow was to be secretly shaken up in the unmix'd wine; then she directed the slave to pour out about a pint<sup>e</sup> and offer the cup to Diphilus. Overjoyed, Diphilus quickly drank out the cup, and overcome by the surprising effect he cried, 'I swear, Athena and the gods bear me witness, Gnathaena, that your wine-cellar is

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps, "ribbon-fishes," esteemed as a dainty, Athen. 325 f (vol. III. p. 464). This was a dinner contributed (ἀπὸ συμβολῶν) by all the guests, see Athen. 365 d (vol. IV. p. 154).

<sup>b</sup> For snow used in cooling wine see Athen. 125 c-d (vol. II. p. 80), where, as I now believe, the reading should be ἐθάφθη ζῶη "was buried alive," i. e. stored in a pit until needed.

<sup>c</sup> On this very unsavoury fish, a kind of sea-perch preserved by salting, see Athen. 117 a (vol. II. p. 46).

<sup>d</sup> Lit. "some salt."

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "about 10 cupfuls," the cup (κύαθος) being of the small variety with high handle (vol. V. pl. 7).

ἡ δ' εἶπε " τῶν σῶν δραμάτων γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς  
εἰς αὐτὸν αἰεὶ τοὺς προλόγους ἐμβάλλομεν."

μαστιγίας μῶλωπας ὑψηλοὺς ἔχων  
μετὰ τῆς Γναθαίνης ἀπὸ τύχης ἀνεπαύετο.

- b περιλαμβάνουσα δ' αὐτόν, ὡς ἀνώμαλον  
τὸ νῶτον εἶχε παντελῶς, " τάλαν, τάλαν  
ἄνερ, πόθεν ἔχεις ταῦτ', ἔφη, τὰ τραύματα, "  
κακείνος αὐτῇ συντόμως ἀπεκρίνατο  
ὅτι παῖς ποτ' ὦν ἀνείλατ' εἰς πυρὰν ὅτε<sup>1</sup>  
παίζων μετὰ τινων ἡλικιωτῶν ἐνέπεσεν  
" ναὶ τὴν φίλην Δήμητρα, δικαίως τοι δέρος,<sup>2</sup>  
ἄνθρωπε, φησὶν, ἐξεδάρης ἀκόλαστος ὦν."

- c παρὰ Δεξιθέα δειπνοῦσα θῆταίρα ποτὲ  
Γνάθαινα, τοῦψον ἀποτιθείσης πᾶν σχεδὸν  
τῆς Δεξιθέας τῇ μητρί, " νῆ τὴν Ἀρτεμιν,  
εἰ, φησὶν, ᾗδειν, ἡ Γνάθαινα, τοῦτ' ἐγώ,  
τῇ μητρὶ συνεδείπνουν ἄν, οὐχὶ σοί, γύναι."

ἐπεὶ προέβη τοῖς ἔτεσιν ἡ Γνάθαινα καὶ  
ἤδη τελέως ἦν ὁμολογουμένη<sup>3</sup> σορός,  
εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν λέγουσιν αὐτὴν ἐξίνει<sup>4</sup>  
καὶ τοῦψον ἐφορᾶν καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν πόσου  
πωλεῖθ' ἕκαστον εἰτ' ἰδοῦσα κατὰ τύχην  
ἰστώντα<sup>5</sup> κρεοπώλην τιν' ἀστεῖον πάνυ

- d τῇ θ' ἡλικία σφόδρα νέον " ὦ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,

<sup>1</sup> ἀνείλατ' (ἀνείλετ') ὅτε Kaibel · ποτε ὦν ἐνήλατο εἰς  
πυρὰν (sic) ποτε A.

<sup>2</sup> τοι δέρος Capps: τοιγαρ A

<sup>3</sup> Meineke: ὁμολογουμένως A.

<sup>4</sup> Musurius (cf. *Etym. M.* 467. 19): ἐξεῖναι A, ἐξήει (in a  
different constr.) CE.

<sup>5</sup> Meineke: ἐστῶτα A

indubitably cold.' And she replied, 'Yes, for we always take care to pour in the prologues of your plays.'<sup>a</sup>

"It so happened that a rogue with the scars of a flogging rising high on his back went to bed with Gnathaena. And discovering in her embrace how rough his back was everywhere she said, 'Wretched, wretched man, how did you get these bruises?' And he answered her curtly that he got them once when he was a boy playing with some of his mates and fell into a funeral-pyre.<sup>b</sup> 'Yes, by the dear Demeter,' said she; 'it was quite right, you rascal, that you should have your skin peeled off, lecher that you are.'

"Once Gnathaena was at dinner with the courtesan Dexithea, and when the latter set aside almost all the choicest relishes for her mother, Gnathaena said, 'By Artemis, if I had known of this I should have taken dinner with your mother, instead of with you, woman.'

"After Gnathaena had advanced in years and was by that time, as all agreed, nothing but a perfect corpse,<sup>c</sup> they say she went out into the market-place, and as she gazed at the dainties there she kept asking how much each cost. Finally she chanced to see a very nice butcher's boy, very young in years, at the meat-scales, and she said. 'You, there, my lad, you

see Coppola in *Atene e Roma*, 1924, pp. 189-191, cf Athen. 451 b-c (vol. iv p 544)

<sup>b</sup> Or, "a fire burning on an altar." In either case the act would be sacrilegious, even though accidental

<sup>c</sup> Lit "coffin," cf Aristoph *Vesp.* 1365 ποθεῖν ἐρᾶν τ' εἶκας σοφοῦ, Plaut *Mil Glor* in l. 33 itane tibi ego videor oppido Acherunticus? Tam capularis? So τύμβος Eur *Med.* 1269, *Heracld* 167, Luc. *Dial. Mort.* vi. 2 ἐμψυχον τάφον

μειράκιον, ὁ καλός, φησί, πῶς ἴστης; φράσον”  
 ὁ δὲ μειδιάσας “ κύβδ’, ἔφη, τριωβόλου.”  
 “ τίς δ’ οὐπιτρέψων ἐστί σοι, φησίν, τάλαν,  
 ὄντα γ’ ἐν Ἀθήναις Καρικοῖς χρήσθαι σταθμοῖς, ”

Στρατοκλῆς δὲ<sup>1</sup> ἐρίφους προῖκ’ ἐδίδου τοῖς  
 γνωρίμοις

λοπάδας δ’ ἐνάλμους<sup>2</sup> ἐπισυνήρτυεν, δοκῶν<sup>3</sup>  
 καὶ δίψαν<sup>4</sup> ὑποδιπλοῦσθ’ ἂν<sup>5</sup> εἰς τὴν αὔριον  
 οἱ τοῖς ἐπισυνάπτειν βουλομένοις τὸν ἑωθινόν,  
 μακρὰς δὲ πράττειν εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ ξυμβολάς.  
 Γνάθαινα δ’ αὐτῆς εἶπε πρὸς ἑραστήν τινα  
 στραγγευόμενον<sup>6</sup> ὀρώσα περὶ τὰς συμβολάς,  
 “ Στρατοκλῆς ἐπ’ ἐρίφοις, φησί, χειμῶνας<sup>7</sup>  
 ποιεῖ.”

ἰδοῦς’ ἔφηβον ἢ Γνάθαινα ἰσχνὸν πάνυ  
 καὶ μέλανα λεπτὸν θ’, ὡς ἔοιχ’, ὑπερβολῇ  
 καὶ λαπαρόν,<sup>8</sup> ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἐφήβων<sup>9</sup> βραχύτερον,  
 ἔσκωπτεν εἰς Ἀδωνιν. ἀναγώγως δέ πως  
 τοῦ μειρακίσκου καὶ τυραννικώτερον  
 αὐτῇ συναντήσαντος ἐμβλέψασα τῇ

<sup>1</sup> δὲ Meineke: δ’ A, δὲ CE.

<sup>2</sup> δ’ ἐνάλμους Dobree συνάλμους A, τὲ συναλμούς C.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπισυνήρτυεν, δοκῶν (?) Kaibel: τε συναρτύειν δοκῶν A.

<sup>4</sup> δίψαν Musurus: διψᾶν A

<sup>5</sup> ὑποδιπλοῦσθ’ ἂν (?) Kaibel ὑπολειπόμενοι A

<sup>6</sup> Casaubon: στρατευόμενον A.

<sup>7</sup> A. χειμῶνα CE

<sup>8</sup> λαπαρόν Coraes. λιπαρόν A, ῥυπαρόν Meineke λάσιον?

<sup>9</sup> συνεφήβων (?) Kaibel

pretty one, tell me in the gods' name how you weigh your meat?' And he replied with a smile, 'Stooping over, at the cost of threepence.'<sup>a</sup> 'But who,' she said, will 'allow you, you wretch, to use Caian measures when you are in Athens?'<sup>b</sup>

"Stratocles once offered to his acquaintances two kids as a free gift, but added some dishes highly seasoned with salt, expecting a redoubled thirst on the morrow on the part of those who wanted to continue their drinking into the early morning; he could then, he thought, exact the payment of large contributions.<sup>c</sup> And Gnathaena, seeing one of her lovers haggling over the payments said to him, 'Stratocles can raise a storm over the kids'<sup>d</sup>

"Seeing a lad who was very lean, dark, and to all appearance exceedingly weak and emaciated, moreover shorter than the lads of his age, Gnathaena derisively called him Adonis. But when the lad jostled against her in a rude and truculent manner, she gave a meaning look at her daughter, who was

<sup>a</sup> The adverb κύβδα in the boy's answer is used *sens obsc.*, supply στήσω σε, and cf Athen 442 a, 447 b (vol. iv. pp. 502, 526), Aristoph *Thesm* 488, ἐρείδομαι κύβδ' ἐχομένη τῆς δάφνης.

<sup>b</sup> A complicated jest with the same obscene intent σταθμοῖς means both a scale for weighing and a stance. Hesych Καρικῶ σχήματι

<sup>c</sup> The text is conjectural, but the sense is fairly clear. For Stratocles, who got up the dinner by subscription or "contributions" (ἀπό συμβολῶν), see Athen 135 b, 137 c (vol. ii. pp. 118, 126). The highly seasoned dishes, designed to produce thirst and so increase the wine bills, on which Stratocles expected to make a profit, may have been pickled oysters, Luc *Asin.* 47

<sup>d</sup> Alluding to the belief that the constellation of the Kids (Haedi) brought on storms; Theocr vii 53, Arat *Phaen.* 158, Verg. *Aen* ix 668 pluvialibus Haedis. The ambiguous preposition ἐπί here means both "over" and "after."

θυγατρὶ μετ' αὐτῆς<sup>1</sup> συμπορευομένη λέγει  
 “δικαιότερον ἦν, ὦ τέκνον, νῆ τῷ θεῷ<sup>2</sup> .”

λέγουσι Ποντικόν τι μειρακύλλιον  
 ἀναπαυόμενον μετὰ τῆς Γναθαίνης ἀξιούν  
 πρῶον<sup>3</sup> γενόμενον, ὥστε τὴν πυγὴν ἀπαξ  
 αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν· τὴν δὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν “τάλαν,  
 ἔπειτα τὴν πυγὴν με νῦν αἰτεῖς, ὅτε

1 τὰς ὕς ἐπὶ νομὴν καιρὸς ἐστὶν ἐξάγειν,”

Καὶ Γναθαίνιου δέ γε τῆς θυγατριδῆς αὐτῆς τάδε  
 ἀναγράφει

εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας παρεπιδημήσας ξένος  
 σατράπης πάνυ γέρων, ὡς ἐνεθήκοντ' ὦν<sup>4</sup> ἐτῶν,  
 Κρονίοις ἀπιούσαν εἶδε τὴν Γναθαίνιον  
 μετὰ τῆς Γναθαίνης ἐξ Ἀφροδισίου τινός,  
 τό τ' εἶδος αὐτῆς τοὺς ῥυθμούς τε καταμαθὼν  
 ἐπυνθάνετο μίσθωμα πρᾶσσεται<sup>5</sup> πόσον

1 τῆς νυκτός. ἡ Γνάθαινα δ' εἰς τὴν πορφύραν  
 καὶ τὰ δόρατ' ἀποβλέψασα δραχμὰς χιλίας<sup>6</sup>  
 ἔταξεν. ὁ δ' ἄφνω καιρίμην<sup>7</sup> πληγείς “παπαῖ,  
 ζωγρεῖς, γύναι, φήσ', ἔνεκα τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ  
 μνᾶς πραξαμένη δὲ πέντε τὰς σπονδὰς ποοῦ  
 καὶ στρώσον ἡμῖν ἔνδον” ἡ δ' ἐπιδέξιον  
 βουλόμενον εἶναι τὸν σατράπην ἀπεδέξατο,  
 εἶπεν δέ· “ἡμεῖς μὲν<sup>8</sup> δὸς ὅσον ἐπιθυμεῖς, πάτερ

<sup>1</sup> Schweighauser: μετὰ ταύτης A.

<sup>2</sup> Musurus τῷ θεῷ A. Lacuna noted by Dindorf  
 Something like μὴ Ἀδωνιν ἀλλὰ σὺν κάπριον αὐτὸν καλεῖν may  
 be supplied

<sup>3</sup> Kaibel. πρῶτ' A

<sup>4</sup> ὦν added by Dindorf

<sup>5</sup> πρᾶσσετε A: πράττεται CE.

<sup>6</sup> ACE: χιλίας δραχμὰς Roeper

<sup>7</sup> Musurus: καιρίμην (sic) A.

<sup>8</sup> ἡμεῖς μὲν added by Kaibel

walking with her, and said. ' By the two goddesses,<sup>a</sup> my child, it would have been more correct . ' <sup>b</sup>

" They say that a stupling from Pontus went to bed with Gnathaena, and when morning came he demanded clunes ut ei semel praebeiet; whereat she said, ' You wretch ' tu a me clunes postulas, when it is now high time you were driving out the pigs to pasture ? ' " <sup>c</sup>

And then again, Machon records these sayings of Gnathaemon, the granddaughter of Gnathaena. " A stranger came to live in Athens, a nabob very old—about ninety years—who at the festival of Cronus saw Gnathaemon with Gnathaena leaving the temple of Aphrodite; and after studying her figure with its symmetries he asked how much she charged as fee for the night. Gnathaena, having an eye to his purple cloak and his lances, set the price at a thousand drachmas <sup>d</sup>. But he, struck with this sudden body-blow, said, ' Alas, woman, you treat me like a prisoner of war <sup>e</sup> because of my military appearance; let's make a truce; take five minae <sup>f</sup> and spread a couch for us inside ' And she, since the nabob was so eager to show his powers, took him in and said ' To me you may give anything you like,

<sup>a</sup> Demeter and Persephone, as often in women's oaths

<sup>b</sup> Supply perhaps " to call him not Adonis but the Boar."

<sup>c</sup> The use of *ῥς* in the sense of *puḍenda muliebria* is not noticed in L. & S., but cf. *ῥσσαξ, ῥσσακος* Aristoph. *Lys.* 1001, and *τὰ ῥεῖα* below, 583 d. So *χοῖρος* frequently, and Latin *porcus*, Varro, *De re rust.* ii 4 13

<sup>d</sup> Nearly £50. As a richly-clad soldier he would be supposed to have a generous supply of cash

<sup>e</sup> Prisoners were taken alive (hence *ζωγυεῖς*) for the ransom they would bring

<sup>f</sup> Half the sum demanded.

οἶδα γὰρ ἀκριβῶς καὶ πέποιθα τοῦθ' ὅτι  
εἰς νύκτ' ἀποδώσεις τῷ θυγατρίῳ μου διπλοῦν."

- ἐν ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς χαλκοτύπος σφόδρ' εὐφυής,  
καταλελυκίας τῆς Γναθαινίου σχεδὸν  
οὐκέτι θ' ἔταιρεῖν ὑπομενούσης διὰ τό πως  
τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον ἡδέως αὐτῆς ἔχειν  
τὸν ὑποκριτὴν· τότε δ' ὄντος ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ,  
d ἐξ οὗ γεγονὸς ἦν ἄρρεν αὐτῷ παιδίον,  
οὐχ ὑπομένουσαν τὴν Γναθαίνιον λαβεῖν  
μίσθωμα, λιπαρῶν δὲ καὶ προσκείμενος  
πολὺ δαπανήσας ἔσχεν αὐτὴν χρυσίον.  
ἀνάγωγος ὢν δέ<sup>1</sup> καὶ βάνανσος παντελῶς  
ἐν σκυτοτομείῳ<sup>2</sup> μετὰ τινων καθήμενος  
κατεσχόλαζε τῆς Γναθαινίου λέγων,  
ἐτέρῳ τρόπῳ μὲν<sup>3</sup> συγγεγενῆσθαι μηδενί,  
ἐξῆς καθιππᾶσθαι<sup>4</sup> δ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς πεντάκις.  
e μετὰ ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Ἀνδρόνικος τὸ γεγονὸς  
ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου προσφάτως ἀφικνόμενος  
ὀργιζόμενος<sup>5</sup> πικρῶς τε λοιδορούμενος  
παρὰ τὸν πότον ταῦτ' ἔλεγε τῇ Γναθαίνιῳ,  
αὐτὸν μὲν ἀξιοῦντα μὴ τετευχέναι  
τούτου παρ' αὐτῆς μηδέποτε τοῦ σχήματος,  
ἐν τῷδε δ' ἐτέρους ἐντρυφᾶν μαστιγίας.  
ἔπειτεν εἰπεῖν<sup>6</sup> φασὶ τὴν Γναθαίνιον·  
"περιλαμβάνειν γὰρ οὐκ ἔδοκίμαζον,"<sup>7</sup> τάλαν,  
f ἄνθρωπον ἄχρι τοῦ στόματος ἡσβολωμένον·  
διὰ τοῦθ' ὑπέμεινα πολὺ λαβοῦσα χρυσίον,

<sup>1</sup> Jacobs, following Musurus: ἀνάγωγος δ' ὢν δὴ Α.

<sup>2</sup> Herwerden σκυτοτομῶν Α, σκυτοτομῆν τινὶ Musurus.

<sup>3</sup> μὲν Musurus. μὲν μὴ Α. <sup>4</sup> καθιππᾶσθαι Α.

<sup>5</sup> ὀργιζόμενος added by Kaibel.

<sup>6</sup> Porson: ἔπειτ' ἐνείπειν Α.

<sup>7</sup> Porson: ἔδοκίμαζον Α.



gaffer ; for I know certainly and am quite confident that as the night draws on you will give it to my little girl doubled over ' <sup>a</sup>

" In Athens there was a very gifted <sup>b</sup> coppersmith ; now Gnathaemon had about retired from her profession, and no longer wanted to be a common prostitute because she was content with Andronicus, the actor , but at that time he was away on tour—from him she had had a male child <sup>c</sup> ; although, as I say, Gnathaemon did not wish to earn any fee, the copper-smith by entreaty and importunity finally won her, expending upon her a vast deal of gold. But being a rude person, completely vulgar, he, as he sat with some others in a cobbler's shop, passed the time in slandering Gnathaemon, saying that he had never consorted with her in any other way, sed ab illa se quinques deinceps inequitatum esse. <sup>d</sup> Andronicus, hearing soon after of what had happened, for he had just returned from Corinth, was angry, and in bitter reproach he said to Gnathaemon while they were drinking together, that although he had asked for this favour she had never granted him that posture, whereas others, rascally jail-birds, had revelled in it. Thereupon, they say, Gnathaemon replied ' I did not think it fit, you poor fool, to clasp in my arms a man who was covered with soot up to his mouth ; so I gave way, after receiving a large sum in

<sup>a</sup> The double meaning will not bear explanation in English, σκώπτει εἰς τὸ ἄστυον τοῦ γέροντος καὶ εἰς ἀναδίπλωσιν τοῦ αἰδοίου (Palmerius).

<sup>b</sup> The epithet εὐφύης "clever" is used sarcastically of a rascal, as in Alexis, Athen. 544 e (vol. v p 466)

<sup>c</sup> The narrative is purposely disjointed, and characteristic of Machon.

<sup>d</sup> Hor. Sat. ii. 7. 50 agitavit equum lasciva supinum.

ἐφιλοσόφησά θ', ἔν' ἄκρον ὥς μάλιστα καὶ  
ἐλάχιστον αὐτοῦ περιλάβω τοῦ σώματος "

ἔπειτα, φασί, τῆς Γναθαινίου ποτὲ  
τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον οὐ θελούσης παρὰ πότον  
2 φιλεῖν, καθάπερ ταῖς πρότερον ἡμέραις αἰεί,  
ὀργιζομένης δὲ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν λαμβάνειν,  
ἔπειθ' ὁ τραγωδὸς<sup>1</sup> " οὐχ<sup>2</sup> ὀρᾷς, Γνάθαιν', ἔφη,  
ὑπερηφάνως μοι τὴν θυγατέρα χρωμένην, "  
ἡ γραῦς δ' ἀγανακτήσασα " τάλαν, ἔφη, τέκνον  
περίλαβε, φησί, καὶ φίλησον, εἰ θέλει."<sup>3</sup>  
ἡ δ' εἶπε " μῆτερ, πῶς, ἔφη, μέλλω φιλεῖν  
τὸν μηδὲν ὠφέλημα, τὸν ὑπὸ τὰς στέγας  
τὸ κοῖλον<sup>4</sup> Ἄργος δωρεὰν θέλοντ' ἔχειν "

b πανηγύρεως οὔσης ποθ' ἡ Γναθαινίον  
εἰς Πειραιᾷ κατέβαινε πρὸς ξένον τινὰ  
ἔμπορον ἐραστὴν εὐτελῶς<sup>5</sup> ἐπ' ἀστράβης,  
τὰ πάντ' ἔχουσ' ὀνάρια μεθ' ἑαυτῆς<sup>6</sup> τρία  
καὶ τρεῖς θεραπαίνας καὶ νέαν τιτθὴν<sup>7</sup> μίαν  
ἔπειτεν αὐταῖς<sup>8</sup> ἐπὶ τινος στενῆς ὁδοῦ  
κακὸς παλαιστῆς ἐνέτυχέν τις τῶν αἰεί  
ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἐπιμελῶς ἡττωμένων

<sup>1</sup> ἔπειθ' ὁ τραγωδὸς Wilamowitz. ἔπειθε πῶς A

<sup>2</sup> Musurus οὐχὶ A.

<sup>3</sup> Musurus: θέλεισ A

<sup>4</sup> Meineke· κοινόν A.

<sup>5</sup> εὐσταλῶς Meineke.

<sup>6</sup> Memeke μετ' αὐτῆς ACE

<sup>7</sup> Memeke τη θην (sic) A

<sup>8</sup> Dindorf: ἔπειτ' ἐν αὐταῖς A, ἐπεὶ δ' αὐταῖς E, ἐπεὶ δ'  
ἐπὶ στενῆς ὁδοῦ κακὸς αὐταῖς C

<sup>a</sup> τὸν μηδὲν ὠφέλημα may be a reminiscence of a tragic

gold, and I cleverly contrived to touch the part of his person which projects farthest and is smallest '.

"Sometime afterwards, they say, Gnathaenion refused to kiss Andronicus when they were drinking together as she had always done in days gone by ; she was angry because he gave her nothing. So then the actor said to her granny . ' Don't you see, Gnathaena, that your girl is treating me shamefully ? ' The old woman, indignant at her, said . ' You foolish child, embrace him and kiss him if he wants it ' But she replied, ' Mother, how can I kiss that fellow who is no good,<sup>a</sup> that man who wants to have as a free gift under one roof<sup>b</sup> all " hollow *Αἶγος* " ? ' <sup>c</sup>

"On the occasion of some festival Gnathaenion started down to the Peiraeus to meet a foreign merchant who was her lover ; she did the journey cheaply<sup>d</sup> on a litter, with three donkeys in all in her train, three maidservants and one young nurse. Thereupon, at a narrow place in the road, they were met by a poor wrestler, one of those who always contrive, on purpose,<sup>e</sup> to be beaten in the contests. He, unable to

verse, like *κοῖλον Ἄργος* following. Capps compares Aesch. *Prom.* 614 ὃ κοινὸν ὠφέλημα

<sup>b</sup> Alluding to *στέγος* in the sense of "brothel." A girl of her class was called *στεγίτις* or *τεγίτις* "inmate," Pollux vii 201.

<sup>c</sup> The adjective "hollow" was applied to low-lying countries, *κοῖλον Ἄργος* occurs Soph. *O.C.* 378, 1387. Here, of course, there is an obscene allusion.

<sup>d</sup> *εὐτελῶς* is ironical, like *ἐπιμελῶς* below, and *εὐφυνής* above, 581 c. The *δοστράβη* was costly, as implied in Lys. xxiv 11 (also ironical), cf. Dem. xxi. 133 quoted by Athen. 481 e (vol. v. p. 134).

<sup>e</sup> See the preceding note. The adverb, wrongfully doubted by some editors, refers to the previous "fixing" of the bouts, of course for a consideration, as, it is said, frequently happens in modern professional wrestling.

- ὅς οὐ δυνάμενος τότε παρελθεῖν<sup>1</sup> ῥαδίως,  
 ἀλλὰ στενοχωρῶν εἶπεν “ ὦ τρισάθλιε  
 c ὀνηλάτ’, εἰ μὴ θᾶπτον ἐκστήσῃ ποτὲ  
 ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ, τὰ γύναια ταυτὶ καταβαλῶ  
 σὺν τοῖς ὄναρίοις, φησί, καὶ ταῖς ἀστράβαις ”  
 Γναθαίνιον δ’ εἶπ’ “ ὦ τάλαν, μὴ δῆτ’, ἄνερ·  
 οὐδέποτε γὰρ τοῦτ’ ἐστί σοι πεπραγμένον ”  
 Ἐξῆς δὲ καὶ ταῦτ’ ἀναγράφει.  
 Λαῖδα λέγουσι τὴν Κορινθίαν ποτὲ  
 Εὐριπίδην ἰδοῦσαν ἐν κήπῳ τινὶ  
 πινακίδα καὶ γραφεῖον ἐξηρτημένον  
 ἔχοντ’<sup>2</sup> “ ἀπόκριναι, φησὶν, ὦ ποιητά μοι,  
 d τί βουλόμενος ἔγραψας ἐν τραγωδίᾳ  
 ‘ ἔρρ’, αἰσχροποιέ’, ” καταπλαγείς δ’<sup>3</sup> Εὐρι-  
 πίδης  
 τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῆς “ σὺ γάρ, ἔφη, τίς εἶ, γύναι;<sup>4</sup>  
 οὐκ<sup>5</sup> αἰσχροποιός, ” ἡ δὲ γελάσας ἀπεκρίθη·  
 “ τί δ’ αἰσχρόν, εἰ μὴ τοῖσι χρωμένοις δοκεῖ, ”  
 ἡ Γλυκέριον λαβοῦσα παρ’ ἐραστοῦ τινος  
 Κορίνθιον παράπηχυ καινὸν λήδιον<sup>6</sup>  
 ἔδωκεν εἰς γναφεῖον· εἶτ’ ἐπεὶ τέλος  
 ἔδοξ’ ἔχειν, πέμψασα τὴν θεραπαινίδα  
 τὸ μισθάριον ἔχουσιν ἐκέλευ’ ἀποφέρειν  
 e θοιμάτιον ὃ γναφεὺς δ’ εἶπεν “ ἂν γ’<sup>7</sup> ἐλαδίου  
 ταρτημόριά<sup>8</sup> μοι, φησί, προσενέγκῃς τρία,

<sup>1</sup> A: διελθεῖν CE.

<sup>2</sup> εἰπεῖν Meineke

<sup>3</sup> Musurus. δ’ ὁ ACE.

<sup>4</sup> εἶ, γύναι Elmsley: εἶναι A, εἶ CE.

<sup>5</sup> οὐκ added by Elmsley.

<sup>6</sup> λήδιον ACE.

<sup>7</sup> ἂν γ’ CE· ἀντ’ A.

<sup>8</sup> τεταρτημόριά ACE (in A τε is written at the end of the preceding verse).

get by them at that point easily, and jostled into a narrow corner, cried out, 'You thrice-damned ass-driver, if you don't just get out of the road I'll throw to the ground these wenches here, donkeys and litters and all' But Gnathaenon said, 'You poor fool, not you sir! For that is something you have never yet done' "

Continuing, Machon records this also: "They say that Lais, the Corinthian courtesan, once saw Euripides in a garden, with his writing-tablet and stilus hanging to his belt 'O poet,' said she, 'answer, what did you mean when you wrote in a tragedy,<sup>a</sup> "To perdition, you perpetrator of foul deeds?"' And Euripides, amazed at her impudence, said, 'Why, what are you yourself, woman? Are you not a perpetrator of foul deeds?' But she responded with a laugh, 'What is foul, if it seems not so to those who indulge in it?' "

"Glycerium had received from one of her lovers a new summer dress (*lédion*, *lādion*) with purple border, Corinthian style, and sent it to the fuller's; later, when she thought it must be finished, she sent her maid-servant with the price, bidding her fetch home the garment. But the fuller said, 'If you will hand over besides three-fourths of the oil (*elādion*)<sup>c</sup> you

<sup>a</sup> Eur. *Medea* 1346, Jason speaking to Medea, *αἰσχροποιός* was used of a sexual pervert.

<sup>b</sup> In the well-known fragment of *Aeolus* (*T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 368), delightfully parodied by Aristoph. *Ran* 1475. The tragedy was based on the incest of Macareus, son of Aeolus, with his sister Canacê. See Athen. 444 c (vol. iv. p. 512), Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 384 *nobilis est Canace fratris amore sui*

<sup>c</sup> Used in dressing a newly-woven garment. Three-fourths of the quadrisyllabic word for oil, *elādion*, would give the trisyllable *lādion*. On purple garments from Corinth see Athen. 525 d (vol. v. p. 370).

κόμισαι τὸ κωλῦον γάρ ἐστι τοῦτό με ”  
 ἢ δ’ ὡς<sup>1</sup> ἀπήγγειλ’, “ ὦ<sup>2</sup> τάλαιν’, εἶπεν, κακῶν ”  
 ἢ Γλυκέριον, “ μέλλει γὰρ ὥσπερ μαινίδας  
 ἀποτηγανίζειν, φησί, μου τὸ λήϊδιον ”<sup>3</sup>

ὁ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους Δημοφῶν ἐρώμενος  
 τὴν Αἶγα Νικῶν πρεσβυτέραν οὔσαν ποτὲ  
 νέος ὢν ἔτ’ αὐτὸς εἶχεν. ἐπεκαλεῖτο δ’ Αἰξ,  
 f ὅτι τὸν μέγαν δὴ κατέφαγεν<sup>4</sup> ἐραστήν ποτε  
 Θαλλόν παρεγενήθη γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν  
 ὠνησόμενος χελιδονεῖους<sup>5</sup> ἰσχάδας  
 Ὑμήττιόν τε φορτιούμενος μέλι  
 λέγεται δ’ ἐκείνην τὴν γυναῖκ’ ἐσχηκέναι<sup>6</sup>  
 πυγὴν πάνυ καλὴν, ἣν ποτ’ ἠξίου λαβεῖν  
 ὁ Δημοφῶν. ἢ δ’ εἶπε γελάσας “ εὖ γ’<sup>7</sup> ἵνα  
 83 Σοφοκλεῖ λαβὼν δῶς, φησί, παρ’ ἐμοῦ,<sup>8</sup> φίλτατε ”

Καλλιστίου<sup>9</sup> δὲ τῆς Ὑὸς καλουμένης  
 πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῆς λοιδουμένης ποτὲ  
 μητέρα (Κορώνη δ’ ἐπεκαλεῖτο τοῦνομα),  
 διέλυεν ἢ Γνάθαιν’. ἐρωτηθεῖσα δὲ  
 τί διαφέρονται “ τί γάρ, ἔφησεν, ἄλλο πλὴν  
 ἄλλ’ ἢ<sup>10</sup> Κορώνης,<sup>11</sup> ἕτερ’ ἐκείνη μέμφεται.”

Ἰππην λέγουσι τὴν ἐταίραν Θεόδοτον  
 ἔχειν ἐραστήν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ χόρτου τότε<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> τοῦτό με ἢ δ’ ὡς Dindorf τοῦτο μὲν δὲ ὡς (sic) A.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπήγγειλ’, ὦ Kaibel ἀπήγγειλε ACE.

<sup>3</sup> ληϊδιον ACE.

<sup>4</sup> δὴ κατέφαγεν Schwabhauseri κατέφαγ’ alone ACE. For μέγαν Kaibel conjectured Μεγαρέα

<sup>5</sup> χελιδονίους A

<sup>6</sup> Musurus: ἐσχηκέναι τὴν γυναῖκα A

<sup>7</sup> γ’ added by Meineke.

<sup>8</sup> Erfurdt: σοφοκλεῖ δῶις φησὶ παρ’ ἐμοῦ λαβὼν ACE (φησὶ om CE).

<sup>9</sup> Meineke καλλιστοῦς A

may take the dress. For that is the only thing which prevents me ' <sup>a</sup> When the maid reported this, Glycerium said ' Unhappy I am with all this bother ; for he must be going to fry my dress like a dish of sprats '

" Demophon, the favourite of Sophocles, once kept as his mistress, when he himself was still young, the ' she-goat ' Nico, although she was older. She was nicknamed She-goat because she had once devoured that tall lover, Greensprout Thallus <sup>b</sup> ; for he had come to Athens to buy dried russet-figs <sup>c</sup> and take away a cargo of Hymettus honey. Now the woman in question is said to have had a very beautiful *derrière*, which Demophon once desired to possess. And she said with a laugh, ' Very good, dearie, take it from me and pass it on to Sophocles '

" Callistion, who was called the Sow, was once quarrelling with her mother, whose nickname was the Crow (Coionê). Gnathaena tried to reconcile them. Being asked what they were quarrelling about, she replied, ' What else, to be sure, than that the daughter of the Crow blames her for one thing, while she blames the gul for something else.' <sup>d</sup>

" They say that the courtesan Hippê had as a lover Theodotus, who at that time had become Keeper of

<sup>a</sup> *Sc* from giving up the dress, the price of the oil being still in arrears. The extravagantly " oiled " dress reminds her of fried fish.

<sup>b</sup> The name Θαλλός means " green-branch," favourite food of goats ; below, 587 a, p. 165.

<sup>c</sup> Athen 75 c (vol. 1. p. 324), 652 d-f (pp. 524-526).

<sup>d</sup> Alluding to the proverb ἄλλο μὲν γλαύξ, ἄλλο δὲ κορώνη φθέγγεται, aliud noctua, aliud cornix sonat

<sup>10</sup> Jacobs. ἄλλη A.

<sup>11</sup> Kaibel κορώνη θ' A.

<sup>12</sup> Schweighauser ποτὲ ACE

- γενόμενον. αὕτη δ' ὁψὲ τῆς ὥρας ποτὲ  
 b εἰσῆλθεν ἐπὶ κώθωνα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα  
 Πτολεμαῖον εἰώθει δὲ συμπίνειν αἰεὶ  
 αὐτῷ. λέγει δ' οὖν ὑστεροῦσα παρὰ πολὺ  
 “ Πτολεμαῖε, διψῶ, φησί, παππία,<sup>1</sup> σφόδρα  
 ἀλλ' ἐγχεάτω<sup>2</sup> μοι τέτταρας<sup>3</sup> κοτύλας πιεῖν<sup>4</sup>  
 εἰς τὴν μεγάλην.” ἔπειτεν<sup>5</sup> ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγει·  
 “ εἰς τὴν λεκάνην μὲν οὖν· δοκεῖς γάρ μοι πολύν,  
 “ Ἰππη, πάνυ χόρτον, φησί, καταβεβρωκέναι.”  
 Φρύνην ἐπεῖρα Μοίριχος τὴν Θεσπικὴν  
 c κᾶπειτεν<sup>6</sup> αἰτήσασαν αὐτὸν μνᾶν μίαν  
 ὁ Μοίριχος “ μέγ', εἶπεν· οὐ πρῶην δύο  
 χρυσοῦς λαβοῦσα παρεγένου ξένῳ τινί; ”  
 “ περίμενε τοῖνον καὶ σύ,<sup>7</sup> φησίν, ἕως ἂν οὐ<sup>8</sup>  
 βινητιάσω, καὶ τοσοῦτον λήψομαι ”  
 Νικῶ λέγεται τὴν Αἶγα, Πύθωνός τινος<sup>9</sup>  
 αὐτὴν ποτ' ἀπολιπόντος, Εὐαρδιν δὲ τὴν  
 παχεῖαν ἀναλαβόντος, εἶπεν<sup>10</sup> ὕστερον  
 μεταπεμπομένου ποθ', ὡς ἔοικ', αὐτὴν, λέγειν  
 πρὸς τὸν μετιόντα παῖδα “ Πύθων, φήσ',<sup>11</sup> ἐπεὶ<sup>12</sup>  
 d ἤδη διάμεστος τῶν υἱῶν ἐγένετο,<sup>13</sup>  
 ἐπ' αἶγει' οἶός<sup>14</sup> ἐστὶν ἀνακάμπειν πάλιν, ”

<sup>1</sup> Schweighauser · παπια A

<sup>2</sup> Kaibel : ἐγχεάτω ACE

<sup>3</sup> A : μοι τίς τέσσαρας C, μοί τις τέτταρας E.

<sup>4</sup> Kaibel. ποτοῦ Casaubon, ἔπειτα A, ἔπειτ' C.

<sup>5</sup> Dindorf : ἔπειθ' A.

<sup>6</sup> Dindorf : κᾶπειτα A.

<sup>7</sup> Musurus : καὶ σου A, καὶ σοὶ E.

<sup>8</sup> E : οὐ A.

<sup>9</sup> τινος A Eustath : om. CE.

<sup>10</sup> Dindorf · εἶτ' ἐν A, εἶθ' CE.

<sup>11</sup> Meineke. φη A, ἔφη CE.

<sup>12</sup> CE ἐπειδὴ A.

<sup>13</sup> Kaibel · υἱῶν A, υἱὼν CE, ἐγένετο διάμεστος A

<sup>14</sup> Kaibel. ἐπεὶ δὴ γιαιοῖοσ A, ἐπὶ τὴν αἶγ' οἶος CE



the Provender <sup>a</sup> She once, at a late hour of the day, went into the palace to have a cup <sup>b</sup> with King Ptolemy <sup>c</sup>; for she was in the habit of drinking with him constantly. Anyway, as she came in, very much behind time, she said 'Ptolemy, old dear, I am awfully thirsty. Do let someone pour out for me four cups to drink in the big jug' <sup>d</sup>. Thereupon the king said. 'You mean, rather, into the feed-pan; for it seems to me, Hippê, that you have eaten up a very large bag of Provender.'

"Moerichus was asking Phrynê, the courtesan from Thespiæ, for her favours; when she then demanded a mina, <sup>e</sup> Moerichus said, 'Too much; didn't you, the other day, stay with a stranger after you had received only two gold pieces?' <sup>f</sup> 'Well then,' said she, 'you too wait until I feel like indulging myself, and I will accept that amount.'

"The story is told of Nico, the 'she-goat,' <sup>g</sup> that when a man named Python had at one time abandoned her and taken up with the fat woman Euardis, only, it seems, to send for Nico again at a later time, she said to the slave who came to get her. 'Now that Python has become chockfull of pork-tenderloin, is he fit to switch round again to goat-meat?' "

<sup>a</sup> *faeno praeffectum*, ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ χόρτου, Eustath. *Il.* 1307. 33.

<sup>b</sup> Apparently ἐπὶ κώβωνα "for a cup" (or flask) was colloquial, like "a cup of tea," "a glass of beer," without reference to the quantity, which might prove to be great. Cf 547 d (vol v. p 480).

<sup>c</sup> Philadelphus.

<sup>d</sup> Or, "on a grand scale," "in a big way", cf 471 e (vol v p. 80).

<sup>e</sup> About £4.

<sup>f</sup> About two guineas

<sup>g</sup> Above, 582 e. See, for τῶν υἱῶν, 581 a note c (p 135)

Μέχρι μὲν τούτων μνημονεύω τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάχωνος εἰρημένων αἱ γὰρ καλαὶ ἡμῶν Ἀθηναί τοσοῦτον πλήθος ἤνεγκαν ἑταίρων, περὶ ὧν ἐπεξελεύσομαι ὅσον γε δύναμαι, ὅσον ὄχλον εὐανδρουῖσα πόλις οὐκ<sup>1</sup> ἔσχεν ἀναγέγραφε γοῦν<sup>2</sup> Ἀριστοφάνης μὲν ὁ Βυζάντιος ἑκατὸν καὶ λέ', Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ τούτων πλείους, ὁ Γοργίας δέ<sup>3</sup> πλέονας, παραλειφθῆναι φάσκοντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀριστοφάνους μετὰ ἑταίρων πλείονων καὶ τάσδε, .<sup>4</sup> τὴν Πάροινον ἐπικληθεῖσαν καὶ Λαμπυρίδα καὶ Εὐφροσύνην· αὕτη δὲ ἦν γναφέως θυγάτηρ. ἄγραφοι δ' εἰσὶν αὐτῷ Μεγίστη, Ἀγαλλίς, Θαυμάριον, Θεόκλεια (αὕτη δ' ἐπεκαλεῖτο Κορώνη), Ληναιτόκυστος,<sup>5</sup> Ἄστρα, Γνάθαινα καὶ ταύτης θυγατριδῇ Γναθαίνιον, καὶ Σιγῇ καὶ Συνωρίς ἡ Λύχνος ἐπικαλουμένη, καὶ Εὐκλεία καὶ Γρυμέα<sup>6</sup> καὶ Θρυαλλίς, ἔτι Χίμαιρα καὶ Λαμπάς τῆς δὲ Γναθαίνης ἦρα δεινῶς, ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται, f Δίφιλος ὁ κωμωδιοποιός, ὥς καὶ Λυγκεὺς ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τοῖς Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν ἱστορεῖ ἐν ἀγῶνι οὖν ποτε αὐτὸν ἀσχημονήσαντα σφόδρα ἀρθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου συνέβη καὶ οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὴν Γνάθαιναν κελεύοντος οὖν τοῦ Διφίλου ὑπονίσαι τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ τὴν Γνάθαιναν, ἡ δὲ " τί γάρ, εἶπεν, οὐκ ἡρμένος ἦκεις, " σφόδρα δ' ἦν εὐθικτος πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἡ Γνάθαινα.

<sup>1</sup> οὐδεμία Schweighauser

<sup>2</sup> E: ἀναγέγραφεν οὖν C, ἀνέγραφε γ' οὖν A

<sup>3</sup> δ' ἔτι Schweighauser.

<sup>4</sup> Lacuna marked by Kaibel

<sup>5</sup> Ληναιόκυσθος Meineke.

<sup>6</sup> Kaibel γρυμαία A

<sup>a</sup> Mytilus, 571 a

<sup>b</sup> Nauck 278, above, 567 a (p 63).

Up to this point I<sup>a</sup> have been giving the sayings of Machon. For our beautiful Athens produced such a quantity of courtesans, about whom I shall go on further to tell, so far as I can—a throng such as no populous city ever yet had. At any rate, Aristophanes of Byzantium has made a list<sup>b</sup> of one hundred and thirty-five, Apollodorus<sup>c</sup> gives more than that, and Gorgias<sup>d</sup> still more, both declaring that in the list of numerous courtesans Aristophanes has omitted also the following . . . nicknamed Topsy,<sup>e</sup> besides Lampyrus and Euphrosynê; this last was a fuller's daughter. He has failed to record also Megistê, Agallis, Thaumarion, Theocleia (she was nicknamed Crow), Lenaetocystus, Astia, Gnathaena and her granddaughter Gnathaemon, besides Sigê, Synôis<sup>f</sup> nicknamed Lamp, Eucleia, Gymea, Thryallis, and Chimaera and Lampas. As for Gnathaena, she was madly loved by the comic poet Diphilus, as has been said before,<sup>g</sup> and as Lynceus of Samos also records in his *Reminiscences*. Once in a dramatic contest it happened that he was shamefully defeated and 'lifted'<sup>h</sup> out of the theatre, yet none the less he went to visit Gnathaena. As Diphilus bade her wash his feet Gnathaena asked, 'Why need I, indeed? Haven't you come to me on your head?'<sup>i</sup> Gnathaena was very quick in

<sup>a</sup> J 2 B 1105. See P-W. i 2863.

<sup>b</sup> P-W i. 1619, below, 596 f (p 217).

<sup>c</sup> See Athen 445 b-e (vol iv. p 516) for *πάροινος* (tipsy) used as an adjective. The name of the girl is lost here.

<sup>f</sup> Athen 247 a (vol iii p 112).

<sup>g</sup> Above, 579 e (p 129).

<sup>h</sup> A wrestler's term "he was caught by the middle and stood on his head," Athen 238 b (vol iii p 71 note e).

<sup>i</sup> Or, "come a-flying," so that there was no dust on his feet.

καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ ἑταῖραι μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐφ' αὐταῖς, ταιδείας ἀντεχόμεναι καὶ τοῖς μαθήμασι χρόνον ἱπομερίζουσαι διόπερ καὶ εὐθικτοὶ πρὸς τὰς ἱπανθήσεις ἦσαν. κατηγοροῦντος γοῦν ποτε Στίλτωνος Γλυκέρας παρὰ πότον ὥς διαφθειρούσης τοὺς νέους, ὥς φησι Σάτυρος ἐν τοῖς Βίοις, ὑπο-  
 νχοῦσα ἢ Γλυκέρα "τὴν αὐτήν, ἔφη, ἔχομεν ἰτίαν, ὦ Στίλπων. σέ τε γὰρ λέγουσιν διαφθεῖρειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντάς σοι ἀνωφελῇ καὶ ἐριστικὰ<sup>1</sup> τοφίσματα διδάσκοντα, ἐμέ τε ὡσαύτως ἐρωτικά.<sup>2</sup> ιηθὲν οὖν διαφέρειν ἐπιτριβομένοις καὶ κακῶς τάσχουσιν ἢ<sup>3</sup> μετὰ φιλοσόφου ζῆν ἢ ἑταίρας" κατὰ γὰρ τὸν Ἀγάθωνα.

γυνή τοι<sup>4</sup> σώματος<sup>5</sup> δι' ἀργίαν  
 ψυχῆς φρόνησιν ἐντὸς οὐκ ἀργὸν φορεῖ.

Γναθαίνης δὲ πολλὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Λυγκεύς παρασίτου γάρ τινος ὑπὸ γραδὸς τρεφόμενου καὶ τὸ σῶμα εὖ ἔχοντος, "χαριέντως γ',<sup>6</sup> ἔφη, ὦ νεανίσκε, τὸ σωματίον διάκεισαι" "τί νῦν οἶει, εἰ μὴ ἐδευτεροκοίτουν," "τῷ λιμῷ ἔφη, ἀπέθανες" Πausανίου δὲ τοῦ Λάκκου ἱρχομένου καὶ εἰς κάδον τινὰ ἐμπεσόντος, "ὁ λάκκος, ἔφη, εἰς τὸν κάδον ἐμπέπτωκεν." ἐπι-  
 ὄντος δὲ τινος οἶνον ἐν ψυκτηριδίῳ μικρὸν<sup>7</sup> καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Bergler· ἐρωτικά A. <sup>2</sup> ἐρωτικά added by Jacobs.

<sup>3</sup> ἢ deleted by Kaibel. <sup>4</sup> γυνή τοι Porson: γυνή τὸ A.

<sup>5</sup> σώματος Grotius: σῶμα A. ἔχει γυνή τὸ σῶμ' ἀν' ἀργίαν  
<sup>6</sup> εppink. <sup>7</sup> Schweighauser: τ' A, om CE (χαριέντος C)

<sup>7</sup> ἐν ψυκτηρίῳ μικρῷ CE.

<sup>a</sup> F.H.G. iii 164

<sup>b</sup> T.G.F.<sup>2</sup> 766 The words resume what is said of the courtesan's education, 583 f end

repante. There were other courtesans also who thought very highly of themselves, going in for culture and apportioning their time to learned studies ; hence they also were quick in making answers. For example, Stilpo was once accusing Glyceia, while they were drinking together, of corrupting the young men, as Satyrius tells <sup>a</sup> in his *Lives*, when Glyceia interrupted " We both fall under the same charge, Stilpo. For they say that you corrupt all who meet you by teaching them good-for-nothing, eristic sophistries, while I in like manner teach them erotic. It makes no difference, therefore, to people who are ruined and injured, whether they live in the company of a philosopher or of a courtesan " In fact, as Agathon says <sup>b</sup> . " Truly a woman, just because she is inactive in body, need not for that reason carry an inactive mind within her "

Lynceus has recorded many of Gnathaena's retorts To a parasite who was kept by an old woman and who was stout of body, Gnathaena said, " Your body is in very nice condition, laddie " " What, then, do you think it would be if I didn't have another bedfellow to sleep with ? " " You would have died of famine. " <sup>c</sup> When Pausanias, the " Tank, " <sup>d</sup> fell into a jar as he was dancing she said, " The tank has fallen into the jar. " When some one poured into her cup, which was small, <sup>e</sup> some small

<sup>c</sup> i e Gnathaena had no notion of feeding him herself (Capps).

<sup>d</sup> So called either with reference to his drinking capacity or to his *λακκοπρωκτία*

<sup>e</sup> Here the cup is a small specimen of the class known as " cooler, " Athen. 502 d (vol. v. p 250). The wine itself was thin and cheap (*μικρός*), cf. " small beer " ; below, 585 e.

εἰπόντος ὅτι ἐκκαίδεκαέτης, “ μικρός γε, ἔφη, ὡς τοσούτων ἐτῶν.” νεανίσκων δέ τινων παρὰ πότον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τυπτόντων ἑαυτοὺς ἔφη πρὸς τὸν ἡττώμενον “ θάρρει,<sup>1</sup> παιδίον οὐ γὰρ στεφανίτης ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ ἀργυρίτης ” ὡς δ’ ὁ τὴν μνᾶν γῇ θυγατρὶ δούς αὐτῆς οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔφερεν, ἀλλ’ ἐφοίτα μόνον, “ παιδίον, ἔφη, ὥσπερ πρὸς Ἰππόμαχον τὸν παιδοτρίβην μνᾶν δούς οἷει αἰεὶ βοιτήσιν; ” Φρύνης δὲ πικρότερον εἰπούσης αὐτῇ “ εἰ δὲ λίθον, ἔφη, εἶχες, ” “ ἀποψήσασθαι ἂν σοι ὧδωκα ” ἐτύγχανεν δὲ ἡ μὲν αἰτίαν ἔχουσα λιθίαν, ἡ δὲ κοιλίαν προπετεστέραν ἔχειν. τῶν δὲ πινόντων παρ’ αὐτῇ συμβαλλομένων<sup>2</sup> εἰς βολβοβακῆν καὶ τῆς παιδίσκης ἐν τῷ καθαίρειν εἰς τὸν κόλπον ἐμβαλλομένης τῶν φακῶν, ἡ Γνάθαινα ἔφη “ κολποφακῆν διανοεῖται ποιεῖν ” Ἀνδροῖκου δὲ τοῦ τραγωδοῦ ἀπ’ ἀγῶνός τινος, ἐν ᾧ οὓς Ἐπιγόνους<sup>3</sup> εὐημερήκει, πίνειν μέλλοντος τὰρ’ αὐτῇ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς κελεύοντος τὴν Γνάθαιναν προαναλῶσαι “ ὀλόμενε παῖδων, ἔφη, ποῖον ἴρηκας λόγον.” πρὸς δὲ ἀδολέσχην τινὰ διηγούμενον ὅτι παραγέγονεν ἀφ’ Ἑλλησπόντου “ πῶς

<sup>1</sup> A: θάρσει CE.

<sup>2</sup> Madvig· βαλλομένων ACE

<sup>3</sup> τοῖς Ἐπιγόνους Dobree. τοὺς Ἐ ὑποκρινόμενος Meineke.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Athen. 522 d (vol v. p 354) But here the prize is ad for by the victor.

<sup>b</sup> The article shows that the mina was the regular fee for a single assignation with her

<sup>c</sup> When a boy he won a victory in boxing at Olympia, ausan vi 12. 6, cf Aelian, V.H. ii 6

<sup>d</sup> See above, 578 e, where this story is told of Mania.

<sup>e</sup> On the floor or the table. On bulbs as food see 63 d

wine, with the remark that it was sixteen years old, she said, " It's small indeed, considering how many years old it is " When some lads in then cups had come to blows with each other in a quarrel over her, she said to the one who was beaten, " Cheer up, kid , for the prize of this contest is not laurel, but silver " <sup>a</sup> Since the man who had paid the pound <sup>b</sup> to her daughter failed to bring any more, but still kept coming to her empty-handed she said, " Kid, do you think you can keep on coming to her as you would to Hippomachus <sup>c</sup> the athletic trainer, when you have paid only a pound ? " Once Phrynê <sup>d</sup> said rather sourly to her, " Suppose you had the stone ? " She retorted, " I'd have given it to you to wipe yourself with " For it so happened that one of them was reputed to have the stone, while the other was said to suffer from diarrhoea When the men who were drinking in her house crashed into a dish of bulbs and lentils, the slave girl, while cleaning it up, <sup>e</sup> thrust some of the lentils into her bosom, at which Gnathaena remarked, " She's planning to make a dish of bosom-lentils " Andronicus, the tragic actor, <sup>f</sup> after a performance of the *Epigoni* <sup>g</sup> in which he had won applause, proposed to have a drinking-bout in her house ; when his slave bade Gnathaena to pay the expenses in advance she quoted, <sup>h</sup> " Cursed slave, what word hast thou spoken ! " To a garrulous person who was relating that he had come all the way from the Hellespont she

note *a* (vol 1. p. 277) The pun (bolbo-, kolpo-) is only a jungle, like many in Aristophanes <sup>f</sup> Above, 581 c

<sup>g</sup> The seven sons of the Seven against Thebes who succeeded where their fathers had failed. Both Aeschylus and Sophocles wrote plays entitled *Epigoni*

<sup>h</sup> *T G F* <sup>2</sup> 837, from an unknown tragedian.

οὖν, φησὶν, εἰς τὴν πρώτην πόλιν οὐχ ἦκες τῶν ἐκεῖ;” τοῦ δ’ εἰπόντος “εἰς ποίαν;” “εἰς Σίγειον”<sup>1</sup> εἶπεν εἰσελθόντος δέ τινος ὡς αὐτὴν καὶ ἰδόντος ἐπὶ τινος ἀγγείου ὡς εἰπόντος τε “ὦμὰ ταῦτα, Γνάθαινα, ἢ ἐφθά;” “ἔγχαλκα,<sup>2</sup> ἔφη, παιδίον” Χαιρεφῶντος δ’ ἀκλήτου ἐπὶ δείπνον ἐλθόντος, προπιούσα ποτήριον αὐτῷ ἢ Γνάθαινα “λαβέ,<sup>3</sup> ἔφησεν, ὑπερήφανε.” καὶ ὅς “ἐγὼ ὑπερήφανος,” “τίς δὲ μᾶλλον,” εἶπεν ἢ Γνάθαινα, “ὅς οὐδὲ καλούμενος ἔρχη,” Νικῶν δὲ ἢ Αἰξ ἐπικαλουμένη, φησὶν ὁ Λυγκεύς, παρασίτου τινὸς ἀπαντήσαντος λεπτοῦ ἐξ ἀρρωστίας, “ὡς ἰσχνός” ἔφη. “τί γὰρ οἶει με ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις καταβεβρωκέναι,” “ἦτοι τὴν λήκυθον, ἔφη, ἢ τὰ ὑποδήματα”<sup>4</sup>

Μετάνειρα δὲ ἡ ἑταῖρα, Δημοκλέους τοῦ παρασίτου Λαγυνίωνος ἐπὶ κλινὴν καταπεσόντος ἐν τινι κονιάματι, “καὶ γὰρ σύ, φησί, σαυτὸν ἔδωκας οὐ ψῆφοι εἰσίν.” διαπηδώντος δ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πλησίον κλινὴν “πρόσεχε, φησί, μὴ ἀνατραπῆς.” τοῦτο ἱστορεῖ Ἡγήσανδρος. Ἀριστόδημος δ’ ἐν δευτέρῳ Γελοίων Ἀπομνημονευμάτων “Γνάθαιναν, φησί, δύο ἐμισθώσαντο, στρατιώτης καὶ μαστιγίας ἀναγωγότερον οὖν τοῦ στρατιώτου

<sup>1</sup> E σιγιον A.

<sup>2</sup> ἔγχαλκα C: ἐν χαλκα A, ἐγγάλκεα E

<sup>3</sup> λαβέ edd.: λάβε AC.

<sup>4</sup> Casaubon: ὑποματα A.

<sup>a</sup> Punning on *σιγή* “silence,” quasi “Stilton.”

<sup>b</sup> *i e* they will cost you copper farthings (χαλκοῖ).

<sup>c</sup> The parasite (vol. II. p. 116 *et passim*).

<sup>d</sup> She twists the negative so as to refer it to ἔρχη instead of to καλούμενος. She means “You come even uninvited”

<sup>e</sup> Above, 582 e, cf. 220 f (vol. II. p. 498).



said, "How, then, did you fail to reach the first town on that route?" He asked, "Which town?" She said, "Sigerum"<sup>a</sup> Once a man who entered her house saw some eggs on a platter and asked, "Are these raw, Gnathaena, or boiled?" She said, "They are bronzed,<sup>b</sup> laddie" When Chaerephon<sup>c</sup> came to dinner uninvited, Gnathaena pledged a cup to him and said, "Take it, proud man" And he, "I, proud?" "Who more so," said Gnathaena, "seeing that you don't even come invited?"<sup>d</sup> Nico, the woman who was nicknamed She-Goat,<sup>e</sup> as Lynceus says, met a parasite who was thin as a result of illness and said to him, "How skinny you are!" "Why, yes; what do you think I have had to eat in the last three days?" "Either your oil bottle," she said, "or your shoes"

The courtesan Metanena, when the parasite Democles, nicknamed Hardbottle,<sup>f</sup> tumbled into a heap of plaster,<sup>g</sup> said to him, "Really, you have consigned yourself to a place where there are plenty of pebbles." And when he leaped across to the neighbouring couch she said, "Look out that you don't get upset"<sup>h</sup> This is recorded by Hegesander.<sup>i</sup> And Aristodemus, in the second book of his *Ludicrous Memoirs*, says<sup>j</sup> of Gnathaena. "Two men, a soldier and a jail-bird, engaged her services, the soldier very

<sup>f</sup> On the *λάγυνος* see Athen. 499 b (vol. v. p. 228).

<sup>g</sup> Plaster (or stucco) contained small pebbles (*ψήφοι*), often used as judges' ballots or money-changers' counters. Democles was insolvent and had been adjudged a bankrupt

<sup>h</sup> Punning on the other sense of *ἀνατρέπεσθαι* "go broke," "become bankrupt," Demosth. xix 198, cf Andoc xvii 10

<sup>i</sup> *F H.G.* iv 419

<sup>j</sup> *F H.G.* iii 310 What follows (to 585 f) may possibly belong to Aristodemus.

λάκκον αὐτὴν εἰπόντος ‘ πῶς, ἔφησεν ἢ ὅτι δύο ποταμοὶ ἐμβάλλετέ μοι,<sup>1</sup> Λύκος καὶ Ἑλεύθερος; ’ ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα τῆς Γναθαίνης πτωχῶν ἐραστῶν κωμαζόντων καὶ ἀπειλούντων κατασκάψειν τὴν οἰκίαν ἐννοχέαι γὰρ δικέλλας καὶ ἄμας, ‘ εἰ<sup>3</sup> ταῦτ’ εἴχεθ’ ὑμεῖς, ’ εἶπεν ἡ Γνάθαινα, ‘ ἐνέχυρα θέντες τὸ μίσθωμα ἂν ἀπεστείλατε ’ ” ἐμμελὴς δ’ ἦν πάνυ ἡ Γνάθαινα καὶ οὐκ ἀνάστειος ἀποφθέγασθαι<sup>4</sup> ἥτις καὶ νόμον συσσιτικὸν συνέγραψεν, καθ’ ὃν δεῖ τοὺς ἐραστὰς ὡς αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα εἰσιέναι, κατὰ ζῆλον τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα συνταξαμένων φιλοσόφων ἀνέγραψε δ’ αὐτὸν Καλλίμαχος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ πίνακι τῶν Νόμων καὶ ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ τήνδε παρέθετο “ ὅδε ὁ νόμος ἴσος ἐγράφη καὶ ὁμοιος, ” στίχων τριακοσίων εἴκοσι τριῶν.

Καλλίστιον δὲ τὴν ἐπικληθεῖσαν Πτωχελένην μαστιγίας ἐμισθώσατο θέρους δὲ ὄντος ἐπεὶ γυμνὸς κατέκειτο, τοὺς τύπους τῶν πληγῶν ἰδοῦσα “ πόθεν οὗτοι, τάλαν; ” εἶπε καὶ ὅς “ παιδὸς ὄντος μου ζωμὸς κατεχύθη ” ἡ δὲ “ δηλαδὴ μόσχιος ”<sup>5</sup> Μενάνδρῳ τῷ ποιητῇ δυσημερήσαντι καὶ εἰσελθόντι εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Γλυκέρα προσενέγκασα

<sup>1</sup> ποταμῶ ἐμβάλλετόν μοι C, ποταμῶ ἐμβάλλετον<sup>οι</sup> E

<sup>2</sup> καὶ added by Schweighauser <sup>3</sup> ἀλλ’ εἰ Musurus.

<sup>4</sup> Meineke φθέγασθαι ACE

<sup>5</sup> CE μόσχιος A

<sup>a</sup> The word λάκκος may mean any kind of reservoir, from a cistern to a lake. Here, of course, it is opprobrious

<sup>b</sup> Rivers or torrents so named (especially Λύκος) were known in Phoenicia, Asia Minor, and elsewhere, Strabo 753, 755. Pliny, *N.H.* v 27 22.

<sup>c</sup> Apparently the same as the θυγατριδῇ of 581 a (p. 135)

rudely called her a lake,<sup>a</sup> at which she asked, 'Just how do you mean? Is it because you two streams empty into me,—the Wolf River and the Free River?'<sup>b</sup> Some indigent lovers assailed in drunken revel the daughter<sup>c</sup> of Gnathaena, threatening to demolish her house, for, said they, they had brought mattocks and picks. 'If you really had them,' said Gnathaena, 'you might have put them in pawn and so sent us our pay.' For Gnathaena was very adept and humorous in making reply; she had, in fact, compiled a *Rule for Dining in Company* (which lovers who came to her and to her daughter must follow) in imitation of the philosophers who have drawn up similar rules. Callimachus has recorded<sup>d</sup> it in the third "tablet" of his *Rules*, citing the beginning of it as follows. "The Rule here written down is equal and fair for all"—three hundred and twenty-three lines.<sup>e</sup>

Callistion, she who was nicknamed Beggar-Helen, was once engaged by a jail-bird<sup>f</sup>. It being summer, he lay down stupefied so that she saw the marks of flogging and asked, "How did you get these, you poor wretch?" He replied, "When I was a lad some hot broth was spilled on me." She said, "Obviously veal-broth."<sup>g</sup> The poet Menander having met with bad luck<sup>h</sup> entered the house of

<sup>a</sup> Frag. 100 d 25, A. W. Mair (L C L) p. 12, cf. Athen. 244 a (vol. III p. 96), Birt, *Kritik u. Hermeneutik* 11.

<sup>b</sup> For such stichometric notes, convenient for librarians and booksellers, see Birt, *Ant. Buchwesen*, 162 ff., 168, 337.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "a man who has been flogged."

<sup>d</sup> Referring to whip-thongs of calf leather. Cf. above, 580 b (p. 131).

<sup>e</sup> Presumably in a dramatic contest, cf. *εὐημερήκει* above, 584 d.

γάλα παρεκάλει ροφήσαι ὁ δ' "οὐ θέλω" εἶπεν.  
 ἦν γὰρ ἐφεστηκυῖα γραῦς αὐτῷ ἡ δὲ "ἀποφύσα,  
 εἶπε, καὶ τῷ κάτω χρῶ" Θαις<sup>1</sup> ἐραστοῦ τινος  
 αὐτῆς ἀλαζόνος παρὰ πολλῶν ποτήρια χρησαμένον  
 καὶ λέγοντος θέλειν ταῦτα συγκόψαι, ἄλλα δὲ κατα-  
 σκευάσαι, "ἀπολεῖς, ἔφη, ἐκάστου τὸ ἴδιον"  
 Λεόντιον<sup>2</sup> κατακειμένη μετ' ἐραστοῦ, ἐπεισελθού-  
 σης εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον Γλυκέρας καὶ τοῦ ἐραστοῦ  
 αὐτῆς ταύτῃ μᾶλλον προσέχοντος, κατάστυγνος ἦν  
 ὡς δ' ἐπιστρέψας ὁ γνώριμος αὐτὴν ἠρώτησε τί  
 λυπεῖται, "ἡ ὑστέρα με λυπεῖ" ἔφη. πρὸς Λαῖδα  
 τὴν Κορινθίαν ἐραστῆς ἀποσφράγισμα πέμψας  
 ἐκέλευε παραγίνεσθαι. ἡ δ' "οὐ δύναμαι" εἶπε.  
 "πηλὸς ἐστι" Θαις πρὸς γράσωνα πορευομένη  
 ἐραστήν, ἐπεὶ τις αὐτὴν ἠρώτα<sup>3</sup> ποῦ πορεύεται,  
 εἶπεν "Αἰγεί συνοικήσουςα τῷ Πανδίωνος"  
 Φρύνῃ συνδειπνοῦσά ποτε γράσωνι ἄρασα<sup>4</sup> φορίνην  
 "λαβέ,<sup>5</sup> εἶπε, καὶ ταῦτα τράγε"<sup>6</sup> πέμψαντος δὲ  
 τινος αὐτῇ τῶν γνωρίμων οἶνον χρηστὸν μὲν,  
 ὀλίγον δέ, καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι δεκαέτης ἐστίν, "μικ-  
 ρὸς ὡς πολλῶν ἐτῶν" ἔφη. ζητουμένου δὲ ἓν τι  
 συμποσίῳ διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν οἱ στέφανοι κρήμννται,<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. θαῖς δὲ E, λαῖς δὲ C

<sup>2</sup> λεόντιον δὲ CE.

<sup>3</sup> A. ἤρετο CE

<sup>4</sup> CE. ἄρασα A

<sup>5</sup> λάβε AC.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ ταῦτα τράγε Meineke καὶ κατάτραπε ACE.

<sup>7</sup> κρήμννται A · κρήμανται CE.

<sup>a</sup> Dalechamps explains: ne specta faciem, reliquo corpore utere, since γραῦς (here "scum") also means old woman.

<sup>b</sup> Without supplying a worthy substitute

<sup>c</sup> The word ὑστέρα also means uterus On Leontion see below, 588 b (p. 171), 593 b (p. 199).

Glycera, who brought him some boiled milk and urged him to drink it down. But he said, "I don't want it." For there was scum on the top of it. She said, "Blow it off and use what's underneath."<sup>a</sup> To a bragging lover who had borrowed cups from many persons and who said that he wanted to smash them up and make others of them, Thais said, "You will only spoil the peculiar character of each."<sup>b</sup> Leontion was reclining at dinner with a lover when Glycera came into the symposium later; and when the lover paid more devoted attention to her, Leontion looked downcast. Her friend, turning toward her, asked what pained her. She replied, "The last comer<sup>c</sup> gives me a pain!" A lover once sent his seal to Lais of Corinth with the command to attend him. But she said, "I can't; it's only clay."<sup>d</sup> Thais was once on her way to a lover who smelt like a goat, and when some one asked her where she was going she said<sup>e</sup>. "To stay with Aegeus the son of Pandion." Phrynê, dining once with a man who smelt like a goat, picked up a piece of skin from a pig and said, "Take that and eat it."<sup>f</sup> When one of her friends sent her some wine which, though good, was small in quantity, explaining that it was ten years old, she said, "Small indeed, considering how many years old it is."<sup>g</sup> A question being raised at a drinking-party why people

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* he should have sent a gem or cash. There may also be a reference to the mire in the streets, Herodas i. 14, *cf.* Theocr. xv 4-9.

<sup>b</sup> The words of Medea to Jason, Eur. *Med.* 1385. She pronounced the dative of Aegeus (*Aegei*) like that of *αἶξ* (goat), *αἶγι*.

<sup>f</sup> The words also mean, with a different intonation, "Take that too, you he-goat."

<sup>g</sup> Above, 584 c.

εἶπεν “ ὅτι ψυχαγωγοῦσιν ” μαστιγίου δέ τινος  
μειρακιευομένου πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ φαμένου πολλαῖς  
f συμπεπλέχθαι, καθ’ ὑπόκρισιν ἐσκυθρώπασεν ἐπ-  
ερωτήσαντος<sup>1</sup> δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν “ ὀργίζομαί σοι, εἶπεν,  
ὅτι πολλὰς ἔχεις ” φιλάργυρος δέ τις ἐραστὴς  
ὑποκοριζόμενος αὐτὴν εἶπεν “ Ἀφροδίσιον εἰ Πραξι-  
τέλους ” ἢ δὲ “ σὺ δ’ Ἐρως Φειδίου.”

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν οἶδ’ αἰ τινὰς  
μνημονεύοντας αὐτῶν ἢ κατηγοροῦντας ἢ ἀπο-  
λογουμένους, μνησθήσομαι καὶ τούτων Δημο-  
σθένους μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀνδροτίωνος Σινώπης  
86 μέμνηται καὶ Φανοστράτης. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς  
Σινώπης Ἡρόδικος ὁ Κρατήτειος<sup>2</sup> ἐν 5<sup>3</sup> Κωμω-  
δουμένων φησὶν ὅτι Ἀβυδος ἐλέγετο διὰ τὸ γραῦς  
εἶναι. μνημονεύει δ’ αὐτῆς Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Ἀρκάδι  
καὶ ἐν Κηπουρῷ, ἐν Ἀκεστρίᾳ, ἐν Ἀλιευομένῃ, ἐν  
Νεοττίδι, καὶ Ἀλεξίς ἐν Κλεοβουλίνῃ καὶ Καλ-  
λικράτης ἐν Μοσχίωνι περὶ δὲ τῆς Φανοστράτης  
Ἀπολλόδωρός φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν

<sup>1</sup> Ἄ ἐρομένου CE

<sup>2</sup> κρατήτειος A.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν γ’ Harpocr. s. Σινώπη, see Dindorf’s note *ad loc*

<sup>a</sup> Wreaths were used in the cult of the dead, they also charm the souls of the living. The question is a typical ζήτημα of the Stoics, Athen. 553 e-554 b (vol. v. pp. 514-518), 670 a-c, Rohde, *Roman*<sup>3</sup> 62.

<sup>b</sup> The feminine πολλαῖς “many” can refer either to women (γυναιξί) or to blows (πληγαῖς). Her answer implies the latter.

<sup>c</sup> The name Praxiteles means “exacting a price”; Pheidias, “saving one’s money.”

<sup>d</sup> This account, extending to 593 a, was once longer, as

hang up wreaths, she said "Because they lure the spirits."<sup>a</sup> A certain jail-bird tried to tease her by saying that he had been embraced by many,<sup>b</sup> whereupon she affected to be downcast. When he asked her the reason she said "I am provoked at you for having so many." A stingy lover, by way of flattery, said to her, "You are Praxiteles' little Aphrodite." She retorted, "You are Pheidias's Cupid."<sup>c</sup>

Inasmuch as I know, too, of some statesmen who mention courtesans either by way of accusation or of defence, I will quote the statesmen also.<sup>d</sup> Demosthenes, for example, in his *Speech against Androtion* mentions<sup>e</sup> Sinopê and Phanostratê. Concerning Sinopê Herodicus, of the school of Crates, says in the sixth book of his *Persons mentioned in Comedy* that she was called Abydus because she was an old hag.<sup>f</sup> She is mentioned also by Antiphanes in *The Arcadian*,<sup>g</sup> *The Gardener*,<sup>h</sup> *The Sempstress*,<sup>i</sup> *She goes a-fishing*,<sup>j</sup> and *The Chuck*<sup>k</sup>; by Alexis in *Cleobulnê*,<sup>l</sup> and by Callicrates in *Moschion*.<sup>m</sup> Concerning Phanostiatê Apollodorus in his work *On the Athenian Courtesans*

appears from those articles in Harpocration's *Lexicon* which deal with the women here mentioned, see H. Schultz in P-W VII 2415.

<sup>a</sup> Or. XIII. 56, ἀνθρώπους πόρναις Sinopê's depravity gave rise to the verb συνπίσαι, Hesych s v, cf. Suid, Phot s συνώπη. See Athen. 339 a (vol. iv p. 37 note d).

<sup>f</sup> Her name, Sinopê, was also that of a prosperous town on the Black Sea. In her old age the woman was jokingly called Abydus, the name of another town, at this time in a state of decay, Athen. 524 f (vol. v. p. 366), with which various unpleasant things were associated. Cf. (e g) Ἀβυδηνὸν ἐπιφόρημα, Athen. 641 a, of irksome harbour-dues.

<sup>g</sup> Kock II 27. Athen. 444 b (vol. iv. p. 512) gives the title as *Arcadia* (or *Woman of Arcadia*).

<sup>h</sup> Kock II 57

<sup>i</sup> Kock II. 18.

<sup>j</sup> Kock II 20.

<sup>k</sup> Kock II 80

<sup>l</sup> Kock II 333

<sup>m</sup> Kock II. 416

Ἑταιρίδων ὅτι Φθειροπύλη ἐπεκαλείτο, ἐπειδὴ περ  
ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας<sup>1</sup> ἐστῶσα ἐφθειρίζετο. Ὑπερείδης<sup>2</sup>  
δ' ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀρισταγόρας φησί “ καὶ πάλιν τὰς  
Ἀφύας καλουμένας τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκαλέσατε.”  
b ἑταιρῶν ἐπωνυμίαι<sup>3</sup> αἱ ἀφύαι, περὶ ὧν ὁ προειρη-  
μένος Ἀπολλόδωρος φησι “ Σταγόνιον καὶ  
Ἄνθις ἀδελφαί· αὗται Ἀφύαι ἐκαλοῦντο, ὅτι λευκαὶ  
καὶ λεπταὶ οὔσαι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μεγάλους εἶχον.”  
Ἀντιφάνης δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἑταιρῶν Νικοστρατίδα  
φησὶν Ἀφύην ἐπικληθῆναι<sup>4</sup> διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν.  
ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Ὑπερείδης<sup>5</sup> ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μαντιθέου  
αἰκίας περὶ Γλυκέρας τάδε λέγει “ ἄγων Γλυκέραν  
c τε τὴν Θαλασσίδος, ζεύγος ἔχων ” ἄδηλον εἰ αὕτη  
ἐστὶν ἡ Ἀρπάλω συνοῦσα περὶ ἧς φησιν Θεόπομ-  
πος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς Χίας Ἐπιστολῆς, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν  
τῆς Πυθιονίκης θάνατον ὁ Ἀρπαλος μετεπέμψατο  
τὴν Γλυκέραν Ἀθήνηθεν ἣν καὶ ἐλθοῦσαν οἰκεῖν ἐν  
τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς ἐν Ταρσῷ καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι  
ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους βασιλίσσαν προσαγορευομένην  
ἀπειρησθαί τε πᾶσι<sup>6</sup> μὴ στεφανοῦν Ἀρπαλον, ἐὰν  
μὴ καὶ Γλυκέραν στεφανῶσιν. ἐν Ῥωσσῷ δὲ καὶ  
εἰκόνα χαλκῇν αὐτῆς ἰστάναι τολμῆσαι<sup>7</sup> παρὰ τὴν<sup>8</sup>  
ἑαυτοῦ τὰ ὅμοια δ' εἶρηκε καὶ Κλείταρχος ἐν ταῖς

<sup>1</sup> θύρας A Hapocci s. Φανοστράτη· πύλης CE

<sup>2</sup> ὑπερίδης ACE.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπωνυμία Musurus.

<sup>4</sup> CE (ἐπεκλ- C): κληθῆναι A.

<sup>5</sup> ὑπερίδης A.

<sup>6</sup> πᾶσι CE· ἐπὶ πᾶσι A.

<sup>7</sup> Casaubon ἐστάναι τολμῆσαι A, στήσαι ἐτόλμησε(ν) CE

<sup>8</sup> παρὰ τὴν edd : παρ' αὐτὴν A, παρὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τὴν Jacoby.

<sup>a</sup> J. 2 B 1105, P.-W. 1. 2863. On lice in antiquity see Dr. Hans Zinsser's engaging book, *Rats, Lice and History*, Boston, 1935.



says <sup>a</sup> that she was nicknamed *Louse-Gate* because she picked lice from herself as she stood at her door. Hypereides says in the *Speech against Aristagora* <sup>b</sup>. "And again, the women who are called 'Anchovies'—you called her by the same name" "Anchovies" is a name given to courtesans, of whom Apollodorus, whom I have just quoted, says <sup>c</sup> "Stagonion and Anthus were sisters; they were called Anchovies because they were of light colour, thin, and had large eyes." And Antiphanes in his work *On Courtesans* <sup>d</sup> says that Nicostratis was nicknamed Anchovy for the same reason. Hypereides, again, in the *Speech against Mantitheus*, in an action for assault, has this to say about Glycera <sup>e</sup>: "Taking with him Glycera, daughter of Thalassiss,<sup>f</sup> in a chariot and pair." It is uncertain whether she is the Glycera who lived with Harpalus; of her Theopompus says,<sup>g</sup> in his treatise *On the Chian Letter*, that after the death of Pythioniccê Harpalus summoned Glycera from Athens, on her arrival she took up her residence in the palace at Tarsus and had obeisance done to her by the populace, being hailed as queen; further, all persons were forbidden to honour Harpalus with a crown unless they also gave a crown to Glycera. In Rhossus they even went so far as to set up an image of her in bronze beside his own <sup>h</sup>. The like is recorded also by Clei-

<sup>b</sup> Blass<sup>3</sup> 98, Kenyon frag. 24, Harpocr. s. Ἀφύας.

<sup>c</sup> J 2 B 1105.

<sup>d</sup> Above, 567 a (p. 62).

<sup>e</sup> Blass<sup>3</sup> 116, Kenyon, frag. 121.

<sup>f</sup> i.e. the sea-woman; below, 595 d (p. 208).

<sup>g</sup> *F.H.G.* 1 325, J. 2 B 590, G. and H 245. The title as given can hardly be right; Schweighauser conjectured *In his Letters concerning Chios*. On Pythioniccê see below, 594 e (p. 204).

<sup>h</sup> Perhaps "and Alexander's" should be added; see critical note 8.

d περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον Ἱστορίαις ὁ δὲ γράψας τὸν Ἀγῆνα τὸ σατυρικὸν δραμάτιον, εἴτε Πύθων ἐστὶν ὁ Καταναῖος ἢ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος, φησὶν·

καὶ μὴν ἀκούω μυριάδας τὸν Ἀρπαλον αὐτοῖσι τῶν Ἀγῆνος οὐκ ἐλάττονας σίτου παραπέμψαι<sup>1</sup> καὶ πολίτην γεγονέναι Β. Γλυκέρας ὁ σίτος οὗτος ἦν· ἔσται δ' ἴσως αὐτοῖσιν<sup>2</sup> ὀλέθρου κοῦχ ἑταίρας ἀρραβῶν

e Λυσίας δ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λαΐδα, εἴ γε<sup>3</sup> γνήσιος ὁ λόγος, τούτων μνημονεύει “ Φιλύρα γέ τοι ἐπαύσατο πορνευομένη ἔτι νέα οὔσα καὶ Σκιώνη καὶ Ἰππάφεις καὶ Θεόκλεια καὶ Ψαμάθη καὶ Λαγίσκα καὶ Ἀνθεια.” μήποτε δὲ δεῖ γράφειν ἀντὶ τῆς Ἀνθείας Ἀντειαν<sup>4</sup> οὐ γὰρ εὐρίσκομεν παρ' οὐδενὶ Ἀνθειαν ἀναγεγραμμένην ἑταίραν, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀντείας<sup>5</sup> καὶ ὅλον δράμα ἐπιγραφόμενον, ὡς προεῖπον, Εὐνίκου ἢ Φιλυλλίου Ἀντεία<sup>6</sup> ἐστίν. καὶ ὁ τὸν κατὰ Νεαίρας δὲ λόγον γράψας μνημονεύει αὐτῆς. ἐν δὲ τῷ κατὰ Φιλωνίδου βιαίων ὁ Λυσίας, εἰ  
f γνήσιος ὁ λόγος, καὶ Ναΐδος τῆς ἑταίρας μέμνηται, καὶ τῷ πρὸς Μέδοντα ψευδομαρτυριῶν Ἀντικύρας.<sup>7</sup> ἐπώνυμον δ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἑταίρας τὸ γὰρ κύριον ἦν Οἶα,<sup>8</sup> ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης<sup>9</sup> εἴρηκεν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἑται-

<sup>1</sup> διαπέμψαι Athen 596 b.

<sup>2</sup> 596 b: αὐτοῖς A.

<sup>3</sup> γε deleted by Kaibel

<sup>4</sup> Harpocr. s. Ἀνθεια: ἄντιαν A.

<sup>5</sup> ἀντίας A

<sup>6</sup> ἀντια (sic) A

<sup>7</sup> Ἀντικύρας added by Schweighauser, cf Harpocr s Ἀντίκυρα.

<sup>8</sup> οἶα A.

<sup>9</sup> A, Harpocr. codd.: Ἀντιφάνης Musurus

tarchus in his *Histories of Alexander*.<sup>a</sup> The author of *Agên*, the little satyric drama, whether it be Python of Catana or King Alexander himself, says <sup>b</sup> : “A And yet I hear that Harpalus has sent over to them <sup>c</sup> thousands of bushels of grain, as many as Agên sent, and so was made a citizen. B. This grain was Glycera’s, but it will doubtless turn out to be their death-warrant, and not merely a whore’s earnest money.”

Lysias in the *Speech against Lais*, if it is really genuine, mentions these courtesans <sup>d</sup> “Philyra, at least, ceased whoring when still a young woman, and so did Scionê, Hippaphesis, Theocleia, Psamathê, Lagisca, and Antheia.” Perhaps for Antheia we should write Anteia. For we cannot find in any author the name Antheia recorded as that of a courtesan, whereas from Anteia an entire play takes its title, as I have said above,<sup>e</sup> the *Anteia* of Eunicus or Phyllylus. And the writer of the *Speech against Neaera* also mentions her.<sup>f</sup> In the *Speech against Philonides*, an action for forcible seizure, Lysias, if it be genuine, mentions<sup>g</sup> also the courtesan Nais, and in that *Against Medon*, an action for perjury, Anticyra. Now this was an epithet given to the courtesan; for her real name was Oia, as Aristophanes<sup>h</sup> says in his work *On Courtesans*,

<sup>b</sup> *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 810, below, 596 a-b, and 50 f (vol. 1. p. 222). Of Agên nothing is known, Olivieri, cited below, 595 e (p. 210), thinks he may have been an importer of grain at Athens.

<sup>c</sup> The Athenians

<sup>d</sup> Thalheim 365; below, 592 e (p. 195).

<sup>e</sup> 567 c (p. 65).

<sup>f</sup> Ps-Demosth *Or.* lxx. 19, above, 570 e (p. 83), 573 b (p. 95).

<sup>g</sup> Thalheim 375

<sup>h</sup> Of Byzantium. See crit. note 9 and above, 567 a (p. 63), Harpocr. s. Ἀντίκυρα.

ρῶν, Ἀντικύραν<sup>1</sup> αὐτὴν φάσκων κληθῆναι ἦτοι ὅτι συνέπιπε παρακινουῦσι καὶ μεμνηνόσιν ἢ ὅτι αὐτὴν ἀναλαβὼν ὁ ἰατρὸς Νικόστρατος ἀποθνήσκων<sup>2</sup> κατέλιπεν αὐτῇ πολὺν ἐλλέβορον, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν. καὶ Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λεωκράτους<sup>3</sup> Εἰρηνίδος ἑταίρας μέμνηται ὥς ἑταιρούσης τῷ Λεωκράτει. Ναννίου δὲ Ὑπερίδης<sup>4</sup> μνημονεύει ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους. αὕτη δὲ ὅτι Αἰῖς ἐπεκαλεῖτο προείπομεν, διὰ τὸ Θαλλὸν τὸν κάπηλον ἐξαναλῶσαι. ὅτι δὲ θαλλῷ χαίρουσιν αἱ αἶγες, διόπερ οὐδ' εἰς ἀκρόπολιν ἄνεισι τὸ ζῶον οὐδ' ὅλως Ἀθηνᾶ θύεται διὰ τοῦτο, ἄλλος ἔσται<sup>5</sup> λόγος. ἀλλ' ὁ γε Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ποιμέσιν ὅτι θαλλοφαγεί τὸ ζῶον φησιν οὕτως·

έωθινὸς γάρ, πρίν τιν' αὐλιτῶν<sup>6</sup> ὄραν,  
θαλλὸν χιμαῖρα προσφέρων νεοσπάδα<sup>7</sup>  
εἶδον<sup>8</sup> στρατὸν στείχοντα παραλίαν ἄκραν<sup>9</sup>

μνημονεύει τῆς<sup>10</sup> Ναννίου καὶ Ἀλεξίς ἐν Ταραντίνοις οὕτως·

Νάννιον δὲ μαίνεται  
ἐπὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ,

κωμῳδῶν αὐτὴν ὥς μέθυσον.<sup>11</sup> Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Ψευδήρακλει φησιν·

οὐκ ἐπεῖρα Νάννιον;

Ἀντιφάνης δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἑταιρῶν “ Προσκήνιον,

<sup>1</sup> ἀντικύραν A.

<sup>2</sup> CE: καὶ ἀποθνήσκων A.

<sup>3</sup> λεοκράτους A.

<sup>4</sup> ὑπερίδης ACE.

<sup>5</sup> ἐστὶ (?) Kaibel

<sup>6</sup> Bekker· αὐλιτῶν A, Harpocr. s Νάννιον.

<sup>7</sup> Casaubon· νέος παῖδα A, νεόπαιδα Harpocr

<sup>8</sup> Musurus· ἶδον A

<sup>9</sup> πέτραν Harpocr.

<sup>10</sup> Musurus: μνημονευτήσ A.

alleging that she was called Anticyra <sup>a</sup> either because she joined the drinking-bouts of men who were insane with passion, or because the physician Nicostratus took her up and at his death bequeathed to her a large quantity of hellebore, but nothing else. Lycurgus, further, in his *Speech against Leocrates*, mentions <sup>b</sup> a courtesan named Eirenis as one who was kept by Leocrates. As for Nannion, Hypereides mentions <sup>c</sup> her in the *Speech against Patrocles*. That she was nicknamed Goat because she had wasted the substance of Sprout the huckster we have stated above <sup>d</sup>. Now that she-goats enjoy a green branch, for which reason the creature is not allowed to range on the Acropolis and consequently is never sacrificed to Athena at all, will be a matter for another discussion. Sophocles, at least, says in *The Shepherd* that the creature is a branch-eater in these words <sup>e</sup> "Early in the morning, indeed, before I could see any of the farmer-folk about, I was offering a fresh-cut bianch to a she-goat when I saw an army marching along the height by the sea." Nannion is mentioned also by Alexis in *The Tarentines* thus <sup>f</sup> "And Nannion is mad over Dionysus," thus satirizing her as a drunken tippler. Also Menander in *Sham-Heracles* says <sup>g</sup> "Did he not try to rape Nannion?" Antiphanes in his work *On Courtesans* says: "Nannion

<sup>a</sup> Anticyra or anticyricon also meant hellebore, said to come from three towns so named, *tribus Anticyris caput insanabile*, Hor. *A.P.* 300.

<sup>b</sup> Chap. 17.

<sup>c</sup> Blass<sup>3</sup> 119, Kenyon 141.

<sup>d</sup> 582 e (p 143), J 2 B 1105, of Nico, not Nannion. But see Harpocr. s. *Νάννιον*.

<sup>e</sup> *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 242

<sup>f</sup> Kock II 379.

<sup>g</sup> Kock III 150.

φησίν, ἐπεκαλείτο ἡ Νάννιον, ὅτι πρόσωπόν τε ἀστεῖον εἶχε καὶ ἐχρῆτο χρυσοῖς<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἱματίοις πολυτελέσι, ἐκδύσα δὲ ἦν αἰσχροτάτη. ἦν δὲ Κορώνη<sup>2</sup> τῆς Ναννίου<sup>3</sup> θυγάτηρ, τὸ τῆς Τήθης ἀναφέρουσα ἐκ τριπορνείας ὄνομα." καὶ Νεμεάδος δὲ τῆς αὐλητρίδος<sup>4</sup> Ὑπερείδης<sup>5</sup> μνημονεύει ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πατροκλέους. περὶ ἧς ἄξιον θαυμάζειν πῶς περιεῖδον Ἀθηναῖοι οὕτως προσαγορευομένην τὴν πόρνην, πανηγύρεως ἐνδοξοτάτης ὀνόματι κεχρημένην· ἐκεκώλυτο<sup>6</sup> γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα τίθεσθαι ὀνόματα οὐ μόνον ταῖς ἐταιρούσαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δούλαις,<sup>7</sup> ὥς φησι Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἀκροπόλεως. καὶ Ὠκίμου δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς, ὥς σὺ φῆς, Κύνουлке, καὶ Ὑπερείδης<sup>8</sup> μέμνηται ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀρισταγόρας β' λέγων οὕτως " ὥστε Λαῖς μὲν ἡ δοκοῦσα πασῶν<sup>9</sup> τῶν πώποτε διενηνοχέαι τὴν ὄψιν καὶ Ὠκιμον καὶ Μετάνειρα<sup>10</sup> . . ." Νικόστρατος δὲ ὁ τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας ποιητῆς ἐν Πανδρόσῳ οὕτωςι λέγων·

<sup>1</sup> Meineke: χρυσεοῖς A, χρυσοῖς CE.

<sup>2</sup> Schweighauser: κορώνησ A.

<sup>3</sup> Musurus: ἀννίου A

<sup>4</sup> CE Harpocr. s. Νεμέας: αὐλητρίασ A.

<sup>5</sup> ὑπερίδης ACE.

<sup>6</sup> κεκώλυτο ACE.

<sup>7</sup> τὰς ἄλλας δούλας C

<sup>8</sup> ὑπερίδης A.

<sup>9</sup> πασῶν added by Kaibel.

<sup>10</sup> Schweighauser: μετάνειραν A

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Harpocr. s. Νάννιον, who says that her name, Pioscenum, arose διὰ τὸ ἔξωθεν εὐμορφοτέραν εἶναι, "because she was prettier on the outside."

<sup>b</sup> The same name for a hetaera above, 583 a, e.

was nicknamed Proscenium because, although she had a pretty face and wore gold jewelry and expensive clothes, when she stripped she was very ugly.<sup>a</sup> Now there was a daughter of Nannion named Coronê (Crow)<sup>b</sup> who acquired the name Grandmother because she was a whore throughout three generations."<sup>c</sup> Again, Nemeas the flute-girl is mentioned by Hypereides in the *Speech against Patrocles*.<sup>d</sup> Concerning her one may rightly wonder how the Athenians permitted the whore to be so called, since the name she had assumed was that of a highly-revered festival; for the adoption of such names as these had been forbidden, not only to women practising prostitution, but also to other women of the slave class, as Polemon declares<sup>e</sup> in his work *On the Acropolis*. And my own Ocimon, as you call her, Cynulcus,<sup>f</sup> is mentioned by Hypereides in the second *Speech against Aristagora*, in these words<sup>g</sup> "Wherefore Lais, who was reputed to excel in looks all women who had ever yet lived, and Ocimon, and Metaneira, . . ." Also Nicostratus, the poet of the Middle Comedy, in *Pandrosus*, speaking as follows<sup>h</sup> "After that,

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *τρίπορος* below, 595 b. But "triple whoredom," the literal translation of *τρίπορνεία*, may be an intensive expression, or it may refer to the inherited practice of her trade. The ms. reading *Κορώνης* (for *Κορώνη*) gives "there was a daughter of Coronê, the daughter of Nannion, who acquired," etc. But this makes the woman a granddaughter, not a grandmother.

<sup>d</sup> Blass<sup>2</sup> fi. 168, Kenyon 13.

<sup>e</sup> Preller 38. The name Isthmius, derived from the Isthmian Games, occurs below, 587 e (p. 169), 593 f (p. 203). For the nymph Nemea see Athen 534 d (vol. v. p. 414).

<sup>f</sup> Myrtilus, the speaker (571 a, p. 85), refers to 567 c (p. 65). He was a Thessalian (vol. i p. 48, vol. iii. p. 384).

<sup>g</sup> Blass<sup>3</sup> 119, Kenyon 142.

<sup>h</sup> Kock ii. 225.

ἔπειτα<sup>1</sup> τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ  
πρὸς Ἀερόπην ἐλθοῦσα πέμψαι στρώματα  
αὐτὴν κέλευε, φησί,<sup>2</sup> καὶ παρ' Ὠκίμου<sup>3</sup>  
χαλκώματα.

Μένανδρος δ' ἐν Κόλακι τάσδε καταλέγει ἑταίρας·

e Χρυσίδα, Κορώνην, Ἀντίκυραν, Ἰσχάδα,  
καὶ Ναυνάριον ἔσχηκας ὠραίαν<sup>4</sup> σφόδρα

Φιλέταιρος ἐν Κυναγίδι·

οὐχὶ Κερκώπη μὲν ἤδη γέγον'<sup>5</sup> ἔτη τρισχίλια,  
ἡ δὲ Διοπεΐθους ἀηδὴς Τέλεισις<sup>6</sup> ἔτερα μυρία;  
Θεολύτην δ' οὐδ'<sup>7</sup> οἶδεν οὐδεὶς ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον  
ἐγένετο

οὐχὶ Λαῖς μὲν τελευτῶσ' ἀπέθανεν βινουμένη,  
Ἰσθμιάς δὲ καὶ Νέαιρα κατασέσηπε καὶ Φίλα;  
f Κοσσύφας<sup>8</sup> δὲ καὶ Γαλήνας<sup>9</sup> καὶ Κορώνας οὐ  
λέγω·

περὶ δὲ Ναίδος σιωπῶ γομφίους γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει

Θεόφιλος Φιλαύλῳ·

τοῦ μή ποτ' αὐτὸν ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς Λαίδα  
φερόμενον ἢ Μηκωνίδ' ἢ Σισύμβριον  
ἢ Βάραθρον ἢ Θάλλουσιν<sup>10</sup> ἢ τούτων τινά,  
ὧν ἐμπλέκουσι τοῖς λίνοις<sup>11</sup> σ'<sup>12</sup> αἱ μαστροποί, ..

ἢ Ναύσιον<sup>13</sup> ἢ Μαλθάκην<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Musurus ἐπὶ τὰ Α

<sup>2</sup> Dobree κέλευ' ἔφη Α.

<sup>3</sup> Cobet: ὠκιμον Α.

<sup>4</sup> ἔσχηκα γ' ὠραίης Carps.

<sup>5</sup> Pierson· γεγόνει Α, γέγονεν CE. <sup>6</sup> Α: τελέσιλλα CE

<sup>7</sup> οὐδ' added by Meineke, οὐκ Jacobs.

<sup>8</sup> Φίλα, Κοσσύφας Schweighauser. φιλακοσ συφασ Α.

<sup>9</sup> Musurus· γαλεινας Α <sup>10</sup> Musurus· θαλλουσα Α

<sup>11</sup> Schweighauser (following Dalechamps) λίθοις Α.

<sup>12</sup> σ' added by Kibel.



says he, go by the same street <sup>a</sup> to Aeropê and bid her send spreads for the couches, and from Ocimon get bronze dishes." Menander, again, in *The Flatterer*, gives a list of courtesans as follows <sup>b</sup>: "Chrysis, Coronê, Anticyra, Ischas, and tiny Nannion you have possessed—the last a very great beauty." <sup>c</sup> Philetaerus in *The Huntress* <sup>d</sup> "Has not Cercopê by this time grown to be three thousand years old, and Diopertes' foul Telesis another ten thousand? As for Theolytê, <sup>e</sup> nobody even knows the time when she first came to birth. Did not Lais die at the end from excessive commerce? and have not Isthmias <sup>f</sup> and Neaera and Phila rotted away? As for all the Cossyphês, Galenês, and Coronês, I say nothing; and concerning Nais I am dumb; she has no molars left." Theophilus in *He liked to play the Flute* <sup>g</sup> "To prevent him from falling pell-mell into the clutches of Lais or Meconis or Sisymbion or Barathron <sup>h</sup> or Thallusa or one of those women, in whose nets the pimps entangle one, or Nausion or Malthacê." <sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Or, "while you are on that same errand", a similar scene occurs in Aristoph *Pac* 1142-1158.

<sup>b</sup> Kock iii 84, Allinson 394.

<sup>c</sup> Or, adopting Capps's reading (critical note 4) "I have possessed some very beautiful ladies" This is in keeping with the boastful swashbuckler Bias (Thraso in *Ter Eunuchus*), Athen 434 c (vol. iv p. 466), cf 477 f (vol. v. p. 112). <sup>d</sup> Kock ii 232 <sup>e</sup> Above, 570 e (p. 83).

<sup>f</sup> Page 167, note e

<sup>g</sup> Kock ii. 476

<sup>h</sup> Name also of the ravine outside Athens into which the bodies of executed criminals were thrown.

<sup>i</sup> See critical notes 13, 14. The last two names are appended *extra metrum*

<sup>13</sup> ναυσιον A. Νάννιον Musurus, Ἡλύσιον (?) Kaibel, ἡ Ναν-  
νάριον Cobet (placing it after verse 2)

<sup>14</sup> μαλαθακην A

Τοσαῦτ' εἰπὼν μετὰ τινος τροχιλίας ὁ Μυρτίλος  
 8 " μή τι τοιοῦτοι<sup>1</sup> ὑμεῖς οἱ φιλόσοφοι, ἔφη, οἱ καὶ  
 πρὸ τῶν Ἡδονικῶν καλουμένων αὐτοὶ τὸν τῆς  
 ἡδονῆς τοῖχον ὑποσκάπτοντες, ὥς που ὁ Ἐρατο-  
 σθένης ἔφη. κάμοι μὲν τὰ καλὰ τῶν ἑταίρων ἀπο-  
 φθέγματα πεπεράνθω μέχρι τούτων· ἐπ' ἄλλο δ'  
 εἶδος μεταβήσομαι λόγων καὶ πρῶτόν γε<sup>2</sup> μνη-  
 σθήσομαι τοῦ φιλαληθεστάτου Ἐπικούρου· ὅστις  
 ἐγκυκλίου<sup>3</sup> παιδείας ἀμύητος ὢν ἐμακάριζε καὶ  
 τοὺς ὁμοίως αὐτῷ ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν παρερχομένους,  
 τοιαύτας φωνὰς προιέμενος· " μακαρίζω σε, ὦ  
 οὗτος, ὅτι καθαρὸς πάσης παιδείας<sup>4</sup> ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν  
 ὤρμησαι."<sup>5</sup> ὅθεν αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ Τίμων φησὶν

γραμμαδοδιδασκαλίδην,<sup>6</sup> ἀναγωγότατον ζῶντων.

οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος οὐ Λεόντιον εἶχεν ἐρωμένην  
 τὴν ἐπὶ ἑταιρεία διαβόητον γενομένην; ἡ δὲ οὐδ'<sup>7</sup>  
 ὅτε φιλοσοφεῖν ἤρξατο ἐπαύσατο ἑταιροῦσα, πᾶσι  
 δέ<sup>8</sup> τοῖς Ἐπικουρείοις<sup>9</sup> συνῆν ἐν τοῖς κήποις,  
 Ἐπικούρῳ δὲ καὶ ἀναφανδόν· ὥστ' ἐκείνον πολλὴν

<sup>1</sup> Schweighauser: τοιοῦτον A.

<sup>2</sup> πρῶτόν γε A· πρῶτον μὲν Kaibel.

<sup>3</sup> A τῆς ἐγκυκλίου CE.

<sup>4</sup> Schweighauser. αἰτίας ACE, αἰκίας Diels.

<sup>5</sup> Kaibel ὤρμησας A, ἔρχη CE.

<sup>6</sup> γραμμοδιδασκαλίδης Diog. Laert. x 2: γράμμα διδασκαλίδην  
 (sic) A

<sup>7</sup> Meineke: οὐχ A

<sup>8</sup> πᾶσι δὲ Kaibel· πᾶσί τε A, πᾶσι μὲν CE (omitting οὐδ'  
 ἑταιροῦσα).<sup>9</sup> CE ἐπικουρίοις A.

<sup>a</sup> Begun at 571 a (p 85).

<sup>b</sup> A term used to denote the hedonistic school of Aristippus  
 The same rather contemptuous adjective, ἡδονικός, is used  
 of Archestratus 312 f (vol. iii p. 404).

After this long recital,<sup>a</sup> spoken with some volubility, Myrtilus said. I hope you philosophers will not be like that—you who in your own lives anticipated the so-called Voluptuaries<sup>b</sup> in “undermining the wall of Pleasure,” as Eratosthenes has expressed it somewhere.<sup>c</sup> As for me, let the clever retorts of courtesans be brought to a close at this point; for I am going to shift the discussion to another topic.<sup>d</sup> And first of all I will recall Epicurus, who is distinguished for his candour; for, being himself uninitiated in the mysteries of a general education,<sup>e</sup> he congratulated those who went in for philosophy as he had, giving vent to such words as these.<sup>f</sup> “I congratulate you, sir, on having gone in for philosophy while innocent of all education.”<sup>g</sup> Whence Timon even calls him<sup>h</sup> “pettifogging school-teacher, most ill-bred of living men.” Well, did not this same Epicurus keep Leontion as his mistress, the woman who had become notorious as a strumpet? Why! Even when she began to be a philosopher, she did not cease her strumpet ways, but consorted with all the Epicureans in their gardens, and even before the very eyes of Epicurus; wherefore he, poor devil, was really

<sup>a</sup> Bernhardt 193; see Athen. 281 d (vol. III. p. 262). The curious phrase, “undermining the wall of Pleasure,” means that those Voluptuaries broke completely through all conventions in their self-indulgence.

<sup>d</sup> In fact he only interrupts it.

<sup>e</sup> i.e. preceding professional training.

<sup>f</sup> Usener p. 137.

<sup>g</sup> Or, reading *aikias* for *airias* (see crit. note 4), “innocent of all injurious behaviour.” But the text of Epicurus must have been already corrupted in Myrtilus’s day. Diog. Laert. x. 6, reports Epicurus’s advice: *παιδείαν πᾶσαν φεύγε*. Yet cf. Athen. 354 b (vol. IV. p. 102).

<sup>h</sup> Diels, *P.P.* III. 197, Wachsmuth fr. 55.

φροντίδα ποιούμενον αὐτῆς τοῦτ' ἐμφανίζειν διὰ τῶν πρὸς Ἑρμαρχον Ἐπιστολῶν  
 c Λαίδος τε τῆς ἐξ Ὑκκάρων (πόλις δ' αὕτη Σικελική, ἀφ' ἧς αἰχμάλωτος γενομένη ἦκεν εἰς Κόρινθον, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Πολέμων ἐν τῷ ἕκτῳ τῶν πρὸς Τίμαιον ἧς καὶ Ἀρίστιππος ἦρα καὶ Δημοσθένης ὁ ῥήτωρ Διογένης τε ὁ κύων· ἥ καὶ Ἀφροδίτη ἡ ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἡ Μελαινὶς καλουμένη νυκτὸς ἐπιφαινομένη ἐμήνυεν ἐραστῶν ἔφοδον πολυταλάντων) οὐχ Ὑπερίδης<sup>1</sup> μνημονεύει ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀρισταγόρας δευτέρῳ, Ἀπελλῆς δὲ ὁ ζωγράφος ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup> παρθένον οὖσαν τὴν Λαίδα θεασάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς Πειρήνης ὑδροφοροῦσαν καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ κάλλος ἤγαγέν ποτε αὐτὴν εἰς φίλων συμπόσιον.  
 l χλευασάντων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν ἐταίρων ὅτι ἀνθ' ἐταίρας παρθένον εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἀγάγοι, “ μὴ θαυμάσητε, εἶπεν ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὴν εἰς μέλλουσιν ἀπόλαυσιν μετ' οὐδ' ὅλην τριετίαν καλὴν<sup>3</sup> δεῖξω ” τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Σωκράτης ἐμαντεύσατο περὶ Θεοδότης τῆς Ἀθηναίας, ὡς φησι Ξενοφῶν ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν “ ὅτι δὲ καλλίστη εἶη καὶ στέρνα κρείττω λόγου παντὸς ἔχοι λέγοντός τινος,<sup>4</sup> ‘ ἰτέον ἡμῖν, ἔφη, θεασομένοις τὴν γυναῖκα οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἀκούουσιν<sup>5</sup> ἔστιν κρῖναι τὸ κάλλος.’ ” οὕτω δ' ἦν ἡ

<sup>1</sup> ὑπερίδης A.<sup>2</sup> CE ὅτι A.<sup>3</sup> ACE· ἰκανὴν Meineke<sup>4</sup> Kaibel: ἔλεγεν τε A.<sup>5</sup> Schweighauser. ἀκούσιον A.<sup>a</sup> Usener p 138 and Index s vv. Θεμίστα, Λεόντιον<sup>b</sup> Preller 75, below, 589 a (p. 177)<sup>c</sup> Goddess of the Dark.<sup>d</sup> Blass<sup>3</sup> 96, Kenyon 13.<sup>e</sup> Athen 43 b (vol 1. p. 186). On the spring Peirene at Corinth, see *Am J Arch* 2nd Series, 1900, pp. 204-239, 172

worried about her, as he makes clear in his *Letters to Hermarchus* <sup>a</sup>

Then there was Lais from Hyccara (this is a Sicilian town, from which she was brought as a captive to Corinth, as recorded <sup>b</sup> by Polemon in the sixth book of his *Reply to Timaeus*; she became the mistress of Aristippus, of the orator Demosthenes, and of Diogenes the Cynic; to her the Aphrodite of Corinth, who is called Melaenis, <sup>c</sup> appeared by night and revealed the coming of wealthy lovers); does not Hypereides mention <sup>d</sup> her in his second *Speech against Aristagora* <sup>e</sup>? The painter Apelles caught sight of her when she was still a maid carrying water from the fountain of Peirene, <sup>e</sup> and, struck by her beauty, he took her with him once to a symposium of his friends. And when they jeered at him for having brought to the symposium not a professional courtesan, but a maid, he replied, "Don't be surprised; for I want to show you that her beauty is a promise of enjoyment to come in less, altogether, than three years" <sup>f</sup> Socrates, also, divined the same promise in the case of Theodotê of Athens, as Xenophon says in his *Memorabilia* <sup>g</sup>: "When someone remarked that she was very beautiful and had a bosom beyond the power of any tongue to describe Socrates said, 'We must go to see the woman; for it is not possible to judge her beauty by hearsay.'" So beautiful was Lais <sup>h</sup> that

*Corinth* (Excavations of the Amer. School), iii 1 (1930), pp 31-60, J G O'Neill, *Anc Corinth*, pp 34-42.

<sup>f</sup> The corrupt text permits only a paraphrase

<sup>g</sup> Cf. *Mem* iii. 11. 1; but Xenophon's text is very different.

<sup>h</sup> Wilamowitz, believing that this sentence continues the paraphrase of Xenophon and refers to Theodotê, strikes out  $\eta$  Λαῖς. But it is futile to try to restore order to this late gossip

e Λαῖς<sup>1</sup> καλὴ ὥς καὶ τοὺς ζωγράφους ἐρχομένους  
 πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπομιμῆσθαι τῆς γυναικὸς τοὺς μα-  
 στοὺς καὶ τὰ στέρνα διαζηλοτυπουμένη δέ ποτε ἡ  
 Λαῖς τῇ<sup>2</sup> Φρύνῃ πολὺν ἐραστῶν ἔσχηκεν ὄμιλον,  
 οὐ διακρίνουσα πλούσιον ἢ πένητα οὐδ' ὑβριστικῶς  
 αὐτοῖς χρωμένη.

Ἀρίστιππος δὲ κατ' ἔτος δύο<sup>3</sup> μῆνας<sup>4</sup> συνδι-  
 ημέρευεν αὐτῇ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ τοῖς Ποσειδωνίοις καὶ  
 ὄνειδιζόμενος ὑπὸ Ἰκέτου<sup>5</sup> ὅτι “ σὺ μὲν αὐτῇ  
 τοσοῦτον ἀργύριον δίδως, ἡ δὲ προῖκα Διογένει  
 τῷ κυνὶ συγκυλίεται,” ἀπεκρίνατο· “ ἐγὼ Λαίδι  
 χορηγῶ πολλά, ἵνα αὐτὸς αὐτῆς ἀπολαύω, οὐχ  
 f ἵνα μὴ ἄλλος.” τοῦ δὲ Διογένους εἰπόντος αὐτῷ·  
 “ Ἀρίστιππε, κοινῇ συνοικεῖς πόρνη ἢ κύνιζε  
 οὖν,<sup>6</sup> ὥς ἐγώ, ἡ πέπαυσο”—καὶ ὁ Ἀρίστιππος·  
 “ ἄρα γε μή τί σοι ἄτοπον δοκεῖ εἶναι, Διόγενης,  
 οἰκίαν οἰκεῖν ἐν ᾗ πρότερον ὦκησαν ἄλλοι;” “ οὐ  
 γάρ ” ἔφη. “ τί δὲ νῦν ἐν ᾗ πολλοὶ πεπλεύ-  
 κασιν,” “ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ” ἔφη. “ οὕτως οὖν οὐδὲ  
 γυναικὶ συνεῖναι ἄτοπὸν ἐστίν ἢ πολλοὶ κέχρηται ”

Νυμφόδωρος δ' ὁ Συρακόσιος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν

<sup>1</sup> ἡ λαῖσ ACE, deleted by Wilamowitz.

<sup>2</sup> τῇ CE: om. A.

<sup>3</sup> κατ' ἔτος δύο A· δύο τοῦ ἔτους CE.

<sup>4</sup> μῆνας ACE: δύο μῆας διδούς (?) Kaibel.

<sup>5</sup> Ἰκέτου Kaibel: οἰκέτου A, τοῦ οἰκέτου CE.

<sup>6</sup> A. γοῦν C.

<sup>7</sup> δὲ CE Diog Laert.: δαί A.

painters came to her and copied her breasts and chest <sup>a</sup> In her rivalry with Phrynê at one time she had a large crowd of lovers,<sup>b</sup> making no distinction between rich and poor, nor treating them disdainfully.<sup>c</sup>

Aristippus every year spent two months with Lais in Aegina,<sup>d</sup> at the time of Poseidon's festival; and being reproached by Hicetas <sup>e</sup> because, as he said, "you give her so much money, whereas she wallows with Diogenes the Cynic for nothing," he answered "I give Lais many bounties that I may enjoy her myself, not that I may prevent another from doing so" When Diogenes said to him. "Aristippus, you cohabit with a common whore. Either, then, you should be a Cynic like me, or stop it entirely;" and Aristippus said <sup>f</sup>. "You don't think it out of place, Diogenes, to live in a house in which other men have lived before?" "Not at all," he replied "How about sailing in a ship in which many have sailed?" "Nor that either," he said. "That being the case, then, it isn't out of place to consort with a woman whom many have enjoyed"

Nymphodorus of Syracuse, in *The Wonders of Sicily*,

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the description of Polyxena, Eur. *Hec* 560 *μαστούς τ' ἔδειξε στέρνα θ' ὡς ἀγάλματος κάλλιστα*

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Plato, *Epigr.* 15 (Diehl) *ἐραστῶν ἑσμὸν*, "swarm of lovers"; so Plato, *Symp.* 178 *ἐστρατόπεδον ἐραστῶν*, "host of lovers."

<sup>c</sup> Yet Plato, *Epigr.* 15 says of her, *ἡ σοβαρὸν γελάσασα καθ' Ἑλλάδος*, "she that laughed proudly at Hellas."

<sup>d</sup> Cf 544 d (vol. v p. 466) and see critical note 3 The festival Poseidonia was held in Eleusis, below, 590 f, in Tenos, Strabo 487, and elsewhere.

<sup>e</sup> Diog. Laert viii 7. 3 says that some authorities credited him rather than Philolaus with the view that the earth moved in a circle (*κατὰ κύκλον*).

<sup>f</sup> Similarly Diog. Laert. ii 8. 74

89 Σικελία Θαυμαζομένων ἐξ Ὑκκάρου φησὶν Σικελικοῦ φρουρίου εἶναι τὴν Λαίδα Στράττις δ' ἐν Μακεδόσιν ἢ Πausanία Κορινθίαν αὐτὴν εἶναι φησιν διὰ τούτων

εἰσὶν δὲ πόθεν<sup>1</sup> αἱ παῖδες αὐται καὶ τίνες,  
B. νυνὶ<sup>2</sup> μὲν ἤκουσιν Μεγαρόθεν, εἰσὶ δὲ  
Κορίνθιαι Λαῖς μὲν ἡδὲ Μεγακλέους.<sup>3</sup>

Τίμαιος δ' ἐν τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν ἐξ Ὑκκάρων καθὰ καὶ Πολέμων εἴρηκεν, ἀναιρεθῆναι φάσκων αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τινων γυναικῶν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ, ἐρασθεῖσάν τινος Πausanίου Θετταλοῦ, κατὰ φθόνον καὶ δυσζηλίαν ξυλίναις<sup>4</sup> χελώναις τυπτομένην ἐν Ἀφροδίτης ἱερῷ. διὸ καὶ τὸ τέμενος κληθῆναι Ἀνοσίας Ἀφροδίτης<sup>5</sup> δείκνυσθαι δ' αὐτῆς τάφον παρὰ τῷ Πηνειῷ σημεῖον ἔχοντα ὑδρίαν λιθίνην καὶ ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·

τῇσδέ ποθ' ἡ μέγалаυχος ἀνίκητός τε πρὸς  
ἀλκὴν<sup>6</sup>

Ἑλλάς ἐδουλώθη κάλλεος ἰσοθέου,  
Λαῖδος· ἣν ἐτέκνωσεν Ἑρως, θρέψεν δὲ Κόρινθος·  
κεῖται δ' ἐν κλεινοῖς Θετταλικοῖς πεδίοις.

αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν οὖν οἱ λέγοντες αὐτὴν ἐν Κορίνθῳ  
τεθάφθαι πρὸς τῷ Κρανείῳ<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schweighauser: ὅθεν A.

<sup>2</sup> Porson νῦν A.

<sup>3</sup> ἡδὲ Dindorf, Μεγακλέους Porson: λαῖς μὲν ἡ μέγα κλεος  
ιδί A

<sup>4</sup> ξυλίναις CE Schol Aristoph. Plut. 179. ταῖς ξυλιναις A



says<sup>a</sup> that Laïs came from Hyccarum, a Sicilian outpost. But Strattis in *The Macedonians* or *Pausanias*, says she was a Corinthian, in these lines<sup>b</sup> "A. Whence come these girls, and who are they? B. Just now they have come from Megara, but they are Corinthian; first there is Laïs here, belonging to Megacles." Timaeus, however, says<sup>c</sup> in the thirteenth book of his *Histories* that she was from Hyccara; this agrees with Polemon, who says<sup>d</sup> that she was murdered by some women in Thessaly; she had fallen in love with a Thessalian named Pausanias, and through envy and jealousy was beaten to death with wooden footstools in a temple of Aphrodite. Hence, he further says, the precinct came to be called that of Sinful<sup>e</sup> Aphrodite. Her tomb is shown beside the Peneus river, bearing a stone water-jar and the following epigram<sup>f</sup>. "Time was when proud Hellas, invincible in might, was enslaved by the divine beauty of Laïs here, whom Eros begot and Corinthus nourished, now she lies in the glorious plains of Thessaly." Hence those who say that she is buried in Corinth beside the Cornel Grove are inventing the story.

<sup>a</sup> *F H G.* ii 375, cf. Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 170 *F H G.* i 185 (Philistus). Supra b-v would distinguish this fortress from the city called Hyccara (Hyccara *Antiq.* 327 b, vol. iii. p. 470). On this Laïs (the elder) see *Plut. Nic.* 15, *Pausan.* ii 2.

<sup>b</sup> Kock i 718.

<sup>c</sup> *F H G.* i 219.

<sup>d</sup> Preller 75, above, 588 b-c (p. 171).

<sup>e</sup> For *ἀνοσίας*, *Plut. Amat.* 768 A has *ἀνδροφόνου* "murderess."

<sup>f</sup> *Bruck Anal.* iii. 284. On the grave of Laïs see Frazer's *Pausanias* ii 19.

<sup>5</sup> ACE, Schol. Aristoph.: Ἀφροδίτης ἀνδροφόνου *Plut. Amat.* 768 A.

<sup>6</sup> πρὸς ἀλκῆς (?) Kaibel.

<sup>7</sup> κρανίω A.

Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ὁ Σταγυρίτης<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἐξ Ἑρπυλίδος τῆς ἐταίρας ἐπαιδοποίησε<sup>2</sup> Νικόμαχον καὶ συνῆν ταύτῃ μέχρι θανάτου, ὡς φησιν Ἑρμιππος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀριστοτέλους πρώτῳ, ἐπιμελείας φάσκων τῆς δεούσης τετυχηκέναι ἐν ταῖς τοῦ φιλοσόφου διαθήκαις ὁ δὲ καλὸς ἡμῶν<sup>3</sup> Πλάτων οὐκ Ἀρχεάνασσαν<sup>4</sup> τὴν Κολοφωνίαν ἐταίραν ἡγάπα, ὡς καὶ ἄδειν εἰς αὐτὴν τάδε

Ἀρχεάνασσαν<sup>5</sup> ἔχω τὴν ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ἐταίρην,  
ἣς καὶ ἐπὶ ῥυτίδων<sup>6</sup> πικρὸς ἔπειστιν ἔρως  
ἂ δειλοὶ νεότητος ἀπαντήσαντες ἐκείνης  
πρωτοπόρου, δι' ὅσης ἦλθετε πυρκαϊῆς.

Περικλῆς δὲ ὁ Ὀλύμπιος, ὡς φησι Κλέαρχος ἐν πρώτῳ Ἑρωτικῶν, οὐχ ἔνεκεν Ἀσπασίας—οὐ τῆς νεωτέρας ἀλλὰ τῆς Σωκράτει τῷ σοφῷ συγγενομένης—καίπερ τηλικούτον ἀξίωμα συνέσεως καὶ πολιτικῆς δυνάμεως κτησάμενος, οὐ συνετάραξε πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἣν δ' οὗτος<sup>8</sup> ἀνὴρ πρὸς ἀφροδίσια πάννυ καταφερῆς ὅστις καὶ τῇ τοῦ υἱοῦ γυναικὶ συνῆν, ὡς Στησίμβροτος ὁ Θάσιος ἱστορεῖ, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς αὐτῷ χρόνους γενόμενος καὶ ἑωρακὼς αὐτόν, ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ περὶ Θεμι-

<sup>1</sup> Musuius· σατυριστῆς ACE

<sup>2</sup> ACE· ἐπαιδοποίησατο Meineke.

<sup>3</sup> A: ἡμῖν Usener, ὑμῶν (?) Kaibel

<sup>4</sup> ἀρχαίανασσαν A, ἀρχαίανασσαν CE <sup>5</sup> ἀρχαί- ACE

<sup>6</sup> κατὰ ῥυτίδων CE, καὶ ἀπορρυτίδων A.

<sup>7</sup> Kaibel (following Schweighauser)· τῆς νεωτέρας ἀλλ' οὐ A, so CE, in a different constr

<sup>8</sup> οὗτος ὁ Kaibel, but ἀνὴρ is part of the predicate.

As for Aristotle of Stageira,<sup>a</sup> did he not beget Nicomachus from the courtesan Herpyllis and live with her until his death? So says Hermippus<sup>b</sup> in the first book of his work *On Aristotle*, adding that she received fitting provision by the terms of the philosopher's will. And was not our noble Plato in love with Archeanassa, the courtesan of Colophon? So much so that he sang these lines to her<sup>c</sup>: "Archeanassa, the courtesan from Colophon, is mine, though upon her wrinkles now rests a passion bitter. Ah, ye wretches who encountered her youth in its first course, through what hot flame did ye pass!" Again, take the Olympian Pericles, as Clearchus says in the first book of his *Love Stories*<sup>d</sup>: "On account of Aspasia—not the younger, but the one who associated with Socrates—although he had acquired so eminent a reputation for political sagacity and influence,<sup>e</sup> did he not for her sake, throw all Greece into turmoil? He was a man in fact very prone to love affairs<sup>f</sup> Why! He even consorted with his son's wife, as Stesimbrotus of Thasos, who lived at the same period as Pericles and had seen him, records<sup>g</sup> satyric play." This epithet may be right if it can be extended to refer sarcastically to σατυρίασις. *Anth. App* 321, τραυλὸς (lispings) ὁ Σταγειρίτης, λάνγος (lecherous), προγάστῳ (potbellied), παλλακαῖς συνημμένος (tied to his concubines)

<sup>b</sup> *F.H.G.* iii 46, Diog. Laert. v. 12.

<sup>c</sup> *P.L.G.*<sup>4</sup> ii. 310, Diehl fr. 8, Diog. Laert. iii 31; in *Anth. Pal.* vii 217 ascribed to Asclepiades.

<sup>d</sup> *F.H.G.* ii. 314, above, 570 a (p. 79). For the younger Aspasia, loved by Cypius, see above, 576 d (p. 113).

<sup>e</sup> So Thuc. i. 139, ἀνὴρ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων, λέγειν τε καὶ πράσσειν δυνατώτατος.

<sup>f</sup> This sentence belongs to Stesimbrotus, not Clearchus *J. 2 B* 518

<sup>g</sup> *F.H.G.* ii. 56, *J. 2 B* 515. On the anti-Periclean tendencies of Stesimbrotus see H. N. Fowler, *H.S.C.P.* xii. 215.

στοκλέους καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους Ἀντισθένης<sup>1</sup> δ' ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ἐρασθέντα φησὶν αὐτὸν Ἀσπασίας δις τῆς ἡμέρας εἰσιόντα καὶ ἐξιόντα ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀσπάζεσθαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ φευγούσης ποτὲ αὐτῆς γραφὴν ἀσεβείας λέγων ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πλείονα<sup>2</sup> ἐδάκρυσεν ἢ ὅτε ὑπὲρ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐκινδύνευεν.<sup>3</sup> καὶ Κίμωνος δ' Ἑλπινίκη τῇ ἀδελφῇ παρανόμως συνόντος, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἐκδοθείσης<sup>4</sup> Καλλία, καὶ φυγαδευθέντος μισθὸν ἔλαβε τῆς καθόδου αὐτοῦ ὁ Περικλῆς τὸ τῇ Ἑλπινίκη μισθῆναι Πυθαίνετος δ' ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ Αἰγίνης Περίανδρον φησιν ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου τὴν Προκλέους θυγατέρα Μέλισσαν ἰδόντα Πελοποννησιακῶς ἡσθημένην (ἀναμπέχονος γὰρ καὶ μονοχίτων ἦν καὶ ὠνοχόει τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις) ἐρασθέντα γῆμαι Πύρρου δὲ τοῦ Ἡπειρωτῶν βασιλέως, ὃς ἦν τρίτος ἀπὸ Πύρρου τοῦ ἐπ' Ἰταλίαν στρατεύσαντος, ἐρωμένη ἦν Τίγρις ἢ Λευκαδία ἦν<sup>5</sup> Ὀλυμπιάς ἢ τοῦ νεανίσκου μήτηρ φαρμάκοις ἀπέκτεινεν."

Καὶ ὁ Οὐλπιανός, ὥσπερ ἔρμαιόν τι, ἔτι λαλῶντος τοῦ Μυρτίλου ἔφη, εἰ ἔχομεν ἀρρενικῶς

<sup>1</sup> Αἰσχίνης Jacobs

<sup>2</sup> A: πλείω CE

<sup>3</sup> ἐκινδύνευεν CE (-ε): ἐκινδύνευσε A.

<sup>4</sup> τῇ ὕστερον ἐκδοθείσῃ (?) Kaibel, partially supported by C, which has καίτοι τῷ καλλία ἐκδοθείσῃ after τὸ τ' Ἑ μισθῆναι

<sup>5</sup> sic A, with CE

<sup>a</sup> Plut. *Per* 24, on the authority of Aeschines, Athen. 220 a (vol. ii. p. 496) Plutarch says: Pericles stopped in on his way to and from the market-place to kiss Aspasia; perhaps, therefore, we should read ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς for ἀπ' αὐτῆς. Antisthenes as well as Aeschines wrote on Aspasia, Diog. Laert. vi 16, Athen. *loc. cit.* For her trial see Plut. *Per*. 32

in the book entitled *On Themistocles, Thucydides, and Pericles* Antisthenes the Sociatic says <sup>a</sup> that when in love with Aspasia he would go in and out of her house twice a day to greet the wench, and once, when she was prosecuted on a charge of impiety he, while pleading in her behalf, wept more tears than when his life and property were endangered <sup>b</sup> Again, when Cimon consorted unlawfully <sup>c</sup> with his sister Elpinicê and she was later given in marriage to Callias, after Cimon had been sent into exile, Pericles took as the price of Cimon's restoration the privilege of lying with Elpinicê Pythaenetus in the third book of his work *On Aegina* says <sup>d</sup> that Periander saw in Epidaurus the daughter of Procles, <sup>e</sup> Melissa, dressed in the Peloponnesian fashion (that is, she wore no cloak, but was clad in a simple tunic while she acted as wine-pourer for the workmen in the fields) and falling in love he married her As for Pyrrhus, the king of Epeirus, third in descent from the Pyrrhus who invaded Italy, his mistress was Tigris of Leucadia, whom Olympias, the young man's mother, murdered with poison "

Thereupon Ulpian, as though pouncing upon a lucky find, asked, while Myrtilus was still speaking, whether we have the word *tigris* (tiger) used as a

<sup>b</sup> Plut. *Per.* 32

<sup>c</sup> She was his half-sister, according to C. Nepos, *Cim.* 1; but see [Andoc.] *Contra Alcib.* 33, Suid. *s.* Κίμων. CE give the sequence of thought better: "Cimon, for consorting with his sister, was sent into exile. Pericles took as the price, etc., . . . lying with Elpinicê, although she had been given in marriage to Callias." <sup>d</sup> *F.H.G.* IV 487.

<sup>e</sup> Ruler of Epidaurus, Hdt. III 50, 52, V 92 η. Cf. the case of Cleino, 576 f (p. 114) and note *b*. Periander later killed Melissa in a fit of jealousy; see How and Wells's notes on Hdt *loc. cit.*

εἰρημένον τὸν τίγριν. “ Φιλήμονα γὰρ οἶδα τοῦτ’  
εἰρηκότα ἐν Νεαίρᾳ·

ὥσπερ Σέλευκος δεῦρ’ ἔπεμψε τὴν τίγριν,  
ἣν εἶδομεν<sup>1</sup> ἡμεῖς, τῷ Σελεύκῳ πάλιν ἔδει  
ἡμᾶς τι<sup>2</sup> παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀντιπέμψαι θηρίον.

B. τρυγέρανον· οὐ γὰρ γίννεται τοῦτ’ αὐτόθι.”

πρὸς ὃν ὁ Μυρτίλος ἔφη “ ἐπείπερ ἡμῖν ἐμποδὼν  
ἐγένου κατάλογον γυναικῶν ποιουμένοις, οὐ κατὰ  
τοὺς Σωσικράτους<sup>3</sup> τοῦ Φαναγορείτου<sup>4</sup> Ἑοίου<sup>5</sup> ἢ  
τὸν τῶν γυναικῶν κατάλογον Νικαινέτου τοῦ  
Σαμίου ἢ Ἀβδηρίτου, μικρὸν ἐπισχῶν<sup>6</sup> ἐπὶ τὴν  
παρὰ σοῦ τρέφομαι πεύσιν, “ Φοῖνιξ ἅττα γεραῖέ.”  
μάθε οὖν ὅτι ἀρσενικῶς εἴρηκε τὸν τίγριν Ἀλεξίς  
ἐν Πυραύνῳ οὕτως

ἄνοιγ’, ἄνοιγε τὴν θύραν· ἐλάνθανον  
πάλαι περιπατῶν ἀνδριάς,<sup>6</sup> ἀλετῶν<sup>7</sup> ὄνος,  
ποτάμιος ἵππος, τοῖχος, ὁ Σελεύκου τίγρις.

ἔχων δὲ καὶ ἄλλα μαρτύρια ἀνατίθεμαι τὰ νῦν, ἕως  
ἂν ἀπομνημονεύσω τὸν τῶν<sup>8</sup> καλῶν γυναικῶν κατά-  
λογον. Κλέαρχος γὰρ περὶ Ἑπαμινώνδου φησὶν  
οὕτως· “ Ἑπαμινώνδας δ’ ὁ Θηβαῖος σεμνότερον<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf· ἰδωμεν A.

<sup>2</sup> ἡμᾶς τι Schweighauser τι ἡμᾶς A.

<sup>3</sup> Σωσισκράτου Schweighauser, cf. Steph. Byz. s. Μυκάλη.

<sup>4</sup> Φαναγορίτου Musurus· φαναγοριστοῦ A.

<sup>5</sup> Coraes: ἀποσχῶν A.

<sup>6</sup> Dalechamps· ἀνδρείας A

<sup>7</sup> ἀλέτων A; cf. 263 a.

<sup>8</sup> Meineke: περὶ τῶν A.

<sup>9</sup> σεμνότερος Dalechamps.

<sup>a</sup> It occurs in both genders

<sup>b</sup> Kock II. 490, showing the feminine.

masculine.<sup>a</sup> For I know that Philemon has the following in *Neaera*<sup>b</sup> "A Just as Seleucus sent hither the tigress, which we ourselves have seen, so we in turn ought to send to Seleucus some beast of ours  
B Ha, a wild trygeranus!<sup>c</sup> For that monster isn't found there" In answer to Ulpian Myrtilus said Since you broke in upon us when I was making a catalogue of women—though not comparable with the *Or such men as* of Sosicrates<sup>d</sup> of Phanagoreia or the *Catalogue of Women* by Nicaenetus of Samos or Abdera—I will pause for a bit and attend to your question, "Phoenix, my venerable father."<sup>e</sup> Learn, therefore, that "tiger" occurs as a masculine word in Alexis's *Fire-Lighter* thus<sup>f</sup>: "Open the door, open! Long have I been going about without knowing that I was a mere statue, a grindstone, a hippopotamus, a wall, Seleucus's tiger." But though I have other testimony, I postpone quoting it for the present until I have recited the list of beautiful women For Clearchus has the following about Epameinondas<sup>g</sup> "Epameinondas of Thebes was wont

<sup>a</sup> A capital invention, comparable with "Jabberwock", it can be understood either as "Triple-Crane" or as "Strip-Feast" (of a parasite), Athen. 6 b (vol. 1 p. 24).

<sup>b</sup> Or Sostratus? Cf. Steph. Byz. s. Μυκάλη. Ῥοῖαι, masculine, is formed in parody of Ῥοῖαι, i.e. ἡ οἶαι, "Or such women as," the epic of woman attributed to Hesiod, see Athen. 364 b, 428 b (vol. iv. pp. 148, 438), below, 597 d (p. 220).

<sup>c</sup> The address of Achilles to Phoenix, *Il.* ix. 607; but Phoenix also means Phoenician, alluding to Ulpian's Eastern origin.

<sup>f</sup> Kock ii 372 The speaker is like Strepsiades, Aristoph. *Nub.* 180-181, now recognizing his ignorance and stupidity and eager to enter college. For the metaphors cf "Ye stocks ' ye stones ' ye worse than senseless things!"

<sup>g</sup> *F H.G.* ii. 310.

μὲν τούτων, οὐκ εὐσχημόνως δὲ περὶ τὰς ὁμιλίας ἐσφάλλετο τὴν γνώμην, εἴ τις θεωροίη τὰ πραχθέντα αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Λάκωνος γυναῖκα. Ὑπερείδης<sup>1</sup> δ' ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐκ τῆς πατρῴας οἰκίας τὸν υἱὸν ἀποβαλὼν<sup>2</sup> Γλαύκιππον Μυρρίνην<sup>3</sup> τὴν πολυτελεστάτην ἑταίραν ἀνέλαβε, καὶ ταύτην μὲν ἐν ἄστει εἶχεν, ἐν Πειραιεὶ δὲ Ἀρισταγόραν, Φίλαν δ' ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, ἣν πολλῶν ὠνησάμενος χρημάτων εἶχεν ἐλευθερώσας, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἰκουρὸν αὐτὴν ἐποίησατο, ὡς Ἰδομενεὺς ἱστορεῖ. ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑπὲρ Φρύνης λόγῳ Ὑπερείδης<sup>1</sup> ὁμολογῶν ἐρᾶν τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ οὐδέπω τοῦ ἔρωτος ἀπηλλαγμένος τὴν προειρημένην Μυρρίνην<sup>4</sup> εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσήγαγεν.

Ἦν δ' ἡ Φρύνη ἐκ Θεσπιῶν<sup>5</sup> κρινομένη δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐθίου τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπέφυγεν διόπερ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Εὐθίας οὐκ ἔτι εἶπεν ἄλλην δίκην, ὡς φησιν Ἑρμιππος. ὁ δὲ Ὑπερείδης<sup>1</sup> συναγορεύων τῇ Φρύνῃ, ὡς οὐδὲν ἦννε λέγων ἐπίδοξοί τε ἦσαν οἱ δικασταὶ καταψηφιούμενοι, παραγαγὼν αὐτὴν εἰς τοῦμφανὲς καὶ περιρρήξας<sup>6</sup> τοὺς χιτωνίσκους γυμνά γε τὰ στέρνα ποιήσας τοὺς ἐπιλογικοὺς οἴκτους ἐκ γῆς ὄψεως αὐτῆς ἐπερρητόρευσεν δεισιδαιμονῆσαι

<sup>1</sup> ὑπερίδης ACE

<sup>2</sup> ἐκβαλεῖν (in a different constr.) [Plut.] *Vit. X Or.* 849 D: ἱποβαλὼν A, cf. Theocr. xi 19

<sup>3</sup> μυρρίνην A, μύρινναν CE.

<sup>4</sup> sic A here.

<sup>5</sup> θεσπειῶν A (but θεσπιαῖος 591 b)· θεσπιέων CE

<sup>6</sup> περιρρήξας A.

<sup>a</sup> As usual, Clearchus is vague. He may allude to the gossip in Plut. 808 D, *Apophth.* 192 E, to the effect that Epameinondas spared the life of a condemned man, for whom Cleonidas had pleaded in vain, when the man's wife approached Epameinondas with her blandishments. See below, 105 a (p. 261).



to speak more solemnly than these whom I have mentioned, yet in his actual relations with women he by indecency failed to measure up to his sentiments, if one considers what he did in the affair with the Lacedaemonian's wife " <sup>a</sup> And Hypereides, the orator, after casting away his son Glaucippus from the ancestral home, took up with Myrrhinê, <sup>b</sup> the most costly of all prostitutes, and kept her in Athens, while in the Peiraeus he kept Aristagora, and in Eleusis Phila, whom he purchased for a very large sum of money and kept as a freed-woman, later making her even mistress of his household, as Idomeneus records <sup>c</sup> In his speech, also, *In Defence of Phrynê*, he confesses <sup>d</sup> that he was in love with the woman and had not even then ceased from his passion when he brought the aforesaid Myrrhinê into his house

Now Phrynê came from Thespieae. When she was brought to trial by Euthias on a capital charge she was acquitted; this so enraged Euthias that he never afterwards pleaded another case at law, according to Hermippus <sup>e</sup> As Hypereides, while defending Phrynê, <sup>f</sup> was making no progress in his plea, and it became apparent that the judges meant to condemn her, he caused her to be brought where all could see her; tearing off her undervests he laid bare her bosom and broke into such piteous lamentation in his peroration at the sight of her,

<sup>b</sup> Above, 567 f, for Aristagora see 586 a (p. 161), 587 c (p. 167), 588 c (p. 173), for Phila, 587 e (p. 169), 593 f (p. 203).

<sup>c</sup> *F H G.* II 492. See [Plut.] *X Orat.* 849 D (L C L. p. 443 note d), Alciphron I. 31, Sext. Emp. *Math* II 4, Quintil II 15 9.

<sup>d</sup> Blass<sup>3</sup> 124

<sup>e</sup> *F H G.* III. 50, Harpocr. s. *Εὐθίας*

<sup>f</sup> Blass<sup>3</sup> 125, Kenyon 178.

τε ἐποίησεν τοὺς δικαστὰς<sup>1</sup> καὶ<sup>2</sup> τὴν ὑποφῆτιν καὶ  
ζάκορον Ἀφροδίτης ἐλέω χαρισαμένους μὴ ἀπο-  
κτείνειν καὶ ἀφεθείσης ἐγράφη μετὰ ταῦτα ψή-  
φισμα μηδένα οἰκτιρίζεσθαι τῶν λεγόντων ὑπέρ  
τινος μηδὲ βλεπόμενον τὸν κατηγορούμενον ἢ τὴν  
κατηγορουμένην κρίνεσθαι ἦν δὲ ὄντως μᾶλλον  
ἢ Φρύνη καλὴ ἐν τοῖς μὴ βλεπομένοις διόπερ  
οὐδὲ ῥαδίως<sup>3</sup> ἦν αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν γυμνὴν ἐχέσαρκον γὰρ  
χιτῶνιον ἡμπείχετο καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις οὐκ ἐχρήτο  
βαλανείois τῇ δὲ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων πανηγύρει καὶ  
τῇ τῶν Ποσειδωνίων ἐν ὄψει τῶν Πανελλήνων  
πάντων<sup>4</sup> ἀποθεμένη θοῖμάτιον<sup>5</sup> καὶ λύσασα τὰς  
κόμας ἐνέβαινε τῇ θαλάττῃ· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς Ἀπελλῆς  
τὴν Ἀναδυομένην Ἀφροδίτην ἀπεγράψατο<sup>6</sup> καὶ  
Πραξιτέλης δὲ ὁ ἀγαλματοποιὸς ἐρῶν αὐτῆς τὴν  
Κνιδίαν Ἀφροδίτην ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐπλάσατο καὶ ἐν  
τῇ τοῦ Ἑρωτος βάσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ  
θεάτρου ἐπέγραψε

Πραξιτέλης ὃν ἔπασχε διηκρίβωσεν Ἑρωτα,

ἐξ ἰδίης ἔλκων ἀρχέτυπον κραδίης,

Φρύνη μισθὸν ἐμείο διδοὺς ἐμέ. φίλτρα δὲ βάλλω  
οὐκέτ' οἰστεύων, ἀλλ' ἀτενιζόμενος.

ἐκλογὴν τε<sup>7</sup> αὐτῇ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἔδωκεν, εἴτε τὸν  
Ἑρωτα θέλοι λαβεῖν εἴτε τὸν ἐπὶ Τριπόδων Σά-  
τυρον. ἡ δὲ ἐλομένη τὸν Ἑρωτα ἀνέθηκεν αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> CE: δικὰς A.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ added by Sauppe.

<sup>3</sup> ῥάδιον Musurus.

<sup>4</sup> πάντων om. CE, deleted by Cobet.

<sup>5</sup> CE· ἀποτιθεμένη θοῖμάτια A.

<sup>6</sup> Musurus ἀνεγράψατο ACE.

<sup>7</sup> ACE: ἐκλογὴν δὲ Kaibel.

<sup>a</sup> Ποντία Κύπρι, Eur. Hipp. 522. See Pliny, N.H. xxxv. 10. 36.

<sup>b</sup> Pliny xxxvi. 5. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Anth. Plan. app. 182, 206, tr. Bevan.

that he caused the judges to feel superstitious fear of this handmaid and ministrant of Aphrodite, and indulging their feeling of compassion, they refrained from putting her to death. And after she had been acquitted a decree was passed that no person speaking in a defendant's behalf should indulge in lamentation, nor should the accused man or woman on trial be bared for all to see. As a matter of fact, Phrynê was more beautiful in the unseen parts. Hence one could not easily catch a glimpse of her naked, for she always wore a tunic which wrapped her body closely, and she did not resort to the public baths. At the great assembly of the Eleusinia and at the festival of Poseidon, in full sight of the whole Greek world, she removed only her cloak and let down her long hair before stepping into the water; she was the model for Apelles when he painted his Aphrodite Rising from the Sea <sup>a</sup>. So, too, the sculptor Praxiteles, being in love with her, modelled his Cnidian Aphrodite <sup>b</sup> from her, and on the pedestal of his Eros below the stage of the theatre he wrote an epigram <sup>c</sup>: "Praxiteles hath portrayed to perfection the Passion (Eros) which he bore, drawing his model from the depths of his own heart and dedicating Me to Phrynê as the price of Me. The spell of love which I cast comes no longer from my arrow, but from gazing upon Me." He also gave her a choice of his statues, to see whether she wished to take his Eros, or his Satyr, which stood in the Street of the Tripods. <sup>d</sup> She chose the Eros and

<sup>a</sup> The street which ran from the centre of the city (Athens) to the eastern entrance to the theatre. See Pausan. i. 20. 1, Athen. 543 a (vol. v p. 458), Harrison, *Myth and Mon of Anc Athens*, pp 241-243.

ἐν Θεσπιαῖς αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς Φρύνης οἱ περικτίονες ἀνδριάντα ποιήσαντες ἀνέθηκαν ἐν Δελφοῖς χρύσειον ἐπὶ κίονος Πεντελικοῦ· κατεσκεύασε δ' αὐτὸν Πραξιτέλης. ὃν καὶ θεασάμενος Κράτης ὁ κυνικὸς ἔφη τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκрасίας ἀνάθημα ἔστηκε δὲ καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν αὕτη μέση τῆς Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου, ἔχουσα ἐπιγραφὴν “ Φρύνῃ Ἐπικλέους Θεσπική,”<sup>1</sup> ὥς φησιν Ἀλκέτας ἐν β' περὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀναθημάτων Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἑταιρῶν δύο ἀναγράφει Φρύνας γεγενῆσθαι,<sup>2</sup> ὧν τὴν μὲν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι Κλαυσιγέλωτα, τὴν δὲ Σαπέρδιον Ἡρόδικος δὲ ἐν ἕκτῳ Κωμωδουμένων τὴν μὲν<sup>3</sup> παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσιν φησιν ὀνομαζομένην Σηστὸν καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ ἀποσῆθαι καὶ ἀποδύειν τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῇ, τὴν δὲ Θεσπικήν.<sup>1</sup> ἐπλούτει δὲ σφόδρα ἡ Φρύνῃ καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο τειχιεῖν<sup>4</sup> τὰς Θήβας, ἐὰν ἐπιγράψωσιν<sup>5</sup> Θηβαῖοι ὅτι “ Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν κατέσκαψεν, ἀνέστησεν δὲ Φρύνῃ ἡ ἑταῖρα,” ὥς ἱστορεῖ Καλλίστρατος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἑταιρῶν. εἶρηκεν δὲ περὶ τοῦ πλούτου αὐτῆς Τιμοκλῆς ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Νεαίρᾳ (πρόκειται τὸ μαρτύριον) καὶ Ἀμφίς ἐν Κουρίδι. παρεσίτει δὲ

<sup>1</sup> Θεσπιακή (?) Kaibel.

<sup>2</sup> γεγενῆσθαι om C, deleted by Kaibel

<sup>3</sup> τὴν μὲν CE· τὴν A

<sup>4</sup> ἀνατειχεῖν Meineke

<sup>5</sup> εἰ ἐπιγράψαιαν C

set it up as a votive offering in Thespiæ Of Phrynê herself the neighbours made and set up a golden statue at Delphi, on a pillar of Pentelic marble <sup>a</sup>; Praxiteles executed the work When the Cynic Crates <sup>b</sup> saw it he called it an offering dedicated to Greek incontinence This image stands midway between that of Archidamus, king of Lacedaemon, and that of Philip, the son of Amyntas, and bears a label, "Phrynê, daughter of Epicles, of Thespiæ"; so says Alcetas in the second book of his work *On the dedicatory Offerings at Delphi* <sup>c</sup> Now Apollodorus in his book *On Courtesans* records <sup>d</sup> that there were two Phrynês, one of whom, he says, was nicknamed Teary-Smile, the other Goldfish But Herodicus in the sixth book of his *Persons mentioned in Comedy* <sup>e</sup> says that in the orators the one was called Sestus because she sifted (*sethein*) and stumped all who resorted to her, whereas the other was the Thespian. Now Phrynê was very rich, and used to promise that she would build a wall about Thebes if the Thebans would write an inscription upon it, that "Whereas Alexander demolished it, Phrynê the courtesan restored it"; so records Callistratus in his book *On Courtesans* <sup>f</sup> Her wealth is spoken of by the comic poet Timocles in *Neaera* (his testimony has been cited above) <sup>g</sup> and by Amphis in *The Tire-*

Greeks contributed money for this. Paus. ix. 27 says the statue was gilded.

<sup>b</sup> So Plut. 401 A; but Diog. Laert. vi. 60 ascribes the remark to Diogenes the Cynic.

<sup>c</sup> *F H G* iv. 295

<sup>d</sup> J 2 B 1106.

<sup>e</sup> Cf above, 586 a (p 159)

<sup>f</sup> Propert ii 5 nec quae deletas potuit componere Thebas Phryne tam multis facta beata virus

<sup>g</sup> 567 e (p 65)

τῇ Φρύνῃ Γρυλλίων εἰς ὧν τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν,<sup>1</sup> ὡς καὶ Σάτυρος ὁ Ὀλύνθιος ὑποκριτῆς Παμφίλῃ. Ἀριστογείτων δὲ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Φρύνῃς τὸ κύριόν φησιν αὐτῆς εἶναι ὄνομα Μνησαρέτην οὐκ ἄγνοῶ δὲ ὅτι τὸν ἐπιγραφόμενον κατ' αὐτῆς Εὐθύιου λόγον Διόδωρος ὁ περιηγητῆς Ἀναξιμένους φησὶν εἶναι. Ποσειδίππος<sup>2</sup> δ' ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Ἐφεσίᾳ τάδε φησὶν περὶ αὐτῆς

Φρύνῃ ποθ'<sup>3</sup> ἡμῶν γέγονεν ἐπιφανεστάτη πολὺ τῶν ἐταίρων. καὶ γὰρ εἰ νεωτέρα τῶν τότε χρόνων εἶ,<sup>4</sup> τὸν γ' ἀγῶν<sup>5</sup> ἀκήκοας. βλάπτειν δοκοῦσα τοὺς βίους μείζους βλάβας τὴν ἡλιαίαν εἶλε<sup>6</sup> περὶ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν καθ' ἓνα δεξιουμένη μετὰ δακρύων διέσωσε τὴν ψυχὴν μόλις.

Ἰστε δὲ ὅτι καὶ Δημάδης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐξ αὐλητρίδος ἐταίρας ἐπαιδοποιήσατο Δημέαν· ὃν φρουαττόμενόν ποτε ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐπεστόμισε Ὑπερίδης<sup>7</sup> εἰπών· “οὐ σιωπήσῃ, μειράκιον, μείζον τῆς μητρὸς ἔχων τὸ φύσημα;” καὶ Βίων δ' ὁ Βορυσθενίτης φιλόσοφος ἐταίρας ἦν υἱὸς Ὀλυμπίας Λακαίνης, ὅς φησι Νικίας ὁ Νικαιεὺς ἐν ταῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων Διαδοχαῖς. Σοφοκλῆς δ' ὁ τραγωδιοποιὸς ἤδη

<sup>1</sup> CE: ἀρεοπαγειτῶν A.

<sup>2</sup> ποσειδίππος A.

<sup>3</sup> Wilamowitz: πρὸ A.

<sup>4</sup> Casaubon· εἴη A.

<sup>5</sup> τὸν γε ἀγῶνα A.

<sup>6</sup> A: εἶδε Bothe.

<sup>7</sup> ὑπερίδης ACE.

woman.<sup>a</sup> Yet Gryllion,<sup>b</sup> a member of the Areopagus, played the parasite at Phrynê's board, as Satyrus,<sup>c</sup> the actor from Olynthus, did at Pamphila's. Aristogeiton, in the speech *Against Phrynê*, says<sup>d</sup> that her real name was Mnesaretê. I am not unaware that the speech against her which is ascribed to Euthias is said by Diodorus the Geographer to be by Anaximenes.<sup>e</sup> Now the comic poet Poseidippus says of her these words, in *The Woman from Ephesus* <sup>f</sup> "Phrynê was once the most illustrious of us courtesans by far. And even though you are too young to remember that time, you must at least have heard of her trial. Although she was thought to have wrought too great injury to men's lives, she nevertheless captured the court when tried for her life, and, clasping the hands of the judges, one by one, she with the help of her tears saved her life at last."

You know, too, that the orator Demades begot Demeas from a flute-playing prostitute Demeas, once, when proudly ranting on the platform, had his mouth stopped by Hypereides, who said <sup>g</sup> · "Silence, lad! You've got a 'blow' louder than your mother's." And Bion also, the philosopher from the Borysthenes, was a son of the Lacedaemonian courtesan Olympia, according to Nicias of Nicaea in his *Succession of Philosophers* <sup>h</sup> Even Sophocles, the tragic poet,

<sup>a</sup> 567 e (p. 67)

<sup>b</sup> Athen. 244 f (vol. III p. 100).

<sup>c</sup> Plut 545 E, Demosth XIX. 193, 196, Aeschin. II 156, O'Connor, *Actors and Acting*, pp 429, 430. The inference is that it was less shocking for a comic actor so to behave than for an Areopagite.

<sup>d</sup> B. and S. II. 310.

<sup>e</sup> Harpocr s. *Εὐθίας*

<sup>f</sup> Kock III. 339

<sup>g</sup> Blass<sup>3</sup> p. 110, Kenyon frag. 91

<sup>h</sup> *F.H.G.* IV. 464; for the title cf. Athen 162 e (vol. II. p. 238), 273 d (vol. III p 228)

γέρων ὦν ἡράσθη Θεωρίδος τῆς ἐταίρας ἱκετεύων  
οὖν τὴν Ἀφροδίτην φησίν

κλυθί μεν<sup>1</sup> εὐχομένου, Κουροτρόφε δὸς δὲ γυ-  
ναῖκα

τῇνδε νέων μὲν ἀναίνεσθαι φιλότητα καὶ εὐνήν,  
ἢ δ' ἐπιτερπέσθω πολιοκροτάφοισι γέρουσιν,  
ὦν ἰσχύς μὲν ἀπήμβλυνται, θυμὸς<sup>2</sup> δὲ μενοινᾷ.

ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν εἰς Ὅμηρον ἀναφερομένων.  
τῆς δὲ Θεωρίδος μνημονεύει λέγων ἔν τινι στασίμῳ<sup>3</sup>  
οὕτως

φίλη γὰρ ἡ Θεωρίς

ἐπὶ δὲ δυσμαῖς ὦν τοῦ βίου, ὥς φησιν Ἡγήσανδρος,  
Ἀρχίππην ἡγάπησεν τὴν ἐταίραν καὶ τοῦ βίου  
κληρονόμον κατέλιπεν ὅτι δὲ γηραιῷ ὄντι τῷ  
Σοφοκλεῖ συνῆν ἡ Ἀρχίππη, ὁ πρότερος αὐτῆς  
ἐραστῆς Σμικρίνης ἐρωτώμενος ὑπὸ τινος τί  
πράττει Ἀρχίππη χαριέντως ἔφη “ ὥσπερ αἱ  
γλαῦκες ἐπὶ τάφων<sup>4</sup> κάθεται.”

Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἰσοκράτης ὁ τῶν ῥητόρων αἰδημο-  
νέστατος<sup>5</sup> Μετάνειραν εἶχεν ἐρωμένην καὶ Λαγί-  
σκαν,<sup>6</sup> ὡς Λυσίας ἱστορεῖ ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιστολαῖς.  
c Δημοσθένης δ' ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νεαίρας τὴν Μετάνειραν  
τοῦ Λυσίου φησὶν ἐρωμένην εἶναι. ἥττητο δὲ καὶ  
ὁ Λυσίας Λαγίδος<sup>7</sup> τῆς ἐταίρας, ἧς ἔγραψεν

<sup>1</sup> κλυθί μεν *Vit Hom.* p. 15 Westerm. κλυέ μεν (*sic*)  
ACE.

<sup>2</sup> *Vit. Hom.*· θείος A

<sup>3</sup> Casaubon: στασίμωσ A.

<sup>4</sup> τάφων A τάφον CE.

<sup>5</sup> Schweighäuser (αἰδημονέστερος Musurus) ἀδημονέστερος A

<sup>6</sup> καὶ Λαγίσκαν (?) Kaibel, παγκάλην Meineke, παλλακὴν  
Dobree, καὶ καλὴν A, τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ καὶ λυσίας C.

<sup>7</sup> A· ἥττητο δ' ὁ λυσίας καὶ λαγίδος CE, perhaps rightly.



when he was already an old man, fell in love with Theoris the courtesan. Accordingly, he supplicated Aphrodite, reciting<sup>a</sup>. "Hearken unto me when I pray, Nurse of children; grant that this woman may refuse to young men the couch of dalliance, but let her find joy in old men whose temples are grey, whose powers, to be sure, are blunted, but whose spirit is keen." These verses are from the collection attributed to Homer<sup>b</sup> Theoris he mentions in a certain choral ode in the following words<sup>c</sup>: "Verily Theoris is dear" Being in his declining years, as Hegesander says,<sup>d</sup> Sophocles fell in love with the courtesan Archippê and made her in his will heiress to his property. And that Sophocles was old when Archippê lived with him is proved by what her former lover Smicrines wittily said when asked what Archippê was doing. "As the owls sit upon tombs, so sits she"<sup>e</sup>

But another instance. even Isocrates, the most modest of the orators, kept Metaneira as his mistress, as well as Lagisca, so Lysias records in his *Letters*<sup>f</sup> But Demosthenes in his speech *Against Neaera* says<sup>g</sup> that Metaneira was the mistress of Lysias. And Lysias was also smitten with the courtesan Lagis, a

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *Vit. Hom* p 15 Westermann. The verses, as Athenaeus says, were ascribed to Homer, not to Sophocles.

<sup>b</sup> *Epigr.* 12 Baumeister.

<sup>c</sup> *T G F.*<sup>2</sup> 296 Nauck refuses to take Θεωρίς as a proper noun, comparing Hesych. s. θεωρίδες αἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον Βάκχαι. But that the Alexandrians so understood it seems to be proved from Hermesianax, below, 598 d (p 225).

<sup>d</sup> *F H G.* iv. 418.

<sup>e</sup> For "tomb" as an epithet of the senile see above, 580 c (p 131).

<sup>f</sup> Thalheim 381, Herwerden 245.

<sup>g</sup> Chap 21.

ἐγκώμιον Κέφαλος ὁ ῥήτωρ καθάπερ καὶ Ἀλκιδάμας ὁ Ἐλαίτης ὁ Γοργίου μαθητὴς ἔγραψεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγκώμιον Ναΐδος τῆς ἐταίρας. τὴν δὲ Ναΐδα ταύτην Λυσίας ἐν τῷ κατὰ Φιλωνίδου βιαίων, εἰ γνήσιος ὁ λόγος, ἐρωμένην φησὶ γενέσθαι Φιλωνίδου γράφων ὧδε· “ ἔστιν οὖν γυνὴ ἐταῖρα Ναῖς ὄνομα, ἥς Ἀρχίας κύριός ἐστιν, ὁ δ’ Ὑμέναιος ἐπιτήδειος, ὁ Φιλωνίδης δ’ ἐρᾶν φησιν ” μνημονεύει αὐτῆς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν τῷ Γηρυτάδῃ. 1 μήποτε δὲ καὶ τῷ Πλούτῳ ἐν ᾧ λέγει

ἐρᾷ δὲ Λαῖς οὐ διὰ σέ Φιλωνίδου;

γραπτέον Ναῖς καὶ οὐ Λαῖς. Ἑρμιππος δ’ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰσοκράτους προβαίνοντά φησι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τὸν Ἰσοκράτη ἀναλαβεῖν Λαγίσκαν τὴν ἐταῖραν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐξ ἥς καὶ γενέσθαι αὐτῷ θυγάτριον μνημονεύει δ’ αὐτῆς Στράτις ἐν τούτοις

καὶ τὴν Λαγίσκαν τὴν Ἰσοκράτους παλλακὴν  
 ἰδεῖν με συκάζουσιν εὐναίαν ἔτι,  
 τόν τ’ αὐλοτρύπην αὐτὸν εἶθ’ ἤκειν ταχύ.<sup>1</sup>

e καὶ Λυσίας δ’ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λαΐδος, εἰ γνήσιος ὁ λόγος, μνημονεύει αὐτῆς, καταλέγων καὶ ἄλλας ἐταῖρας ἐν τούτοις “ Φιλύρα γέ τοι ἐπαύσατο πορνευομένη ἔτι<sup>2</sup> νέα οὔσα καὶ Σκιώνη καὶ Ἰππάφεις καὶ Θεόκλεια καὶ Ψαμάθη καὶ Λαγίσκα καὶ Ἀνθεια καὶ Ἀριστόκλεια ”

<sup>1</sup> εἶθ’ ἤκειν ταχύ added by Sauppe (cf. Vit. Isocr. p. 256 Westerm). <sup>2</sup> ἔτι 586 e· καὶ ἔτι A.

<sup>a</sup> B. and S n. 217.

<sup>b</sup> B. and S n. 155 Elaea was in Aeolis

<sup>c</sup> Thalheim 375.

eulogy of whom was written by the orator Cephalus <sup>a</sup>; similarly Alcidas of Elaea, the pupil of Gorgias, wrote <sup>b</sup> in his turn a eulogy of the courtesan Nais. As to this Nais, Lysias in the speech *Against Philonides*, an action for forcible rescue, if the speech be genuine, says that she became the mistress of Philonides; he writes as follows <sup>c</sup>: "There is, then, a woman named Nais, a courtesan, whose guardian is Archias, whose intimate is Hymenaeus, and whom Philonides admits he loves." Aristophanes mentions her in his *Gerytades*.<sup>d</sup> And perhaps also in *Plutus*, in which play he says, "Is it not because of you <sup>e</sup> that Laïs loves Philonides?" we should write Nais, and not Laïs. Hermippus, in his work *On Isocrates*, says <sup>f</sup> that Isocrates, when considerably advanced in years, took the courtesan Lagisca into his house, and from her there was born to him a daughter. She is mentioned by Strattis in these lines <sup>g</sup>. "Methought I saw Lagisca, Isocrates' concubine, tickling me while she was still in bed, and then the flute-borer himself came in with a rush."<sup>h</sup> Lysias also, in the speech *Against Laïs*, if it be genuine, mentions her in giving a list of other courtesans besides; here are his words <sup>i</sup>: "Philyra, at least, ceased whoring when still a young woman, and so also did Scionê, Hippaphesis, Theocleia, Psamathê, Lagisca, Antheia, and Aristocleia."

<sup>a</sup> Kock 1. 433, Aristoph. *Plut.* 179, where the schol have *Λαῖς*. Blass, *Att Bereds.*<sup>2</sup> 1. 355

<sup>b</sup> *Plutus*, i.e. wealth.

<sup>f</sup> *F.H.G.* III. 49.

<sup>g</sup> Kock 1. 712.

<sup>h</sup> *Vit. Isocr* 256 Westerm gives a different text. The father of Isocrates was a manufacturer of flutes, whence he himself is contemptuously called a flute-borer (*sens obsc.*) See [*Plut.*] *X Orat* 836 E.

<sup>i</sup> Above, 586 e (p. 162), Thalheim 365.

Δημοσθένη δὲ τὸν ῥήτορα καὶ τεκνοποιήσασθαι ἐξ ἑταίρας ἔχει λόγος. αὐτὸς γοῦν ἐν τῷ περὶ Χρυσίου<sup>1</sup> λόγῳ προαγήοχε<sup>2</sup> τὰ τέκνα ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον ὡς δι' ἐκείνων ἔλεον ἔξων χωρὶς τῆς μητρός, καίτοι ἔθος ἐχόντων τῶν κρινομένων τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπάγεσθαι· ἀλλ' αἰδοῖ τοῦτ'<sup>3</sup> ἐποίησεν, φεύγων τὴν διαβολήν. ἀκόλαστος δ' ἦν ὁ ῥήτωρ περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια, ὥς φησιν Ἰδομενεύς. Ἀριστάρχου γοῦν τινος ἐρασθεὶς μεираκίου καὶ δι' αὐτόν<sup>4</sup> παροινήσας εἰς Νικόδημον ἐξέκοψεν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. παραδέδοται δὲ καὶ περὶ ὄψα καὶ περὶ νέους καὶ περὶ γυναῖκας πολυτελής.<sup>5</sup> τοιγαροῦν καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς ποτ' αὐτοῦ<sup>6</sup> εἶπε· “τί δ' ἂν τις περὶ Δημοσθένους λέγειν δύναιτο; τὰ γὰρ ἐνιαυτῷ μελετηθέντα ἐκείνῳ μία γυνὴ μιᾷ νυκτὶ συνέχεεν.” ἀναλαβεῖν γοῦν καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν λέγεται τινα Κνωσίωνα μεираκίσκον, καίτοι γυναῖκα ἔχων· ὡς καὶ αὐτὴν ἀγανακτήσασαν συγκοιμᾶσθαι τῷ Κνωσίωνι.

Μυρρίνην δὲ τὴν Σαμίαν ἑταίραν Δημήτριος εἶχεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ τῆς διαδοχῆς τελευταῖος καὶ ἔξω τοῦ διαδήματος κοινωνὸν εἶχε τῆς βασιλείας, ὥς φησιν Νικόλαος ὁ Δαμασκηνός. Πτολεμαῖός τε

<sup>1</sup> CE: χρυσειου A.

<sup>2</sup> E: προαγείοχε A, -αγίοχε C.

<sup>3</sup> τοῦτ' ACE: τοῦτ' οὐκ (?) Kaibel.

<sup>4</sup> Kaibel: αὐτὸ AE Schol. Aeschin. p. 37 Turn.

<sup>5</sup> Musurus: πολυτελεῖς A, corrected in margin.

<sup>6</sup> E: αὐτοῦς A, αὐτοῦ in margin.

<sup>a</sup> B and S. n. 251; the speech answered the charge that he had been bribed by Harpalus, below, p. 205.

<sup>b</sup> F H G. n. 492. On Aristarchus see Demosth. *Mid* 104, Aeschin. *Tim.* 171, Deinarchus, *contra Dem.* 30.

That the orator Demosthenes had children by a courtesan is common report. He himself, at any rate, in the course of his speech *On the Bribe of Gold*,<sup>a</sup> brought the children out before the court to excite compassion through them, unaccompanied by their mother, although it was customary for defendants in a trial, if they had wives, to produce them; but this he did from shame, to avoid the scandal. The orator was unbridled in sexual matters, according to Idomeneus<sup>b</sup>. At any rate, having fallen in love with a lad named Aristarchus, because of him he attacked Nicodemus in a drunken fit and gouged out his eyes. It is a well-known tradition that he spent money lavishly on dainty foods, young boys, and women. Hence his clerk<sup>c</sup> once said: "What can one say of Demosthenes? For all that it has taken him a year of industry to acquire, one woman in one night has spoilt completely." He is said, at any rate, to have taken even into his house a young lad named Cnosion, although he had a wife; she, in turn, lay with Cnosion to show her resentment.<sup>d</sup>

Myrrhinê, the Samian courtesan, was kept by Demetrius, the one who was the last king of the succession<sup>e</sup>; and though he did not give her the crown, he gave her a share in his royal state, according to Nicolas of Damascus<sup>f</sup>. And Ptolemy, the one who

<sup>c</sup> Or "keeper of his accounts," possibly the same as οἰκονόμος, house-steward.

<sup>d</sup> This is a replica of the gossip about Euripides and Cephisophon, repeated Schol. Aeschin. ii. 149, see *B P. IV* 1924, 307, Drerup, *Demosth* 64. The wife had legal redress in such cases.

<sup>e</sup> Following Alexander D. Poliorcetes, son of Antigonos, is meant; above, 577 c-d, 578 a (pp 117-121).

<sup>f</sup> *F.H G.* iii. 414, *J. 2 A* 380, *P.-W.* i. 2456

ὁ τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διέπων φρουρὰν υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως Εἰρήνην εἶχε τὴν ἑταίραν, ἥτις ὑπὸ Θρακῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐπιβουλευομένου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ καταφυγόντος εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν συγκατέφυγεν· καὶ ἀποκτεινάντων αὐτὸν ἐκείνων ἡ Εἰρήνη ἐχομένη τῶν ῥόπτρων τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἔρRAINEN<sup>1</sup> τοῦ αἵματος τοὺς βωμούς,<sup>1</sup> ἕως καὶ αὐτὴν κατέσφαξαν Δανάην<sup>2</sup> δὲ τὴν Λεοντίου τῆς Ἐπικουρείου<sup>3</sup> θυγατέρα ἑταιρίζομένην καὶ αὐτὴν Σώφρων εἶχεν ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφέσου δι' ἣν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσώθη ἐπιβουλευόμενος ὑπὸ Λαοδίκης, ἡ δὲ κατεκρημνίσθη, ὡς γράφει Φύλαρχος διὰ τῆς δωδεκάτης λέγων<sup>4</sup> τάδε· “ ἡ πάρεδρος τῆς Λαοδίκης Δανάη, πιστευομένη ὑπ' αὐτῆς τὰ πάντα, Λεοντίου δ' οὔσα τῆς μετ' Ἐπικούρου τοῦ φυσικοῦ σχολασάσης θυγάτηρ, Σώφρονος δὲ γεγονυῖα πρότερον ἐρωμένη, παρακολουθοῦσα διότι ἀποκτεῖναι βούλεται τὸν Σώφρονα ἡ Λαοδίκη διανεύει τῷ Σώφρονι, μηνύουσα τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. ὁ δὲ συλλαβὼν καὶ προσποιηθεὶς συγχωρεῖν περὶ ᾧ λέγει δὺ ἡμέρας παρητήσατο εἰς σκέψιν καὶ συγχωρησάσης νυκτὸς ἔφυγεν εἰς Ἐφεσον. μαθοῦσα δὲ ἡ Λαοδίκη τὸ ποιηθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Δανάης κατεκρήμνισεν τὴν ἄνθρωπον, οὐδὲν τῶν προγεγεννημένων φιλανθρώπων ἐπὶ νοῦν βαλομένη.<sup>5</sup> τὴν δὲ Δανάην φασίν, ὡς ᾔσθητο τὸν ἐπηρτημένον

<sup>1</sup> Cobet: ἔρRAINEN . . . τοῖς βωμοῖς A, ἐπέρRAINEN Kaibel (ἐνέρRAINEN Dobree)

<sup>2</sup> δάναιν A.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπικουρίου A.

<sup>4</sup> λέγων added by Meineke.

<sup>5</sup> Casaubon· ἐπισυμβалоμένη A.

commanded a guard at Ephesus,<sup>a</sup> a son of King Philadelphus, kept the courtesan Eirene, she, when Thracians in Ephesus plotted against Ptolemy and he took refuge in the temple of Artemis, shared in the flight; and after they had killed him she, clinging to the knockers of the temple doors, splashed the altars with her blood until they had despatched her also. Again, Danaë,<sup>b</sup> the daughter of the Epicurean Leontion,<sup>c</sup> was a courtesan kept by Sophron, the commandant at Ephesus; it was through her that he himself was saved when plotted against by Laodicê, while she was thrown down a precipice, as Phylarchus writes in his twelfth book. His words are these<sup>d</sup>: "Laodicê's associate was Danaë, trusted by her in all matters, she was the daughter of Leontion, who studied under Epicurus, the natural philosopher, and had previously been the mistress of Sophron, when she understood that Laodicê wanted to kill Sophron, she by nods and gestures disclosed the plot. And he, catching her meaning, pretended to agree to Laodicê's proposals, but asked for two days in which to consider them; and when she agreed, he fled by night to Ephesus; when Laodicê learned what Danaë had done, she threw the poor woman over a precipice, taking no thought whatever of past acts of kindness. And they say that Danaë, on perceiving the danger

<sup>a</sup> Bevan, *House of Seleucus* i. 174. This Ptolemy was a son of Philadelphus and a concubine, above, 576 e (p. 113).

<sup>b</sup> On mythological names given to historical persons see Lehrs, *Aristarch. Stud. Hom.*<sup>3</sup> 269, who gives other instances from Athenaeus.

<sup>c</sup> Above, 585 d (p. 157); for female Epicureans see Usener, *Epic.*<sup>2</sup> (1887) 408 s. *Θεμιστά* and 411 s. *Λεόντιον*, Cic. *Nat. Deor.* i. 93.

<sup>d</sup> *F.H.G.* i. 339, J. 2 A 168. See Bevan, *op. cit.* i. 187.

αὐτῇ κίνδυνον, ἀνακρινομένην ὑπὸ τῆς Λαοδίκης οὐδ' ἀποκρίσεως αὐτὴν ἀξιῶσαι ἀπαγομένην τε ἐπὶ τὸν κρημνὸν εἰπεῖν ὡς δικαίως οἱ πολλοὶ καταφρονοῦσι τοῦ θείου, ὅτε ' ἐγὼ μὲν τὸν γενόμενόν μοι ἄνδρα σώσασα τοιαύτην χάριτα παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου λαμβάνω, Λαοδίκη δὲ τὸν ἴδιον ἱποκτείνασα τηλικαύτης<sup>1</sup> τιμῆς ἀξιούται.' ” ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Φύλαρχος καὶ περὶ Μύστας<sup>2</sup> ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ γεσσαρεσκαϊδεκάτῃ οὕτως· “ Μύστα Σελεύκου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐρωμένη ἦν· ἥτις ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν Σελεύκου μικηθέντος καὶ μόλις ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς διασωθέντος αὐτὴ μεταμφιεσαμένη<sup>3</sup> τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐσθήτα καὶ δάκτια λαβοῦσα<sup>4</sup> θεραπαινίδος τῆς τυχοῦσης συλληφθεῖσα ἀπήχθη<sup>5</sup> μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων καὶ πραθεῖσα ὁμοίως ταῖς ἐαυτῆς θεραπαινίσιν ἦλθεν εἰς Ῥόδον ἔνθα ἐκφήνασα ἐαυτὴν ἥτις ἦν περισπουδάστως ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥοδίων τῷ Σελεύκῳ διεπέμφθη ”

Δημήτριος δ' ὁ Φαληρεὺς Λαμπιτοῦς τῆς Σαμίας 'ταίρας ἐρασθεῖς ἡδέως δι' αὐτὴν<sup>6</sup> καὶ Λαμπιτὸν τροσηγορεύετο,<sup>7</sup> ὥς φησι Δίνυλλος· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Χαριτοβλέφαρος Νικαρέτῃ δὲ ἡ ἐταῖρα ἐρωμένη ἦν Στεφάνου τοῦ ῥήτορος, Λυσίου δὲ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ Μετάνειρα. ἦσαν δὲ αὗται δοῦλαι Κασίου<sup>8</sup> τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> τηλικαύτης A

<sup>2</sup> A· Μύστης Kaibel

<sup>3</sup> μεταμφιασαμένη CE, so Polyaen viii 61

<sup>4</sup> Kaibel· καὶ ἀναλαβοῦσα A

<sup>5</sup> Meineke: ἀνήχθη ACE

<sup>6</sup> δι' αὐτὴν Jacobs. δ' αὐτὴν A

<sup>7</sup> Jacobs: προσηγόρευτο A.

<sup>8</sup> Χαρισίου c Neaer. 18.



that impended over her, though rigorously questioned by Laodicê, did not even think her worthy of an answer ; and as she was led away to the precipice she said it was no wonder that most men made light of divine power, seeing that ' I, she said, saved him who was once my man, and yet receive such a requital from the deity, whereas Laodicê, after killing her own man, is thought worthy of such great honour.' " The same Phylarchus records the following concerning Mysta in his fourteenth book <sup>a</sup>. " Mysta was the mistress of King Seleucus <sup>b</sup> ; she, when Seleucus had been defeated by the people of Galatia and had barely escaped from the rout with his life, took off her royal garments, and put on the rags of an ordinary maidservant ; she was captured and led off with the other prisoners, and on being sold just like her own maidens she came to Rhodes ; there, having revealed who she was, she was sent with all due care by the Rhodians across to Seleucus."

Demetrius of Phalerum, who was in love with Lampito, the Samian courtesan, was for her sake quite content to be called Lampito, as Diyllus declares <sup>c</sup> ; he was also called Pretty Eyes <sup>d</sup>. Nicaretê the courtesan was the mistress of the orator Stephanus, and Metaneira of the sophist Lysias <sup>e</sup>. These women were slaves, belonging to Casius of Elis, along with

<sup>b</sup> Above, 578 a (p 121).

<sup>c</sup> *F.H.G.* II 361, J. 2 A 132 This paragraph (to 594 b) is regarded by Kaibel as spurious, being taken from Diog. Laert. v 76 (who, however, cites Didymus, not Diyllus) and from the speech against Neaera.

<sup>d</sup> Lit "with eyelids such as the Charites (Graces) had." Lampito means "The Radiant Woman."

<sup>e</sup> Above, 592 b-c (p 193) For Stephanus see *c. Neaer.* 10. Nicaretê was the lena who kept Neaera.

Ηλείου μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων ἑταῖρων, Ἀντείας, Στρα-  
 -όλας, Ἀριστοκλείας, Φίλας, Ἰσθμιάδος, Νεαίρας.  
 ἡ δὲ Νεαίρα ἦν<sup>1</sup> ἐρωμένη Ξενοκλείδου τοῦ ποιητοῦ  
 καὶ Ἰππάρχου τοῦ ὑποκριτοῦ καὶ Φρυνίωνος τοῦ  
 Παιανιέως, ὃς ἦν Δήμωνος μὲν υἱός, Δημοχάρους  
 δὲ ἀδελφιδοῦς τὴν δὲ Νεαίραν εἶχον ἡμέραν παρ'  
 ἡμέραν διαιτητῶν γενομένων φίλων Φρυνίων καὶ  
 Στέφανος ὁ ῥήτωρ ὃς καὶ τὴν τῆς Νεαίρας θυγα-  
 -τέρα Στρυμβήλην<sup>2</sup> τὴν ὕστερον Φανὼ κληθεῖσαν ὡς  
 Ἰδίαν θυγατέρα ἐξέδοτο Φράστορι τῷ Αἰγυλιεῖ,<sup>3</sup> ὡς  
 ῥησι Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νεαίρας. ὃς καὶ  
 περὶ Σινώπης τῆς ἑταίρας τάδε λέγει· “ Ἀρχίαν  
 γὼν ἱεροφάντην ἐξελεγχθέντα ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ὡς  
 ἰσεβούντα καὶ θύοντα παρὰ τὰ πάτρια τὰς θυσίας  
 ἐκολάσατε καὶ ἄλλα τε κατηγορήθη αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι  
 Σινώπη τῇ ἑταίρᾳ Ἀλώοις ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάρας τῆς ἐν  
 τῇ αὐλῇ Ἐλευσίνι προσαγοῦσῃ<sup>4</sup> ἱερεῖον θύσειεν,  
 νομίμου ὄντος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἱερεῖα μὴ θύειν,  
 οὐδὲ ἐκείνου οὔσης τῆς θυσίας, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἱερείας.”

Διαβόητος δ' ἑταίρα γέγονε καὶ ἡ Μιλησία  
 Πλαγγὼν ἥς περικαλλεστάτης οὔσης ἡράσθη τις  
 Κολοφώνιος νεανίσκος, Βακχίδα ἔχων ἐρωμένην  
 τὴν Σαμίαν. λόγους οὖν προσενέγκαντος τοῦ νεα-  
 νίσκου πρὸς αὐτὴν ἡ Πλαγγὼν ἀκούουσα τῆς

<sup>1</sup> στρατοκλείδου (the scribe's doublet of Ξενοκλείδου) after  
 ἦν deleted by Kaibel.

<sup>2</sup> A. Στρυμβήλην c. Neaer 50

<sup>3</sup> φάστορι τῷ αἰγυλιεῖ A.

<sup>4</sup> c. Neaer. 116: προσαγοῦσῃς A.

<sup>a</sup> Above, 587 e (p 169)

<sup>b</sup> On Demochares, nephew of Demosthenes, see Athen  
 252 f (vol. iii p. 138), 508 f (vol. v. p. 286).

<sup>c</sup> In c. Neaer. 46 it is said that the two were reconciled by

other courtesans, Anteia, Stratola, Aristocleia, Phila, Isthmias,<sup>a</sup> and Neaera. Now Neaera was the mistress of Xenocleides the poet, of Hipparchus the actor, and of Phrynion, who came from the deme Paeania and was the son of Demôn and nephew of Demochares.<sup>b</sup> Neaera was possessed on alternate days by Phrynion and the orator Stephanus, their friends having acted as arbitrators in the matter<sup>c</sup>, and Neaera's daughter Strymbêlê, later called Phanô, was given in marriage by Stephanus, as though she were his own daughter, to Phrastor of the deme Aegilia as Demosthenes declares<sup>d</sup> in the speech *Against Neaera*. He has thus to say also about the courtesan Sinopê<sup>e</sup>: "You punished Archias the hierophant when he was convicted in court of impiety and of offering sacrifices in a manner contrary to ancestral ritual; among other accusations brought against him was this, that at the Haloa<sup>f</sup> he sacrificed a victim, brought by the courtesan Sinopê, and in her behalf, on the altar in the court at Eleusis, although it was by law forbidden to sacrifice a victim on that particular day, and the offering of the sacrifice was not his business, but that of the priestess."

A celebrated courtesan, also, was Plangôn<sup>g</sup> of Miletus; she was of extraordinary beauty, and loved by a Colophonian lad, who had as mistress Bacchis of Samos. When the lad made proposals to Plangôn,

arbitrators, whence Peppink proposes to insert τῶν before φίλων. Less probable is Kaibel's conjecture, ὑπὸ διαιτητῶν γενόμενοι φίλοι, "having become friends through the mediation of arbitrators."

<sup>a</sup> Ps -Demosth lxx. 50. On the deme Aegilia see p 526, note b.

<sup>e</sup> *Ibid.* 116.

<sup>f</sup> Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, 328-329.

<sup>g</sup> Above, 558 b (p 17), 567 e (p. 67).

Βακχίδος τὸ κάλλος καὶ ἀποτρέψαι θέλουσα τὸν νεανίσκον τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρωτος, ὡς ἀδύνατον ἦν, ἤτησε τῆς συνουσίας μισθὸν τὸν Βακχίδος ὄρμον διαβόητον ὄντα ὃ δὲ<sup>1</sup> σφοδρῶς ἐρῶν ἠξίωσε τὴν Βακχίδα μὴ περιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπολλύμενον. καὶ ἡ Βακχίς τὴν ὀρμὴν κατιδοῦσα τοῦ νεανίσκου, ἔδωκε. Πλαγγὼν δὲ τὸ ἄζηλον συνιδοῦσα τῆς Βακχίδος τὸν μὲν ἀπέπεμψεν ἐκείνῃ, τῷ δὲ ὠμίλησε. καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ φίλοι ἐγένοντο, κοινῶς περιέπουσαι τὸν ἐραστήν. ἐφ' οἷς Ἴωνες ἀγασθέντες, ὥς φησι Μενέτωρ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀναθημάτων, Πασιφίλαν ἐκάλεσαν τὴν Πλαγγόνα. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἀρχι-  
λοχος περὶ αὐτῆς ἐν τούτοις

συκῇ πετραίῃ πολλὰς<sup>2</sup> βόσκουσα κορώνας,  
εὐήθης ξείνων δέκτρια Πασιφίλῃ

ὅτι δὲ καὶ Μένανδρος ὁ ποιητῆς ἦρα Γλυκέρας κοινόν ἐνεμεσῆθη δέ. Φιλήμονος γὰρ ἐταίρας ἐρασθέντος καὶ χρηστὴν ταύτην ὀνομάσαντος διὰ τοῦ δράματος, ἀντέγραψεν Μένανδρος ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς οὔσης χρηστῆς.

Ἄρπαλος δ' ὁ Μακεδὼν ὁ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου πολλὰ χρημάτων συλήσας καὶ καταφυγὼν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐρασθεὶς Πυθιονίκης πολλὰ εἰς αὐτὴν κατανάλωσεν<sup>3</sup> ἐταίραν οὖσαν· καὶ ἀποθανούσῃ πολυτάλαντον μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν “ ἐκφέρων τε αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὰς

<sup>1</sup> Kaibel τε A.

<sup>2</sup> CE· παλλὰς A.

<sup>3</sup> A· κατηγάλωσεν CE, κατανήλωσεν (<sup>2</sup>) Kaibel.

she, hearing of the beauty of Bacchis and wishing to divert the lad from his passion for herself, demanded, since that proved impossible, the necklace of Bacchis as the price of an assignation, the necklace being celebrated. And he being passionately in love entreated Bacchis not to permit him to die. So Bacchis, when she saw the young man's eagerness, gave him the necklace. But Plangôn, seeing the unselfishness of Bacchis, sent the necklace back to her, and consorted with the young man. And from that time on the girls were friends, entertaining their lover in common. In admiration of these acts the Ionians, according to Menetor in his work *On Votive Offerings*,<sup>a</sup> called Plangôn Pasiphilê.<sup>b</sup> Archilochus is a witness to her<sup>c</sup> in these lines<sup>d</sup> "Like a fig-tree among the rocks, which feeds many crows, Pasiphilê of easy virtue welcomes strangers." That the poet Menander, also, was in love with Glycera is a matter of common knowledge. But he became angry at her; for when Philemon fell in love with a courtesan and called<sup>e</sup> her in his play "good," Menander in answer wrote that no woman is good.<sup>f</sup>

Harpalus, the Macedonian who plundered large sums from Alexander's funds and then sought refuge in Athens, fell in love with Pythionicê and squandered a great deal on her, though she was a courtesan; and when she died he erected a monument to her costing many talents. "And so, when he bore her to the

<sup>a</sup> Rather, to the name Pasiphila ("friendly to all"), which Archilochus was the first to use. Bergk thought that Archilochus might be a mistake for Antilochus.

<sup>d</sup> *P.L.G.* 11. 388, Diehl frag. 15, Edmonds, *El. and Iambus* (L C L) 11. 106, see P.-W 11. 497. *Συκὴ πετραίη* is possibly reminiscent of Scylla, *Σκύλλη πετραίη*, *Od.* 11. 231.

<sup>e</sup> Kock 11. 534.

<sup>f</sup> Kock 11. 244.

ταφάς, ὥς φησι Ποσειδώνιος<sup>1</sup> ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, τεχνιτῶν τῶν ἐπισημοτάτων χορῶ μεγάλῳ καὶ παντοίοις ὀργάνοις καὶ εὐφωνίαις<sup>2</sup> παρέπεμπε τὸ σῶμα.” Δικαίαιρχος δ’ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς εἰς Τροφωνίου<sup>3</sup> Καταβάσεώς f φησι “ ταῦτ’ οὐδὲ πάθαι τις ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν ἀφικνούμενος κατὰ τὴν<sup>4</sup> ἀπ’ Ἐλευσίνος τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδὸν καλουμένην. καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα καταστὰς οὐδ’ ἂν φανῇ<sup>5</sup> τὸ πρῶτον ὅ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς<sup>6</sup> ἀφορώμενος νεὼς καὶ τὸ πόλισμα, ὅψεται παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτὴν ὠκοδομημένον μνῆμα οἶον οὐχ ἕτερον οὐδὲ σύνεγγυς οὐδέν ἐστι τῷ μεγέθει. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ὅπερ εἰκός, ἢ Μιλτιάδου φήσκειν<sup>7</sup> ἂν<sup>8</sup> σαφῶς ἢ Περικλέους ἢ Κίμωνος ἢ τινος ἑτέρου τῶν ἀγαθῶν 595 ἀνδρῶν εἶναι, καὶ<sup>9</sup> μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως δημοσίᾳ κατεσκευασμένον, εἰ δὲ μή, δεδομένον<sup>10</sup> κατασκευάσασθαι. πάλιν δ’ ὅταν ἐξετάσῃ Πυθιονίκης τῆς ἐταίρας ὄν, τίνα<sup>11</sup> χρή προσδοκίαν λαβεῖν αὐτόν, ” Θεόπομπος δ’ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον Ἐπιστολῇ τὴν Ἀρπάλου διαβάλλων ἀκολασίαν φησίν· “ ἐπίσκεψαι δὲ καὶ διάκουσον σαφῶς παρὰ τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ὃν τρόπον Πυθιονίκην περιέστειλεν τελευτήσασαν. ἢ Βακχίδος μὲν ἦν δούλη τῆς αὐλητρίδος, ἐκείνη δὲ Σινώπης τῆς Θράκης τῆς ἐξ Αἰγίνης Ἀθήναζε μετενεγκαμένης τὴν πορ-

<sup>1</sup> ποσειδώνιος A.

<sup>2</sup> εὐφωνία A : συμφωνίαις Casaubon, Kaibel.

<sup>3</sup> τροφωνείου A.

<sup>4</sup> Jacobs· καὶ ταύτην A.

<sup>5</sup> Valckenaer· ἤμ A.

<sup>6</sup> ὅ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Memeke : εἰς Ἀθήνας A.

<sup>7</sup> CE· φήσκει A.

<sup>8</sup> ἂν added by Kaibel.

<sup>9</sup> καὶ added by Kaibel

<sup>10</sup> B (corrected from δεδομένον) : δεδομένον A.

<sup>11</sup> ὄν, τίνα Cobet, Kaibel : ὄντινα A.

place of burial," as Poseidonius declares<sup>a</sup> in the twenty-second book of his *Histories*, "he escorted the corpse with a large choir of the most distinguished artists, with all kinds of instruments and sweet tones"<sup>b</sup> And Dicaearchus, in his books *On the Descent into the Cave of Trophonius*, says<sup>c</sup> "One would feel the same when going up to the city of Athens by way of the Sacred Road, as it is called, from Eleusis For there, stationing himself at the point from which the temple of Athena and the citadel are first seen in the distance, he will observe a monument, built right beside the road, the like of which, in its size, is not even approached by any other. One would naturally declare quite positively, at first, that this was a monument to Miltiades, or Pericles, or Cimon, or some other man of noble rank and character and, in particular, that it had been erected by the state at public expense or, failing that, that permission to erect it had been given by the state But when, on again looking one discovers that it is a monument to Pythionikê the courtesan, what must one be led to expect?" Agam, Theopompus, when denouncing in his *Letter to Alexander* the licentiousness of Harpalus, says<sup>d</sup>: "Consider and learn clearly from our agents in Babylon how he ordered the funeral of Pythionikê when she died. She, to be sure, was a slave of the flute-girl Bacchis, who in turn was a slave of the Thracian woman Sinopê, who had transferred her

<sup>a</sup> *F H G* III. 259, J 2 A 229.

<sup>b</sup> Or, reading *συμφωνίας* "playing in concord," i.e. the overtones of the several instruments mingling harmoniously.

<sup>c</sup> *F H G*. II 266, cf Plut. *Phoc.* 22, Paus I 37, Frazier, *Paus* II. 495. Dicaearchus here writes as a moralist attacking the vulgarity which he describes.

<sup>d</sup> *F H G*. I 325, J 2 B 590, G and H. 244.

b νείαν· ὥστε γίνεσθαι μὴ μόνον τρίδουλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τρίπορνον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ πλειόνων δὲ ταλάντων ἢ  
 διακοσίων δύο μνήματα κατεσκεύασεν αὐτῆς ὃ καὶ  
 πάντες ἐθαύμαζον, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἐν Κιλικίᾳ τελευ-  
 τησάντων ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας οὐδέπω νῦν οὔτε ἐκεῖνος οὔτ'  
 ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐπιστατῶν κεκόσμηκε τὸν τάφον,  
 Πυθιονίκης δὲ τῆς ἐταίρας φανήσεται τὸ μὲν  
 Ἄθῃναισι,<sup>1</sup> τὸ δ' ἐν Βαβυλῶνι μνήμα πολὺν ἤδη  
 c χρόνον ἐπιτετελεσμένον. ἦν γὰρ πάντες ἥδεσαν  
 κοινῆς<sup>2</sup> δαπάνης κοινὴν τοῖς βουλομένοις γιγνο-  
 μένην, ταύτης ἐτόλμησεν ὁ φίλος εἶναι σοῦ φάσκων  
 ἱερὸν καὶ τέμενος ἰδρύσασθαι καὶ προσαγορεῦσαι  
 τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸν βωμὸν Πυθιονίκης Ἀφροδίτης,  
 ἅμα τῆς τε παρὰ θεῶν τιμωρίας καταφρονῶν καὶ  
 τὰς σὰς τιμὰς προπηλακίζειν ἐπιχειρῶν.” μνη-  
 μονεύει τούτων καὶ Φιλήμων ἐν Βαβυλωνίῳ

βασιλίσσῃ ἔσῃ<sup>3</sup> Βαβυλῶνος, ἂν οὕτω τύχη·  
 τὴν Πυθιονίκην οἶσθα καὶ τὸν Ἄρπαλον.

d μνημονεύει δ' αὐτῆς καὶ Ἀλεξίς ἐν Λυκίσκῳ  
 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Πυθιονίκης τελευτὴν ὁ Ἄρπαλος  
 Γλυκέραν μετεπέμψατο καὶ ταύτην ἐταίραν, ὥς ὁ  
 Θεόπομπος ἱστορεῖ, φάσκων ἀπειρηκέναι τὸν Ἄρ-  
 παλον μὴ στεφανοῦν ἑαυτόν, εἰ μὴ τις στεφανώσῃ  
 καὶ τὴν πόρνην. “ ἔστησέν τε εἰκόνα χαλκῇν τῆς  
 Γλυκέρας ἐν Ῥωσσῶ<sup>4</sup> τῆς Συρίας, οὐπὲρ καὶ σέ  
 καὶ αὐτὸν<sup>5</sup> ἀνατιθέναι μέλλει.<sup>6</sup> παρέδωκέν τε αὐτῇ

<sup>1</sup> ἄθῃναισι A.

<sup>2</sup> ὀλίγης Wilamowitz.

<sup>3</sup> Bentley: βασιλίσσαις ἢ A

<sup>4</sup> 586 c· ἐνερασσω A

<sup>5</sup> Meineke· αὐτὸν A.

<sup>6</sup> Casaubon μέλλειν A.



practice of harlotry from Aegina to Athens ; hence Pythionicê was not only triply a slave, but also triply a harlot. Now, with the sum of more than two hundred talents he erected two monuments to her ; the thing that surprised everyone is this, that whereas for the men who died in Cilicia defending your kingdom and the liberty of Greece neither he nor anyone else among the officials has as yet erected a proper tomb, for the courtesan Pythionicê the monument at Athens and the other in Babylon have already stood completed a long time. Here was a woman who, as everybody knew, had been shared by all who desired her at the same price for all, and yet for this woman the man who says he is your friend has set up a shrine and a sacred enclosure and has called the temple and the altar by the name of Aphrodite Pythionicê, by one and the same act showing his contempt for the vengeance of the gods and endeavouring to heap insult on the offices you bestow." These persons are also mentioned by Philemon in *The Man of Babylon* <sup>a</sup> : " You shall be queen of Babylon, if luck so falls ; you have heard of Pythionicê and Harpalus." And Alexis also mentions her in *Lyciscus*.<sup>b</sup>

And yet, after the death of Pythionicê Harpalus sent for Glycera, who was also a courtesan, to come to him, as Theopompus records,<sup>c</sup> adding that Harpalus forbade anyone to offer him a crown unless he crowned this harlot also. " Further, he has set up a bronze portrait of Glycera in Rhossus, Syria, where he purposes to rear a monument to you <sup>d</sup> and to himself.

<sup>a</sup> Kock II 482, cf. Diodor. XVII. 108

<sup>b</sup> Or " Little Wolf " ; Kock II. 347.

<sup>c</sup> *F H G.* 1 325, J. 2 B 590, G and H. 245, above, 586 c (p 161, note h).

<sup>d</sup> Alexander

κατοικεῖν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς ἐν Ταρσῷ καὶ  
 περιορᾷ<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ προσκυνουμένην καὶ βασι-  
 λισσαν προσαγορευομένην καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δωρεαῖς  
 ε τιμωμένην, αἷς πρόπον ἦν τὴν σὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν  
 σοὶ συνοικοῦσαν'' συνεπιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτοις καὶ  
 ὁ τὸν Ἀγῆνα τὸ σατυρικὸν δραμάτιον γεγραφώς,  
 ὅπερ ἐδίδαξεν Διονυσίων ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὑδάσπου  
 ποταμοῦ,<sup>2</sup> εἴτε Πύθων ἦν ὁ Καταναῖος ἢ<sup>3</sup> Βυζάντιος  
 ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεύς. ἐδιδάχθη δὲ τὸ δράμα  
 ἤδη φυγόντος τοῦ Ἀρπάλου ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ  
 ἀποστάντος καὶ τῆς μὲν Πυθιονίκης ὡς τεθνη-  
 κυίας μέμνηται, τῆς δὲ Γλυκέρας ὡς οὔσης παρ'  
 f αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις αἰτίας γινομένης τοῦ  
 δωρεὰς λαμβάνειν παρὰ Ἀρπάλου, λέγων ὧδε·

ἔστιν δ', ὅπου μὲν ὁ κάλαμος πέφυχ' ὅδε,<sup>4</sup>  
 ὀχύρωμ' Ἄορνον' οὐξ ἄριστερᾶς δ' ὅδε  
 πόρνης ὁ κλεινὸς ναός,<sup>5</sup> ὃν δὴ Παλλίδης<sup>7</sup>  
 τεύξας κατέγνω διὰ τὸ πρᾶγμ' αὐτοῦ φυγῆν  
 ἐνταῦθα δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς μάγοι  
 ὀρώντες αὐτὸν παγκάκως<sup>8</sup> διακείμενον

<sup>1</sup> Gulick ὁρᾷ A, καθάπερ θεὰν ὁρᾷ Kaibel.

<sup>2</sup> ποταμοῦ Kaibel. τοῦ ποταμοῦ A.

<sup>3</sup> ἢ 50 f ἢ ὁ A.

<sup>4</sup> πέφυκε ὅδ' ε A.

<sup>5</sup> ὀχύρωμ' Ἄορνον Gulick φετωμα ορνον A, φάτνωμ' ἄορνον  
 Fiorillo, ἔλωμ' ἄορνον Memeke, φίτευμ' (rather φύτευμ') Lumb.

<sup>6</sup> Casaubon λαός A.

<sup>7</sup> Παλλίδης Memeke, Olivieri.

<sup>8</sup> Jacobs: παγκάλως A.

<sup>a</sup> Above, 586 d (p. 163), Diodor. xvii 108.

<sup>b</sup> The writer seems by this alternative to identify (wrongly)  
 Python of Catana with the orator Python of Byzantium, for  
 whom see Athen 550 f (vol v. p 498); cf Olivieri, *Accad.*  
 αττ. γαρ αττ pp 93-107

<sup>c</sup> 325 oi 321 B c but Olivieri *op. cit* p 105 places the  
 210

More, he has given her the privilege of residing in the royal palace at Tarsus, and permits her to be worshipped by the people and hailed as queen and honoured by other emoluments which were more fittingly bestowed upon your mother and your consort." All this is confirmed by the testimony of the writer who made the little satyric play *Agên*,<sup>a</sup> which was produced when the Dionysia were celebrated at the Hydaspes river, whether the author was Python of Catana (or Byzantium)<sup>b</sup> or the king himself. The play was produced after Harpalus had fled to the coast and revolted<sup>c</sup> Pythionikê is mentioned as already dead, whereas Glycera is mentioned as living with Harpalus and as creating the accusation against the Athenians<sup>d</sup> of receiving bribes from Harpalus; he says<sup>e</sup>. "A There is, in the place where this reed grows, a fortress too high for the birds<sup>f</sup>, on the other side, at the left here, is a harlot's famous temple,<sup>g</sup> which 'Pallides' built before he condemned himself to flight because of his plot. There, accordingly, some magi among the barbarians, seeing him in utterly despondent mood, persuaded occurrence earlier, in 327. See also Coppola, *Riv. di fil.* v. 1927, pp 459-467.

<sup>a</sup> The dative is ambiguous. Certain Athenian statesmen, including Demosthenes, were accused of receiving bribes from Harpalus, but the Athenians themselves took up the charges and investigated them, Athen. 341 f (vol iv. p. 48), K. J. Bauer, *Harpal Process* 9, G. Colin, *Le Discours d'Hypéride contre Démosthène* (1934) p 31 Above, p. 196.

<sup>e</sup> *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 810; above, 586 d (p. 163)

<sup>f</sup> The stronghold called "Αορνον "birdless" on the Indus river, in a region over which Harpalus had been satrap, Diodor xvii. 85. See critical note 5

<sup>g</sup> Soph. *El.* 7

οὐξ ἀριστερᾶς δ' ὄδε

"Ἦρας ὁ κλεινὸς ναός

ἔπεισαν ὡς ἄξουσιν<sup>1</sup> τὴν ψυχὴν ἄνω  
596 τὴν Πυθιονίκης.

Παλλίδην δ' ἐνταῦθα ἐκάλεσε τὸν Ἄρπαλον ἐν  
δὲ<sup>2</sup> τοῖς ἐξῆς τῷ κυρίῳ καλέσας αὐτόν φησιν

ἐκμαθεῖν δέ σου ποθῶ  
μακρὰν<sup>3</sup> ἀποικῶν κείθεν, Ἀτθίδα χθόνα  
τίνες τύχαι κατέχουσιν<sup>4</sup> ἢ πράττουσι τί  
α ὅτε μὲν ἔφασκον δοῦλον ἐκτῆσθαι βίον,  
ἱκανὸν ἐδείπνουν· νῦν δὲ τὸν χέδροπα μόνον<sup>5</sup>  
καὶ τὸν μάραθον<sup>6</sup> ἔσθουσι, πυροὺς δ' οὐ μάλα  
β. καὶ μὴν ἀκούω μυριάδας τὸν Ἄρπαλον  
b αὐτοῖσι τῶν Ἀγῆνος οὐκ ἐλάσσονας  
σίτου διαπέμψαι<sup>7</sup> καὶ πολίτην γεγενῆσθαι  
α Γλυκέρας ὁ σίτος οὗτος ἦν· ἔσται<sup>8</sup> δ' ἴσως  
αὐτοῖσιν ὀλέθρου κοῦχ ἐταίρας ἀρραβῶν

Ἐνδόξους δὲ ἐταίρας καὶ ἐπὶ κάλλει διαφερούσας  
ἤνεγκεν καὶ ἡ Ναύκρατις· Δωρίχαν τε, ἣν ἡ καλὴ  
Σαπφῶ ἐρωμένην γενομένην Χαράξου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ  
αὐτῆς κατ' ἐμπορίαν εἰς τὴν Ναύκρατιν ἀπαίροντος  
c διὰ τῆς ποιήσεως διαβάλλει ὡς πολλὰ τοῦ Χαρά-  
ξου νοσφισαμένην. Ἡρόδοτος δ' αὐτὴν Ῥοδῶπιν  
καλεῖ, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι ἑτέρα τῆς Δωρίχης ἐστὶν αὕτη,  
ἡ καὶ τοὺς περιβοήτους ὀβελίσκους ἀναθεῖσα ἐν

<sup>1</sup> Casaubon: ἀξιοῦσι A.

<sup>2</sup> δὲ added by Schweighäuser.

<sup>3</sup> Jacobs: ποθῶν ἄκραν A

<sup>4</sup> Schweighäuser: καλοῦσιν A, κρατοῦσιν (?) Kaibel.

<sup>5</sup> Porson. χέδρωπαν ὠμὸν A.

<sup>6</sup> Musurus· μαραθῶν A.

<sup>7</sup> παραπέμψαι 586 d.

<sup>8</sup> 586 d· ἐστι A.

him that they could lure the spirit of Pythioncê to the upper world " <sup>a</sup> In this passage the writer calls Harpalus " Pallides." <sup>b</sup> But in the next verses he calls him by his real name and says . B " I long to learn from you, since I live so far away from there, what fortunes control the Attic land, and what the folk do there " <sup>c</sup> A At the time when, they alleged, they had taken on a life of slavery, they had enough for dinner ; but to-day they are eating only vetch and fennel, but wheat not at all. B And yet I hear that Harpalus has sent over to them thousands of bushels of grain, as many as Agên sent, and so was made a citizen. A This grain was Glycera's, and it will doubtless turn out to be their death-warrant, and not merely a whore's earnest money "

Famous courtesans, distinguished for beauty, were produced by Naucratis also , among them was Doricha, who became the mistress of the fair Sappho's brother Charaxus when he went to Naucratis on business, and whom Sappho denounced in her poetry <sup>d</sup> for having robbed him of a lot of money. But Herodotus calls her Rhodôpis, <sup>e</sup> being unaware that she is different from Dorichê, the woman who dedicated, at Delphi,

<sup>a</sup> For the ritual of the magi cf. Luc *Necyom* 8-11.

<sup>b</sup> Meineke may be right in seeing an allusion to the phallus (Παλλίδης = Φαλλίδης ?).

<sup>c</sup> Or " how the folk fare there," perhaps a reminiscence of Atossa's question, Aesch. *Pers.* 232

κεῖνο δ' ἐκμαθεῖν θέλω,  
ὃ φίλοι, ποῦ τὰς Ἀθήνας φασὶν ἰδρῦσθαι χθονός,

The mausoleum here indicated was the one built by Harpalus in Babylonia

<sup>d</sup> *P. L. G.* <sup>4</sup> frag. 138, Diehl frag. 25, 26, with the citations there given, Edmonds 1. 204-206, cf. 148, *Oxyrh. Pap.* 1. 10 ff., <sup>x</sup> 20 ff.

<sup>e</sup> 11. 135. See How and Wells's note on Hdt. 11 134.

Δελφοῖς, ὧν μέμνηται Κρατῖνος διὰ τούτων . <sup>1</sup>  
εἰς δὲ τὴν Δωρίχαν τὸδ' ἐποίησε τοῦπίγραμμα  
Ποσειδίππος,<sup>2</sup> καίτοι καὶ ἐν τῇ Αἰσωπείᾳ<sup>3</sup> πολ-  
λάκις αὐτῆς μνημονεύσας ἐστὶ δὲ<sup>4</sup> τόδε

Δωρίχα, ὅστέα μὲν σ' ἀπαλῆς κόσμησ' ἀπόδεσμα<sup>5</sup>  
χαίτης ἥ τε μύρων ἔκπνοος ἀμπεχόνη,  
d ἥ<sup>6</sup> ποτε τὸν χαρίεντα περιστέλλουσα Χάραξον  
σύνγχρους ὀρθρινῶν<sup>7</sup> ἤψαο κισσυβίων.  
Σαπφῶναι<sup>8</sup> δὲ μένουσι φίλης ἔτι καὶ μενέουσιν  
ᾧδῆς αἱ λευκαὶ φθεγγόμεναι σελίδες.  
οὔνομα σὸν μακαριστόν,<sup>9</sup> ὃ Ναύκρατις ᾧδε<sup>10</sup>  
φυλάξει  
ἐστ' ἂν ἦ Νείλου<sup>11</sup> ναῦς ἔφαλος<sup>12</sup> τενάγη.<sup>13</sup>

καὶ Ἀρχεδίκη δ' ἦν<sup>14</sup> ἐκ τῆς Ναυκράτεως καὶ αὐτὴ  
ἐταῖρα καλὴ φιλεῖ γάρ πως ἡ Ναύκρατις, ὡς ὁ  
'Ηρόδοτός φησιν, ἐπαφροδίτους ἔχειν τὰς ἐταῖρας.  
e Καὶ ἡ ἐξ Ἑρέσου δὲ τῆς ποιητρίας ὁμώνυμος  
ἐταῖρα<sup>15</sup> Σαπφῶ τοῦ καλοῦ Φάωνος ἐρασθεῖσα  
περιβόητος ἦν, ὥς φησι Νυμφόδωρος<sup>16</sup> ἐν Περιπλῶ

<sup>1</sup> Lacuna marked by Basle edd.

<sup>2</sup> ποσίδιππος A

<sup>3</sup> Schott αἰθιοπία A

<sup>4</sup> Musurus ἔστιν τόδε A

<sup>5</sup> Edmonds· μὲν σ' ἀπαλὰ κοιμήσατο δ' ἐσμῶν A.

<sup>6</sup> Jacobs ἥ A

<sup>7</sup> ὀρθρινων A.

<sup>8</sup> σαπφῶναι A : Σαπφῶας Edmonds.

<sup>9</sup> Musurus μακάριστον A

<sup>10</sup> ᾧδε A.

<sup>11</sup> Dindorf : εσταν ειηνελου (sic) A

<sup>12</sup> ἔφαλος A

<sup>13</sup> Edmonds γεγανη A

<sup>14</sup> Musurus : δι' ἣν A

<sup>15</sup> τῆς ποιητρίας ὁμώνυμος ἐταῖρα Kibel following Casaubon :  
τῆς ἐταῖρας A

<sup>16</sup> Wilamowitz . νύμφισ A

<sup>a</sup> Or, "in his *Plutuses*," Athen 94 e (vol 1 p 406). Kock i. 110, the quotation is lost.

<sup>b</sup> Edmonds i 148. For the contrast in the fate of the two women cf. Sappho's "ringing verses," Edmonds i. 232.  
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the famous spits which Cratinus mentions in these verses <sup>a</sup> . . . Poseidippus composed the following epigram on Dorichê, although he often mentioned her also in his *Aesopeia*.<sup>b</sup> It is this: "True, Doricha, thy bones are adorned with a band for thy soft tresses and with the perfume-breathing shawl in which thou didst wrap the handsome Charaxus, flesh to flesh until the time of the morning bowl. But the white, ringing pages of Sappho's lovely song abide and will still abide. Thy name is blessed, since Naucratis will thus treasure it so long as a sea-going ship shall fare over Nile's lagoons." Archedicê also was from Naucratis, and she was another beautiful courtesan. For somehow Naucratis, as Herodotus says,<sup>d</sup> is apt to contain courtesans of especial charm.

Again, the courtesan from Eresus, who bore the same name as the poetess, Sappho,<sup>e</sup> was famous as having loved the handsome Phaon, according to Nymphodorus in his *Voyage round Asia*.<sup>f</sup> And

This Poseidippus flourished *ca* 280 B.C., Wilamowitz *Hellenist Dichtung* i. 148.

<sup>c</sup> Referring to the papyrus when the book is new. Her pages remain ever fresh. The reading Σαπφώας is unnecessary, since the nominative is used in the figure enallagê, and in agreement with σελίδες binds together the extremes of the couplet.

<sup>d</sup> i. 135, φιλέουσι δέ κως ἐν τῇ Ναυκράτι ἐπαφρόδιτοι γίνεσθαι ἐταῖραι.

<sup>e</sup> See critical note 15. Suid. s.v. and others say that the poetess was from Mytilene, not Eresus. Aelian, *V.H.* xii. 19 πυνθάνομαι ὅτι καὶ ἑτέρα ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ ἐγένετο Σαπφώ, ἐταῖρα, οὐ ποιήτρια. See D. M. Robinson, *Sappho* 14-33.

<sup>f</sup> *F.H.G.* iii. 16. The author of this Περίπλος is so named below, 609 c (p. 285). cf. 265 c 322 a, 331 c (vol. iii pp. 193, 446, vol. iv. p. 6). Nymphis, the reading in A, may be a hypocoristic form, but he must be distinguished from Nymphis of Heracleia, 536 a, 549 a (vol. v pp. 422, 433).

Ἀσίας Νικαρέτη δὲ ἡ Μεγαρίς οὐκ ἀγεννὴς ἦν  
 ἑταῖρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ γονέων ἔνεκα<sup>1</sup> καὶ κατὰ παιδείαν  
 ἐπέραστος ἦν, ἡκροᾶτο δὲ Στίλπωνος τοῦ φιλο-  
 σοφου Βιλιστίχῃ δ' ἡ Ἀργεία ἑταῖρα καὶ αὐτὴ  
 ἔνδοξος, τὸ γένος ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀτρειδῶν σῶζουσα,  
 f ὥς οἱ τὰ Ἀργολικὰ γράψαντες ἱστοροῦσιν ἔν-  
 δοξος δ' ἐστὶν καὶ Λέαινα ἡ ἑταῖρα, Ἀρμοδίου  
 ἐρωμένη τοῦ τυραννοκτονήσαντος ἥτις καὶ αἰκι-  
 ζομένη ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἰππίαν τὸν τύραννον οὐδὲν  
 ἐξειποῦσα ἐναπέθανεν ταῖς βασάνοις Στρατοκλῆς  
 δ' ὁ ρήτωρ ἐρωμένην εἶχε τὴν ἐπικληθεῖσαν Λήμην  
 ἑταῖραν, τὴν καλουμένην Παρόραμα καὶ Δίδραχμον<sup>2</sup>  
 διὰ τὸ καὶ δύο δραχμῶν φοιτᾶν πρὸς τὸν βουλό-  
 μενον, ὥς φησι Γοργίας ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἑταιρῶν "

Ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Μυρτίλος μέλλων σιωπᾶν " ἀλλὰ  
 μικροῦ, ἔφη, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἐξελαθόμην ὑμῖν εἰ-  
 597 πεῖν τὴν τε Ἀντιμάχου Λυδὴν,<sup>3</sup> προσέτι δὲ καὶ  
 τὴν ὁμώνυμον ταύτης ἑταῖραν Λυδὴν ἣν ἡγάπα  
 Λαμύνθιος ὁ Μιλήσιος. ἐκάτερος γὰρ τούτων τῶν  
 ποιητῶν, ὥς φησι Κλέαρχος ἐν τοῖς Ἑρωτικοῖς,  
 τῆς βαρβάρου Λυδῆς εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν καταστάς  
 ἐποίησεν ὁ μὲν ἐν ἐλεγείοις, ὁ δ' ἐν μέλει τὸ καλού-  
 μενον ποίημα Λυδὴν. παρέλιπον δὲ καὶ τὴν  
 Μιμνέρμου αὐλητρίδα Ναννῶ καὶ τὴν Ἑρμησι-  
 ἀνακτος τοῦ Κολοφωνίου Λεόντιον· ἀπὸ γὰρ ταύτης  
 ἐρωμένης αὐτῇ γενομένης ἔγραψεν ἐλεγειακὰ τρία

<sup>1</sup> ἔνεκα added by Coraes

<sup>2</sup> καὶ Δίδραχμον added by Kaibel, following Valckenaer.

<sup>3</sup> Λυδὴν <sup>2</sup> Phot cod. 213.

<sup>a</sup> Above, 576 f (p. 113).

<sup>b</sup> Possibly Dercylus is meant (Kaibel), Athen. 86 f (vol. 1. p. 372).



Nicaretê of Megara was a courtesan of no mean birth but, so far as parentage and culture go, she was very desirable; she had studied with the philosopher Stilpon. Again, Bilistichê,<sup>a</sup> the Argive courtesan was of high repute, deriving her ancestry from the Atreidae, as the writers on Argive history record.<sup>1</sup> Of high repute also is the courtesan Leaena, mistress of Haimodius the tyrannicide; she, when put to the torture by the agents of Hippias, the tyrant, died in torment without uttering a word. The orator Stratocles kept as his mistress the courtesan nicknamed Lêmê, the one who was called Parorama and Didrachmon because she visited any one who desired her for two drachmas, according to Gorgias in his work *On Courtesans*.<sup>c</sup>

At this Myrtilus was on the point of stopping when he said. But, my friends, I almost forgot to tell you of Antimachus's *Lydê*,<sup>d</sup> and also of the like-named courtesan *Lydê* who was loved by Lamynthius of Miletus. For each of these two poets, according to Clearchus in his *Love Stories*,<sup>e</sup> in their passion for the foreign girl *Lydê*, composed the poem called *Lydê*, the one in elegiac couplets, the other in lyrics. I also omitted Mimnermus's flute-girl, Nanno, and the Leontion of Hermesianax of Colophon; inspired by her after she became his mistress he wrote three

<sup>c</sup> Above, 567 a (p. 63), P-W. vi. 1619, no. 12. The name refers to rheum in the eyes, while Parorama, strictly meaning "oversight," "mistake," glances both at the meaning of Lêmê and at her real name, Phylacium. Didrachmon means "two-drachma piece." On the licentious demagogue Stratocles see Plut. *Demetr.* 11.

<sup>d</sup> Possibly the lines quoted at 469 f (vol. v. p. 72) are from this work. See *F.H.G.* iii. 190 a, and *Hermes* xxxi. 199.

<sup>e</sup> *F.H.G.* ii. 316, see Plut. 106 B. Lamynthius is mentioned again, 605 e (p. 265).

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βιβλία, ὧν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ κατάλογον ποιεῖται ἔρω-  
b τικῶν, οὕτωςί πως λέγων·

Οἷην μὲν φίλος υἱὸς ἀνήγαγεν Οἰάγροιο<sup>1</sup>  
Ἄγριοπην Θρηῆσαν στείλαμενος κιθάρην  
Ἀιδόθεν ἔπλευσεν δὲ κακὸν καὶ ἀπειθέα χῶρον,  
ἐνθα Χάρων κοινὴν<sup>2</sup> ἔλκεται εἰς ἄκατον  
ψυχὰς οἰχομένων, λίμνη δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν αὐτεῖ  
ῥεῦμα διέκ<sup>3</sup> μεγάλων ῥυομένη<sup>4</sup> δονάκων.  
c ἀλλ' ἔτλη παρὰ κῦμα μονόζωστος<sup>5</sup> κιθαρίζων  
Ὀρφεύς, παντοίους δ' ἐξάνειπσε θεούς·  
Κωκυτὸν τ' ἀθέμιστον ὑπ'<sup>6</sup> ὀφρύσι μηνίσαντα<sup>7</sup>  
εἶδε,<sup>8</sup> καὶ αἰνοτάτου βλέμμ' ὑπέμεινε κυνός,  
ἐν πυρὶ μὲν φωνήν<sup>9</sup> τεθωμένου, ἐν πυρὶ δ'  
ὄμμα  
σκληρόν, τριστοίχοις δεῖμα φέρον<sup>10</sup> κεφαλαῖς.  
ἐνθεν αἰοιδιάων<sup>11</sup> μεγάλους ἀνέπεισεν ἄνακτας  
Ἀγριοπην μαλακοῦ πνεῦμα λαβεῖν βίотου.

οὐ μὴν οὐδ' υἱὸς Μήνης ἀγέραστον ἔθηκεν  
d Μουσαῖος, Χαρίτων ἥρανος, Ἀντιόπην<sup>12</sup>.  
ἥ τε πολὺν μύστησιν<sup>13</sup> Ἐλευσίνος παρὰ πέζαν  
εὐασμὸν κρυφίῳν ἐξεφόρει λογίων,

<sup>1</sup> Musurus: οιαγροισ Α.

<sup>2</sup> Lenner. ἀκοὴν Α, ἀκμήν Kalinka.

<sup>3</sup> δι' ἐκ Α.

<sup>4</sup> ῥυομένη Α.

<sup>5</sup> Ruhnken: μονόζωστον Α

<sup>6</sup> Ruhnken: ἐπ' Α.

<sup>7</sup> Kaibel. μηδείσαντα Α.

<sup>8</sup> Hermann. ἠδὲ Α.

<sup>9</sup> Ruhnken. φωνηι Α.

<sup>10</sup> Ruhnken. φέρων Α.

<sup>11</sup> Musurus. λυδιῶν Α.

<sup>12</sup> Musurus: ἦραν ὅς ἀντιόπην Α.

books of elegiacs, in the last of which he gives a catalogue of love affairs in the following manner<sup>a</sup>

"Such was she whom the dear son of Oeagrus,<sup>i</sup> armed only with the lyre, brought back from Hades even the Thracian Agriopê.<sup>c</sup> Ay, he sailed to that evil and inexorable bourn where Charon drags into the common<sup>d</sup> barque the souls of the departed; and over the lake he shouts afar, as it pours its flood from out the tall reeds. Yet Orpheus, though girded for the journey all alone, dared to sound his lyre beside the wave, and he won over gods of every shape; even the lawless Cocytus he saw, raging beneath his banks<sup>e</sup>; and he flinched not before the gaze of the Hound most dread, his voice baying forth angry fire, with fire his cruel eye gleaming, an eye that on triple heads bore terror. Whence, by his song, Orpheus persuaded the mighty lords that Agriopê should recover the gentle breath of life

Nor did the son of Mênê, Musaeus, master of the Graces, cause Antiopê to go without her meed of honour. And she, beside Eleusis's strand, expounded to the initiates the loud, sacred voice of mystic

<sup>a</sup> Powell 98 (to whom I owe the reading and interpretation of many passages in this poem), Diehl II. 214-220, Couat, *Alexandrian Poetry*, translated by James Loeb, 82-109. See also Cahen, *Callimaque* 647-649, Ellenberger, *Quaestiones Hermesianactaeae*.

<sup>b</sup> Orpheus.

<sup>c</sup> Later accounts give her name as Eurydicê, P.-W. VI. 1323.

<sup>d</sup> Propertius III. (IV.) 18 24 publica cymba senis. But Kalinka's proposal to read ἀκμήν, "still," "ever" (Modern Greek ἀκόμη), merits attention.

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "brows"

Ῥάριον ὀργειῶνα νόμῳ<sup>1</sup> διαπομπεύουσα<sup>2</sup>  
Δημήτρα<sup>3</sup>. γνωστὴ δ' ἐστὶ καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδῃ

φῆμι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτὸν ἀποπρολιπόντα μέλαθρον<sup>4</sup>

Ἡσίοδον, πάσης ἥρανον ἱστορίας,

Ἀσκραίων ἐσικέσθαι ἐρώνθ<sup>5</sup> Ἐλικωνίδα κώμην

ἐνθεν ὃ γ' Ἡοίην μνῶμενος Ἀσκραϊκὴν

e πολλ' ἔπαθεν, πάσας δὲ λόγων ἀνεγράψατο

βίβλους

ὑμῶν,<sup>6</sup> ἐκ πρώτης παιδὸς ἀνερχόμενος

αὐτὸς δ' οὗτος ἀοιδός, ὃν ἐκ Διὸς αἶσα φυλάσσει

ἡδιστον πάντων δαίμονα μουσπόλων,<sup>7</sup>

λεπτυνθεὶς<sup>8</sup> Ἰθάκην ἐνετείνατο<sup>9</sup> θεῖος Ὅμηρος

ὥδῃσιν πινυτῆς εἵνεκα Πηνελόπης

ἣν διὰ πολλὰ παθῶν ὀλίγην ἐσενάσσατο<sup>10</sup> νῆσον,

f πολλὸν ἀπ' εὐρείης λειπόμενος<sup>11</sup> πατρίδος·

ἔκλεε<sup>12</sup> δ' Ἰκαρίου<sup>13</sup> τε γένος καὶ δῆμον Ἀμύκλου

καὶ Σπάρτην, ἰδίων ἀπτόμενος παθέων

Μίμνερμος δὲ τὸν ἡδὺν ὃς εὗρετο πολλὸν ἀνατλὰς

598 ἦχον καὶ μαλακοῦ πνεῦμ' ἀπὸ πενταμέτρου,

<sup>1</sup> Hermann (ὀργειῶν). ὀργιωνανεμῶι A.

<sup>2</sup> Powell διαποιπνύουσα A, διαποιπνύουσα Musurus

<sup>3</sup> Hermann· δήμητρα A.

<sup>4</sup> Musurus· μελαθραν A.

<sup>5</sup> Riegler· ἔχων A

<sup>6</sup> Wilamowitz ὕμνων A.

<sup>7</sup> Musurus μουσπόλων A

<sup>8</sup> Couat: λεπτήν δ' εἰς (sic) A.

<sup>9</sup> Kaibel· ἀνετείνετο A.

<sup>10</sup> Musurus εἰσενάσσατο (sic) A.

<sup>11</sup> Musurus: λιπόμενος A.

<sup>12</sup> Bergk· ἔκλαιε A.

<sup>13</sup> Hermann· ἰκάρου A.

<sup>a</sup> The text is much disputed. Reading ὀργειῶνι νόμῳ with διαποιπνύουσα (Pind. *Pyth.* x 64 ἐμὰν ποιπνύων χάριν) Δήμητρα, we may render "ever serving the Rarian Demeter with ritual custom." The spirit of the ritual, with its sacred cries (cf. εὐασμόν, "singing εὐαί"), is well given in the parodos of Aristoph. *Ran.* 324-350.

oracles, as she duly escorted the priest through the Raian plain to honour Demeter.<sup>a</sup> And she is known even in Hades

I say, too, that Boeotian Hesiod, master of all lore, left his hall and went to the Heliconian village of the Ascraeans, because he was in love; whence, wooing Eoeê, maid of Ascræ, he suffered many pangs and as he sang, he writ all the scrolls of his Catalogues,<sup>b</sup> ever proceeding from a girl's name first

But that bard himself, whom the decree of Zeus for ever ordains to be the sweetest divinity among poets, godlike Homer, languished to thinness, and set Ithaca in the strains of song for love of wise Penelope; for her sake he went, with many sufferings, to that small isle, far from his own wide country and he celebrated the kin of Icarus,<sup>c</sup> the folk of Amyclas, and Sparta<sup>d</sup> too, ever mindful of his own misfortunes

And Mimnermus, who discovered, after much suffering, the sweet sound and spirit breathed from the languorous pentameter, burned for Nanno

<sup>b</sup> His "Legend of Famous Women," the *Eoeae*. Each character was introduced with the formula *ἢ οἷν*, "or such as she whom," here strangely regarded as a girl's name Eoeê. Cf. the beginning of this poem, and see Ellenberger *op cit* 18, 36; Athen. 364 b, 428 b (vol. iv pp 148, 438) *ἐκ πρώτης παιδὸς ἀνερχόμενος* is curious in its extremeness, but intelligible enough: "With a maiden as his theme at the beginning, and ever returning (to a maiden)." For *ἀνέρχομαι* used of continuing or resuming a subject cf. Eur. *Ion* 933, *Phoen.* 1207, *ἀνελθέ μοι πάλιν* Cf. above of *Hoioi*, 590 b, note *d* (p 183).

<sup>c</sup> In the *Odyssey*. Icarus, brother of Tyndareus, was Penelope's father

<sup>d</sup> In the *Iliad*. These cities were the home of Helen and Menelaus

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καίετο μὲν Ναννοῦς πολιῶ<sup>1</sup> δ' ἐπὶ πολλάκι λωτῶ  
 κημωθεὶς<sup>2</sup> κώμους εἶχε σὺν Ἐξαμύῃ<sup>3</sup>  
 ἤρεθε δ'<sup>4</sup> Ἑρμόβιον τὸν αἰὶ βαρὺν ἡδὲ<sup>5</sup> Φερε-  
 κλῆν<sup>6</sup>  
 ἐχθρόν, μισήσας οἱ ἀνέπεμψεν ἔπη.<sup>7</sup>

Λυδῆς δ' Ἀντίμαχος Λυδηίδος<sup>8</sup> ἐκ μὲν ἔρωτος  
 πληγείς Πακτωλοῦ ρεῦμ' ἐπέβη ποταμοῦ  
 b ἀδρανίῃ<sup>9</sup> δὲ θανούσαν ὑπὸ ξηρὴν θέτο γαῖαν  
 κλαίων, αἰάζων<sup>10</sup> δ' ἦλθεν<sup>11</sup> ἀποπρολιπὼν  
 ἄκρην<sup>12</sup> ἐς Κολοφῶνα· γόων δ' ἐνεπλήσατο  
 βίβλους  
 ἱράς,<sup>13</sup> ἐκ παντὸς παυσάμενος καμάτου.

Λέσβιος Ἀλκαῖος δέ, πόσους ἀνεδέξατο κώμους,  
 Σαπφούς φορμίζων ἱμερόεντα πόθον,  
 γινώσκεις ὁ δ' αἰοιδὸς ἀηδόνης ἡράσαθ' ὕμνων<sup>14</sup>  
 c Τήιον ἀλγύνων ἄνδρα πολυφραδίῃ.  
 καὶ γὰρ τὴν ὁ μελιχρὸς ἐφημίλλητ'<sup>15</sup> Ἀνακρείων<sup>16</sup>  
 στελλομένην πολλαῖς ἄμμιγα Λεσβιάσιν<sup>17</sup>.  
 φοίτα δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν λείπων Σάμον, ἄλλοτε δ'  
 αὐτὴν  
 οἰνηρῇ<sup>18</sup> δείρῃ<sup>19</sup> κεκλιμένην πατρίδα,

<sup>1</sup> πολλιωι A <sup>2</sup> κημωθεὶς Hermann · κημωθεὶς A.

<sup>3</sup> Schweighäuser, Dindorf: σιχεσυνεξαμύη A.

<sup>4</sup> Wilamowitz ἡδ' ἤχθεε (sic) A.

<sup>5</sup> Casaubon. οὐδὲ A <sup>6</sup> Dindorf: φερεκλῆν A.

<sup>7</sup> Hermann · μισήσας τ' οἷαν ἔπεμψεν A.

<sup>8</sup> Hermann: λυσηίδος A.

<sup>9</sup> Kaibel · δαρδάνη A.

<sup>10</sup> Ilgen · καλλιων αἰζαον A.

<sup>11</sup> Casaubon: διήλθεν A.

<sup>12</sup> Hermann: ἄκρον A.

<sup>13</sup> Musurus · ιερὰς A.

<sup>14</sup> Musurus. ὕμνων A

<sup>15</sup> Powell: ἐφωμίλησ' A.

<sup>16</sup> Musurus: ἀνακρέων A.

<sup>17</sup> Musurus · λαισβιασιν A

yet oft upon his venerable flute, bound to his lips,<sup>a</sup> he with Hexamyês<sup>b</sup> would hold revel. But he quarrelled with Heimobius, the ever cruel, and Pherecles, too, his foe, whom he loathed for the taunts which he hurled against him<sup>c</sup>

Antimachus, too, smitten with love for the Lydian girl Lydê, trod the ground where the Pactôlus river flows, and when she died, in his helplessness he placed her in the hard earth, weeping the while, and in his woe he left her there and returned to lofty Colophon; then he filled his pious scrolls with plants, and rested after all his pain<sup>d</sup>

As for the Lesbian Alcaeus, thou knowest in how many revels he engaged, when he smote his lyre with yearning love for Sappho<sup>e</sup>. And the bard who loved that nightingale<sup>f</sup> caused sorrow, by the eloquence of his hymns, to the Teian poet. Yea, for the honey-voiced Anacreon contended for her,<sup>g</sup> whose beauty was supreme among the many women of Lesbos. And at times he would leave Samos, at times again his own city, that nestles against the vine-covered

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "furnished with the *κημός*," defined by Phot. *s v* as *φορβεία*, the straps on the player's cheeks which helped to hold the double pipes. See critical note 2.

<sup>b</sup> For this name (Carian or Phoenician?) cf. Diog. Laert 1 1, 'Εξαμίον (Hermann 'Εξαμόνου), the father of Thales.

<sup>c</sup> Hermobius and Pherecles seem to have been rivals for the love of Nanno; but the text is uncertain.

<sup>d</sup> So Plut 106 B: παραμύθιον τῆς λύπης αὐτῷ ἐποίησε τὴν ἐλεγείαν τὴν καλουμένην Λυδὴν

<sup>e</sup> Illustrated in art, *Museo Ital.* II. 41 tav vi.

<sup>f</sup> The jingle in αἰοιδός and ἀηδών is to be noted though it cannot be reproduced in English. Cf. Hes *Opp.* 203, 208

<sup>g</sup> The anachronism is noticed by Athenaeus below, 599 c, p 229. Sappho lived a hundred years before Anacreon.

Λέσβον ἐς<sup>1</sup> εὔοιον τὸ δὲ Μύσιον<sup>2</sup> εἶσιδε Λεκτὸν  
 πολλάκις Αἰολικοῦ κύματος ἀντιπέρας  
 Ἀτθίς δ' οἶα μέλισσα πολυπρήωνα Κολώνην<sup>4</sup>  
 λείπουσ' ἐν τραγικαῖς ἤδε χοροστασίαις<sup>5</sup>  
 d Βάκχον καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα Θεωρίδος Ἡριγόνης τι  
 ἄς ποτε γηραιῷ Ζεὺς<sup>6</sup> ἔπορεν Σοφοκλεῖ  
 φημὶ δὲ καὶ κεῖνον<sup>7</sup> τὸν αἰεῖ<sup>8</sup> πεφυλαγμένον ἄνδρ  
 καὶ πάντων μῖσος κτώμενον ἐκ συνοχῶν  
 πάσας ἀμφὶ γυναῖκας ὑπὸ σκολιοῖο τυπέντα  
 τόξου νυκτερινὰς οὐκ ἀποθέσθ' ὀδύνας·  
 ἀλλὰ Μακηδονίης πάσας κατενίσατο λαύρας  
 αἰάζων,<sup>9</sup> μέθεπεν δ' Ἀρχέλεω<sup>10</sup> ταμίην  
 e εἰσόκε δὴ<sup>11</sup> δαίμων Εὐριπίδῃ<sup>12</sup> εὔρετ' ὄλεθρον,  
 Ἀρριβίου<sup>13</sup> στυγνῶν ἀντιάσαντι<sup>14</sup> κυνῶν  
 ἄνδρα δὲ τὸν Κυθήρηθεν, ὃν ἐθρέψαντο<sup>15</sup> τιθήνα  
 Βάκχου καὶ λωτοῦ πιστότατον ταμίην

<sup>1</sup> Musurus εἰς A. <sup>2</sup> Wensch· μυριον A.

<sup>3</sup> Casaubon (Λέκτον) λέκτρον A.

<sup>4</sup> Ruhnken: αὐθις· πολυπριωνα κοδώνην A.

<sup>5</sup> Musurus· χοροστασιασ A

<sup>6</sup> Lennep (Θεωρίδος), Maass: ἔρωτ' ἀγειραιθειαιειδος ζεὺς A

<sup>7</sup> Bergk· κακεῖνον A

<sup>8</sup> αἰεῖ (as usual) A <sup>9</sup> Powell αἰγειων A

<sup>10</sup> Musurus· μέθεπε δ' ἀρχελάωι A.

<sup>11</sup> δὴ added by Schweighauser

<sup>12</sup> Schweighauser εὐριπίδῃ A

<sup>13</sup> Headlam· ἀμφὶ βίου A. <sup>14</sup> Musurus ἀντιάσαντα A.

<sup>15</sup> ὃν ἐθρέψαντο Hermann ἀνεθρέψαντο A.

<sup>a</sup> Sophocles, as the following lines show He was born at Colonus, *Oed Col* 668-719, especially 707 ἄλλον δ' αἶνον  
 99A



hill, and visit Lesbos, rich in wine; and oft I gazed upon Lectum, the Mysian headland across the Aeolian wave

How too, the Attic bee <sup>a</sup> left Colonê of the man hillocks, and sang with choruses marshalled in tragedy—sang of Bacchus and of his passion for Theoris and for Enigonê, whom Zeus once gave to Sophocles in his old age.

I say, too, that that man who had ever guarded himself against passion, and had won the hatred of all men by his railings <sup>b</sup> concerning all women, was none the less smitten by the treacherous bow, and could not lay aside his pangs by night; nay, in Macedonia he traversed all the by-ways in his woe and became dependent on the steward of Archelaus until at last Fate found destruction for Euripides when he met the cruel hounds of Arribius <sup>c</sup>

And that poet from Cythera, whom the nurses of Bacchus reared, and the Muses taught to be the

ἔχω ματροπόλει τᾷδε κράτιστον, δῶρον τοῦ μεγάλου δαίμονος, εἰπεῖν Suid s. Σοφοκλῆς On Theoris see above, 592 a (p. 193) For "Attic bee" cf. Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 60 χρησμός ὤρθωσεν μελίσσας Δελφίδος, of the priestess of Apollo (Pythia) at Delphi Aristoph. *Av.* 749-750 uses the term, in a simile, of the tragic poet Phrynichus, ὥσπερὶ μέλιττα Φρύνιχος ἀμβροσίων μελέων ἀπεβόσκετο καρπὸν αἰεὶ φέρων γλυκεῖαν ὥδαν. The Colonus hill is not elsewhere called Colonê, one may compare the Spartan hill Colona (Κολώνα), Athen. 574 d (p. 103).

<sup>b</sup> The meaning of ἐκ συνοχῶν is unknown. Headlam's ἐξ ὑλακῶν, "by his barking," seems the most likely correction Cf. Satyrus in *Or. Pap.* ix. 1176, frag. 39, col. x (p. 152) ἀπήχθοντ' αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες διὰ τὴν δυσομιλίαν, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες διὰ τοὺς ψόγους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν

<sup>c</sup> The name is uncertain. Arrhidaeus? Arrhabaeus? For the story see *Vit. Eur.* i. 54, ii. 35, iii. 19, *Or. Pap.* ix. pp. 165-181

Μοῦσαι παίδευσάν τε<sup>1</sup> Φιλόξενον, οἷα τιναχθεῖς  
 Ὀρτυγίνην<sup>2</sup> ταύτης ἦλθε διὰ πτόλεως,  
 γινώσκεις, αἰούσα<sup>3</sup> μέγαν πόθον ὃν Γαλατεΐη<sup>4</sup>  
 αὐτοῖς μηλείους<sup>5</sup> θήκαθ' ὑπὸ προγόνους

οἶσθα δὲ καὶ τὸν αἰοδόν, ὃν<sup>6</sup> Εὐρυπύλου πολιῆται  
 Κῶοι χάλκειον στήσαν<sup>7</sup> ὑπὸ πλατάνω  
 Βιττίδα μολπάζοντα θοήν, περὶ πάντα Φιλίταν  
 ῥήματα καὶ πᾶσαν τρυόμενον<sup>8</sup> λαλήν.  
 οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' ὅπόσοι σκληρὸν βίον ἐστήσαντο  
 ἀνθρώπων, σκοτιῇ<sup>9</sup> μαιόμενοι σοφίην,  
 οὓς αὐτὴ περὶ πυκνά<sup>10</sup> λόγοις ἐσφίγγατο μῆτις  
 καὶ δεινὴ μύθων κῆδος ἔχουσ' ἀρετή,  
 οὐδ' οἷδ' αἰνὸν<sup>11</sup> ἔρωτος ἀπεστρέψαντο κυδοιμὸν  
 599 μαιόμενον,<sup>12</sup> δεινὸν δ' ἦλθον ὅφ' ἡνίοχον

οἷη μὲν Σάμιον μανίη κατέδησε Θεανοῦς  
 Πυθαγόρην, ἐλίκων κομψὰ γεωμετρίας  
 εὐρόμενον,<sup>13</sup> καὶ κύκλον ὅσον περιβάλλεται αἰθὴρ  
 βαιῇ ἐνὶ σφαίρῃ<sup>14</sup> πάντ' ἀπομασσόμενον.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kaibel παιδευθέντα A <sup>2</sup> Bergk ὀρυγή (sic) A.

<sup>3</sup> Dalechamps, Ruhnken · γινώσκει καὶ οὔσαν A

<sup>4</sup> Weston · γαλατεῖησ A <sup>5</sup> Heringa μηλείουσ A.

<sup>6</sup> Casaubon · τὸν A. <sup>7</sup> Hecker, Meineke θῆκαν A.

<sup>8</sup> Hermann · ρυόμενον A. <sup>9</sup> Heinrich · σκολιῇν A.

<sup>10</sup> Porson · πικρὰ A. <sup>11</sup> Weston · οὐδ' οἶδεν ὃν A

<sup>12</sup> Heinrich · φαινόμενον A. <sup>13</sup> sic A here.

<sup>14</sup> Dindorf (ἐνὶ Hemsterhuys) · βίησ ἐν σφαίρῃ A.

<sup>15</sup> Hemsterhuys: ἀποτασσόμενον A

<sup>a</sup> For Philoxenus, who wrote the story of his unhappy love for Galateia, the mistress of Dionysius, whom he called Cyclops, see Athen 6 e-7 a (vol. 1 pp. 26-28); Edmonds (L.C.L.) iii 384.

most faithful steward of the flute, Philoxenus,<sup>a</sup>—thou knowest how he was racked with pain, and passed through our city to Ortygia<sup>b</sup>; for thou hast heard of his mighty yearning, which Galatei esteemed less than the very firstlings of the flock.

Thou knowest also of that bard in whose honour the townsmen of Eurypylus,<sup>d</sup> the men of Cos, raised a bronze statue beneath the plane-tree; he, Philtas, sang his love for the nimble Bittis, veiled as he was in all the terms of love and in all its speech.

Yea, not even all the mortals who ordained for themselves a life austere,<sup>f</sup> seeking to find the dark things of wisdom, whom their very craft caused to choke in the shrewd contests of debate, and their dread skill, which bestowed its care upon eloquence,—not even they could turn aside the awful, mad-dened turmoil of Love, but they fell beneath the power of that dread charioteer.<sup>g</sup>

Such was the madness for Theanô<sup>h</sup> that bound with its spell the Samian Pythagoras; yet he had discovered the refinements of geometric spirals, and had modelled in a small globe the mighty circuit of the enveloping aether.

<sup>b</sup> Not the island off Syracuse, but a grove near Ephesus, where Philoxenus died, Suid s. Φιλόξενος, Strabo 639. "Our city" is Colophon.

<sup>c</sup> Leontium, to whom Hermesianax addresses his poem, 597 a.

<sup>d</sup> One of the circle of Coan literati.

<sup>e</sup> Athen 383 b, 401 e (vol. iv. pp. 232, 318), 552 b (vol. v. p. 506). For his mistress Bittis see Ovid, *Trist.* i. 61, *Ex Ponto* iii. 1. 17.

<sup>f</sup> The poet now considers the philosophers.

<sup>g</sup> On Love the charioteer see Anacreon above, 564 d (p. 49), Rohde, *Gr. Rom.* 3. 115 note.

<sup>h</sup> Dicaearchus, *Leontium* = 1. 17.

οἷω δ' ἐχλίηνεν ὄν<sup>1</sup> ἔξοχον ἔχρη Ἀπόλλων<sup>2</sup>  
 ἀνθρώπων εἶναι Σωκράτη ἐν σοφίῃ<sup>3</sup>

Κύπρις μηνίουσα πυρὸς μένει. ἐκ δὲ βαθείης  
 b ψυχῆς κουφοτέρας ἐξεπώνησ<sup>4</sup> ἀνίας,  
 οἰκί' ἐς Ἀσπασίης πωλεύμενος οὐδέ τι τέκμαρ  
 εὔρε, λόγων<sup>5</sup> πολλὰς εὐρόμενος<sup>6</sup> διόδους.

ἄνδρα δέ' Κυρηναῖον ἔσω<sup>8</sup> πόθος ἔσπασεν Ἰσθμοῦ  
 δεινός,<sup>9</sup> ὅτ' Ἀπιδανῆς Λαίδος ἠράσατο  
 ὀξύς Ἀρίστιππος, πάσας δ' ἠνῆνατο λέσχας  
 φεύγων, οὐδαμινόν τ' ἐξεφόρησε βίον<sup>10</sup>

c Ἐν τούτοις ὁ Ἑρμησιάναξ σφάλλεται συγχρονεῖν  
 οἰόμενος Σαπφῶ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα, τὸν μὲν κατὰ  
 Κῦρον καὶ Πολυκράτην γενόμενον, τὴν δὲ κατ'  
 Ἀλυάττην τὸν Κροίσου πατέρα Χαμαιλέων δ' ἐν  
 τῷ περὶ Σαπφούς καὶ λέγειν τινὰς φησιν εἰς αὐτὴν  
 πεποιῆσθαι ὑπὸ Ἀνακρέοντος τάδε·

σφαίρῃ δευτέ με πορφυρέῃ<sup>11</sup>  
 βάλλων χρυσοκόμης Ἔρωσ  
 νήνι ποικιλοσαμβάλῳ<sup>12</sup>  
 συμπαίξειν προκαλεῖται  
 ἣ δ', ἐστὶν γὰρ ἀπ' εὐκτίτου<sup>13</sup>  
 Λέσβου, τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμην,  
 λευκὴ γάρ, καταμέμφεται,  
 d πρὸς δ' ἄλλην τινὰ χάσκει.

<sup>1</sup> Heringa: δεχλειημενον A

<sup>2</sup> Porson · ἐχρῆν πολλῶν δ' A <sup>3</sup> Musurus: σοφῆι A

<sup>4</sup> Musurus ἐξεπώνησαν A.

<sup>5</sup> Heringa, Ruhnken · λόγοι A.

<sup>6</sup> Dindorf. εὐράμενος A. <sup>7</sup> δὲ added by Hermann

<sup>8</sup> Hermann: εἶσω A <sup>9</sup> Ruhnken δεινὸν A

<sup>10</sup> Harbarton: ουδαμενον ἐξεφόρησεβιωι A

And with what fiery power did Cyprius, in his wrath, heat Socrates, whom Apollo had declared to be supreme among men in wisdom! Yea, though his soul was deep, yet he laboured with lighter pain when he visited the house of Aspasia<sup>a</sup>, nor could he find any remedy,<sup>b</sup> though he had discovered the many cross-paths of logic

Even the man of Cyrene, keen Aristippus, was drawn by overpowering love beyond the Isthmus when he fell in love with Lais of Apidanê<sup>c</sup>; in his flight he renounced all discourse, and expounded the life of worthlessness<sup>d</sup>

In these lines Hermesianax makes the mistake of supposing that Sappho and Anacreon belonged to the same period, for he flourished in the time of Cyrus and Polycrates, whereas she belonged to the time of Alyattes, the father of Croesus. Yet Chamaeleon, in his book *On Sappho*, asserts<sup>e</sup> that some say it was to her that the following verses were addressed by Anacreon<sup>f</sup> "Now golden-haired Eros tosses at me his purple ball, and challenges me to sport with the maiden of the broided sandal. But she—for she is from fair Lesbos—finds fault with my hair, for it is white, and is all agape for another—a woman!"

<sup>a</sup> Xen. *Mem.* ii 6 36, *Oec.* iii. 14, P.-W. ii. 1719

<sup>b</sup> An expression borrowed from *Π.* xvi 472 of Automedon, τοῖο μὲν . . . εὔρετο τέκμων. But there may also be an allusion to Socrates' well-known reliance on "signs," τεκμήρια, as guides to conduct.

<sup>c</sup> *Ἀπιδανή* was the earlier name of Peloponnesus.

<sup>d</sup> *Frag.* 10 Koepke

<sup>e</sup> *P L G* <sup>4</sup> iii 258, *Diehl frag.* 5, *Edmonds* ii 144, *Wilamowitz, Sappho und Simonides* 116.

<sup>11</sup> Pauw: πορφυρενὶ Ἀ

<sup>12</sup> Seidler: ποικίλος λαμβανῶ Ἀ.

<sup>13</sup> Barnes: πιδεσσι γὰρ ἀπεικτικῶ Ἀ

## ATHENAEUS

καὶ τὴν Σαπφῶ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ταῦτά φησιν εἰπεῖν

κεῖνον, ᾧ χρυσόθρονε Μοῦσ', ἔνισπες<sup>1</sup>  
ὕμνον, ἐκ τᾶς καλλιγύναικος ἐσθλᾶς  
Τήιος χώρας ὃν<sup>2</sup> ᾄειδε τερπνῶς  
πρέσβυς ἀγαυός<sup>3</sup>

ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ἔστι Σαπφούς τοῦτο τὸ ᾄσμα παντί που δῆλον ἐγὼ δὲ ἡγοῦμαι παίζειν τὸν Ἑρμησιάνακτα περὶ τούτου τοῦ ἔρωτος. καὶ γὰρ Δίφιλος ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς πεποίηκεν ἐν Σαπφοῖ δράματι Σαπφούς ἐραστὰς Ἀρχίλοχον καὶ Ἰππώνακτα.

e Ταῦθ' ὑμῖν, ᾧ ἐταῖροι, οὐκ ἀμερίμνως δοκῶ τὸν ἐρωτικὸν τοῦτον πεποιῆσθαι κατάλογον, οὐκ ὦν οὕτως ἐρωτομανῆς ὥς διαβάλλων μ' εἴρηκεν ὁ Κύνουλκος, ἀλλ' ἐρωτικὸς μὲν εἶναι ὁμολογῶ, ἐρωτομανῆς δὲ οὔ.

τίς δ' ἔστ'<sup>4</sup> ἀνάγκη δυστυχεῖν ἐν πλείοσιν,  
ἐξὸν σιωπᾶν καὶ σκότῳ κρύπτειν τάδε;

Αἰσχύλος ἔφη ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐν Ἀμφιτρύωνι. οὗτος δὲ ἔστιν Αἰσχύλος ὁ καὶ τὰ Μεσσηνιακὰ ἔπη συνθείς, ἀνὴρ εὐπαίδευτος.

f Ὑπολαμβάνων οὖν μέγαν<sup>5</sup> εἶναι δαίμονα καὶ δυνατώτατον τὸν Ἑρωτα, προσέτι τε καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην τὴν χρυσήν, τὰ Εὐριπίδου ἐπὶ νοῦν λαμβάνων λέγω.

<sup>1</sup> Barnes: κείνων ᾧ χρυσόθρονε μοῦσα εἰσπεσ Α

<sup>2</sup> Barnes. ὁ τήιος χώρας ὅσ Α

<sup>3</sup> Barnes. ἀγλαός Α

And Chamaeleon further says that Sappho spoke Anacreon these lines <sup>a</sup> "The hymn which thou didst utter, O Muse of the golden throne, is that which the Teian, glorious old man from the good land of fair women, sang to our delight" But that this song is not by Sappho is plain, I imagine, to any one. In fact I think that Hermesianax was joking as regards this love affair. For the comic poet Diphilus, in his play, *Sappho*, has even made Archlochus and Hipponax lovers of Sappho <sup>1 b</sup>

In all this, my friends, methinks I have constructed for you, not without care, a catalogue of lovers, not being myself so love-mad, as Cynulcus has insultingly called me, though I admit that I am a lover, but not "love-mad." <sup>c</sup> "What need is there to make oneself unhappy by more words when one may keep silence and hide all this in darkness?" So said Aeschylus at Alexandria in his *Amphitryo* <sup>d</sup> This Aeschylus is the one who composed the *Epic of Messenia*; he was a man of great learning.

Since, then, I believe that Eros is a mighty and most powerful divinity, as is also Aphrodite "the golden," <sup>e</sup> I will recite the lines of Euripides as

<sup>a</sup> *P.L.G.* <sup>4</sup> iii 98, Diehl frag. adesp. 1, Edmonds ii. 146.

<sup>b</sup> Kock ii 564. See Athen 487 a (vol. v. p. 164) for the only known fragment of this play.

<sup>c</sup> For other similar terms see 464 d (vol. v. p. 25 and note h).

<sup>d</sup> *T.G.F.* <sup>2</sup> 824 This Aeschylus is otherwise unknown. He may be the author of a work on proverbs cited by Zenobius v 85 concerning "Sardonic laughter," Crusius *Anal. Crit. ad Pairoemiogr.* p. 148.

<sup>e</sup> *Il* iii. 64.

τὴν Ἀφροδίτην οὐχ ὀράς ὅση θεός,  
 ἦν οὐδ' <sup>1</sup> ἂν εἴποις οὐδὲ μετρήσειας ἂν  
 ὅση πέφυκε κάφ' ὅσον διέρχεται  
 αὕτη τρέφει σὲ καὶ πάντας βροτούς  
 τεκμήριον δέ (μὴ λόγῳ μόνον μάθης,  
 ἔργῳ δὲ δείξω τὸ σθένος τὸ τῆς θεοῦ) <sup>2</sup>  
 ἐρᾷ μὲν ὄμβρου γαῖ', ὅτε <sup>3</sup> ξηρὸν πέδον  
 ἄκαρπον αὐχμῶ νοτίδος ἐνδεῶς ἔχῃ.  
 ἐρᾷ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς οὐρανὸς πληρούμενος  
 ὄμβρου πεσεῖν εἰς γαῖαν Ἀφροδίτης ὕπο.  
 ὅταν δὲ συμμιχθῇτον ἐς ταῦτόν δύο,  
 φύουσιν <sup>4</sup> ἡμῖν πάντα καὶ τρέφουσ' ἅμα,  
 δι' ὧν βρότειον ζῇ τε καὶ θάλλει γένος

καὶ ὁ σεμνότατος δ' Αἰσχύλος ἐν ταῖς Δαναΐσιν  
 αὐτὴν παράγει τὴν Ἀφροδίτην λέγουσαν·

**b** ἐρᾷ μὲν ἄγνὸς οὐρανὸς τρῶσαι χθόνα,  
 ἔρως δὲ γαῖαν λαμβάνει γάμου τυχεῖν·  
 ὄμβρος δ' ἀπ' εὐνάοντος <sup>5</sup> οὐρανοῦ πεσὼν  
 ἔκυσε γαῖαν· ἡ δὲ τίκτεται βροτοῖς  
 μήλων τε βοσκὰς καὶ βίον Δημήτριον

<sup>1</sup> Musurus· θεὸς ἦν οὐδ' ACE, ἀλλ' οὐδ' Stobaeus.

<sup>2</sup> ἔργῳ δὲ δείξω (δείξον C) θεοῦ deleted by Gomperz I have changed the punctuation and taken δείξω as subjv

<sup>3</sup> AC· ὅταν Aristotle, Stobaeus

<sup>4</sup> τίκτουσιν Stobaeus

<sup>5</sup> εὐνάοντος CE. εὐνάεντος A, εὐνασθέντος Lobeck, εὐνατήρος Nauck.



remember them <sup>a</sup>: “Dost thou not see how great a goddess is Aphrodite? Of her thou canst not tell, thou canst not measure how great she is, or how far her power extends. She it is who nurtures you and me and all mortals. And a proof (that you may not learn it from words alone, and that I may show the goddess’s power by facts) the earth is in love with the rain, whensoever the dry ground, fruitless in drought, hath need of moisture. And the august heaven, filled with rain, casts itself upon the earth through Aphrodite’s spell <sup>b</sup>. And when the twain mingle as one, they cause all things to grow for us, and nurture them as well,—all things by which the race of mortals lives and flourishes.” Again, the most august Aeschylus, in his *Danaids*, introduces Aphrodite herself saying <sup>c</sup>. “The chaste heaven loves to violate <sup>d</sup> the earth, and love lays hold on earth to join in wedlock. The rain from the streaming heaven <sup>e</sup> falls down and impregnates the earth; and she brings forth for mortals the pasturage of sheep and Demeter’s sustenance; and the ripe

the nurse’s plea to Phaedra. For a similar plea in favour of drinking cf. *Anacreontics* 21, ἡ γῆ μέλαινα πίνει, etc.

<sup>b</sup> Quoted by Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* 1153 b 2 to illustrate the theory held by some (e.g. Heraclitus) that love is the attraction of opposites.

<sup>c</sup> *TGF.* 2 16 Mazon, *Eschyle* i. 9 note 1 compares Verg. *Georg.* ii. 325.

Tum patet omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether  
coniugis in gremium laetae descendit et omnis  
magnus alit magno commixtus corpore fetus

<sup>d</sup> For this meaning of τρῶσαι cf. Hesych. s. τρώζειν (Zonaras τρωέζειν) . . . συνουσιάζειν

<sup>e</sup> Or, accepting the reading εὐνάεντος (a word found only here). “the heaven which is bedded with earth.”

δενδρώτις ὥρα<sup>1</sup> δ' ἐκ νοτίζοντος γάμου<sup>2</sup>  
τέλειος ἐστί. τῶν δ' ἐγὼ παραίτιος.

Ἐν Ἰππολύτῳ Εὐριπιδείῳ<sup>3</sup> πάλιν ἡ Ἀφροδίτη  
φησὶν

- c ὅσοι τε Πόντου θερμόνων τ' Ἀτλαντικῶν<sup>4</sup>  
ναίουσιν εἴσω φῶς ὀρώντες ἡλίου,  
τοὺς μὲν σέβοντας τὰμὰ πρεσβεύω κράτη,  
σφάλλῳ δ' ὅσοι φρονοῦσιν εἰς ἡμᾶς μέγα.<sup>5</sup>

νεανίσκῳ γὰρ τὴν πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντι τοῦτο  
μόνον τὸ ἀμάρτημα προσόν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐτίμα τὴν  
Ἀφροδίτην, αἴτιον<sup>6</sup> ἐγένετο τοῦ ὀλέθρου καὶ οὔτε  
ἡ Ἄρτεμις ἢ περισσῶς ἀγαπήσασα οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων  
θεῶν τις ἢ δαιμόνων ἐβοήθησεν αὐτῷ. κατὰ τὸν  
αὐτὸν οὖν ποιητὴν

- d ὅστις δ' Ἐρωτα μὴ μέγαν<sup>8</sup> κρίνει θεόν,  
ἢ σκαιὸς ἐστὶν ἢ καλῶν ἄπειρος ὢν  
οὐκ οἶδε τὸν μέγιστον ἀνθρώποις θεόν.

ὃν ὁ σοφὸς ὕμνων αἰεὶ ποτε Ἀνακρέων πᾶσιν ἐστὶν  
διὰ στόματος λέγει οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ κρᾶ-  
τιστος Κριτίας τάδε·

τὸν δὲ γυναικείων μελέων πλέξαντά ποτ' ὦδ' αὖς  
ἡδὺν Ἀνακρεῖοντα Τέως εἰς Ἑλλάδ' ἀνῆγεν,

<sup>1</sup> Hermann. δένδρων τις ὥρα A, δένδρων τ' ὀπώραν (ὀπώρα  
Hartung), deleting δ' Kaibel

<sup>2</sup> A γάνους Gomperz

<sup>3</sup> εὐριπιδίῳ A

<sup>4</sup> ατλαντικῶν A

<sup>5</sup> μέτα A.

<sup>6</sup> Musurus ἀπιόν A

<sup>7</sup> δ' Stobaeus. om. A

<sup>8</sup> Kaibel μόνον A μὴ θεὸν κρίνει μέγαν Stobaeus

<sup>a</sup> Or, adopting Kaibel's conjecture, "the fruit of trees"

<sup>b</sup> Or, "watery joy." See critical note 2.

season for the trees<sup>a</sup> is perfected by the watery union<sup>b</sup> Of all this I am the cause."

In the Euripidean *Hippolytus*, again, Aphrodite declares<sup>c</sup>. "And all who dwell between Pontus and the bounds of Atlas,<sup>d</sup> looking upon the light of the sun—those who reverence my power I honour, but I bring low all who think presumptuous thoughts against me." A young man<sup>e</sup> who possessed every virtue, beset only by this error, that he failed to honour Aphrodite—to him she became the cause of his destruction; and neither Artemis, who loved him exceedingly, nor any other god or spirit could aid him. And so, as the same poet puts it<sup>f</sup>. "Whoever judges not Eros to be a mighty god is either stupid or, having no experience of good things, knows not of the god who is the mightiest power to men." Yes, he is the god of whom Anacreon, the poet on every man's lips, is constantly singing. Hence the most excellent Critias says of him<sup>g</sup>: "Teos<sup>h</sup> brought to Hellas that poet who once wove the strains of song with woman as his theme, delightful Anacreon, flame<sup>i</sup> of drinking-

<sup>c</sup> Vss 1-6.

πολλὴ μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσι κοῦκ ἀνώνυμος,  
θεὰ κέκλημαι Κύπρις, οὐρανοῦ τ' ἔσω  
ὅσοι τε, etc.

<sup>d</sup> i.e. from the Black Sea to the Atlantic.

<sup>e</sup> Hippolytus

<sup>f</sup> T.G.F.<sup>2</sup> 438, from Eur. *Augē*, see Stob. *Flor.* 63 11. Nauck compares Statius Caecilius *ap.* Cic. *Tusc.* iv. 32. 68 [Amorem] deum qui non summum putet aut stultum aut rerum esse imperitum existumo. Cf. also Menander frag. 449 (Kock iii. 129, Allinson 436), Lactant *Inst.* i 11 1

<sup>g</sup> P.L.G.<sup>4</sup> ii. 283, Diehl frag. 8, Diels, *Vorsokr.*<sup>2</sup> ii. 613 Edmonds ii 128.

<sup>h</sup> Birthplace of Anacreon.

<sup>i</sup> For the meaning of ἐρέθισμα cf. Athen. 339 c (vol. iv. p 38) τοῖς νέοισιν ἡρεθισμένος, "inflamed by youth."

## ATHENAEUS

e συμποσίων ἐρέθισμα, γυναικῶν ἡπερόπευμα,  
 αὐλῶν ἀντίπαλον, φιλοβάρβιτον, ἡδύν, ἄλυπον  
 οὐ ποτέ σου<sup>1</sup> φιλότης γηράσεται<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲ θανέϊται,  
 ἕς τ' ἂν ὕδωρ οἴνω συμμιγνύμενον κυλίκεσσι  
 παῖς διαπομπεύῃ, προπόσεις<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ δεξιὰ νωμῶν,<sup>4</sup>  
 παινυχίδας θ' ἱερὰς θήλεις χοροὶ ἀμφιέπωσιν,  
 πλάστιγξ θ'<sup>5</sup> ἢ χαλκοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐπ' ἄκραισι  
     καθίζῃ<sup>6</sup>  
 κοττάβου ὑψηλαῖς<sup>7</sup> κορυφαῖς<sup>8</sup> Βρομίου ψακά-  
     δεσσιν

f Ἀρχύτας<sup>9</sup> δ' ὁ ἁρμονικός, ὥς φησι Χαμαιλέων,  
 Ἀλκμᾶνα γεγονέναι τῶν ἐρωτικῶν μελῶν ἡγεμόνα  
 καὶ ἐκδοῦναι πρῶτον μέλος ἀκόλαστον, ὄντα  
 καταφερῇ<sup>10</sup> περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην  
 μοῦσαν εἰς τὰς διατριβάς. διὸ καὶ λέγειν ἔν τινι  
 τῶν μελῶν

Ἔρως με δαῦτε Κύπριδος ἔκατι  
 γλυκὺς κατεῖβων καρδίαν ἰαίνει.

λέγει δὲ καὶ ὡς τῆς Μεγαλοστράτης οὐ μετρίως  
 ἐρασθεῖς, ποιητρίας μὲν οὔσης, δυναμένης δὲ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Heimann.

<sup>2</sup> AC γηράσκειται E

<sup>3</sup> Musurus πρόποσις AF, πρόποσιν C.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπιδέξια νωμῶν E (κωμῶν C) ἐπιδέξιν ὤμων A

<sup>5</sup> πλάστιγξ δ' CE πλάστιξ τε A

<sup>6</sup> καθίζει AC· καθίζει E

<sup>7</sup> ὑψηλὴ Wilamowitz, ὑψηλοῦ Kaibel, adding βαλλομένη in the next verse

<sup>8</sup> Diels proposed τέκμαρ or ὀροφή, regarding κορυφαῖς as a gloss to ἄκραισι

parties, cheater of women, of flutes the foe,<sup>a</sup> lover of the lyre, full of delight, healer of pain. Never shall love of thee grow old or die, so long as a slave-boy solemnly bears round water and wine mingled for the cups, dispensing toasts from left to right,<sup>b</sup>—so long as feminine choirs do their ministry in holy night-long vigils, and the scale-pan, daughter of bronze, sits upon the high peak of the cottabos to receive the drops of Bromian.”<sup>c</sup>

Archytas—the one who wrote on the theory of music<sup>d</sup>—says, according to Chamaeleon,<sup>e</sup> that Alcman led the way as a composer of erotic songs, and was the first to publish a licentious song, being prone in his habits of life to the pursuit of women and to poetry of that kind<sup>f</sup>. Hence he says, in one of his songs<sup>g</sup>. “Once again sweet Eros, to grace Cypris, overflows and melts my heart” He<sup>h</sup> says, too, that Alcman fell immoderately in love with Megalostratê, who was

<sup>a</sup> The lyre is much oftener mentioned by Anacreon than the flute, but Critias may be ascribing to him the dislike of the flute prevalent in Athens in the latter part of the fifth century. See Athen 177 a (vol. II p. 302), and below, p. 323 note a.

<sup>b</sup> On clockwise motion see vol. V. p. 23 and note f.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. the drops of wine tossed from the players' cups; Athen 487 d (vol. V. p. 168), 666 a. See critical note 7.

<sup>d</sup> Diog. Laert. VIII. 82 says there were four men of the name, this Archytas was from Mytilene.

<sup>e</sup> Frag. 27 Koepke.

<sup>f</sup> i.e. licentious, but the text is corrupt. According to Schweighauser we should supply *εἰσαγαγεῖν* or something similar, and render “was the first to introduce that kind of poetry into the symposia”.

<sup>g</sup> *P L G* 4 III. 51, Diehl II. 36, Edmonds I. 118.

<sup>h</sup> Either Archytas or Chamaeleon. See Diels in *Herm.* xxxi. 352

διὰ τὴν ὁμιλίαν τοὺς ἐραστὰς προσελκύσασθαι·  
 ιι λέγει δ' οὕτως περὶ αὐτῆς·

τοῦθ' ἀδειᾶν Μουσᾶν<sup>1</sup> ἔδειξε  
 δῶρον μάκαιρα παρθένων  
 ἁ ξανθὰ Μεγαλοστράτα

καὶ Στησίχορος δ' οὐ μετρίως ἐρωτικὸς γενόμενος  
 συνέστησε καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τῶν ᾠσμάτων·  
 ἃ δὴ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκαλεῖτο παιδεία<sup>2</sup> καὶ παιδικά.  
 οὕτω δ' ἐναγώνιος ἦν ἡ περὶ τὰ ἐρωτικά πραγ-  
 ματεία, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡγείτο φορτικούς τοὺς ἐρω-  
 τικούς, ὥστε καὶ Αἰσχύλος μέγας ὢν ποιητῆς καὶ  
 Σοφοκλῆς ἡγον εἰς τὰ θέατρα διὰ τῶν τραγωδιῶν  
 β τοὺς ἔρωτας,<sup>3</sup> ὁ μὲν τὸν Ἀχιλλέως πρὸς Πάτροκλον,  
 ὁ δ' ἐν τῇ Νιόβῃ τὸν τῶν παιδων· διὸ καὶ παιδερά-  
 στριάν<sup>4</sup> τινες καλοῦσι τὴν τραγωδίαν· καὶ ἐδέχοντο  
 τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄσμενοι<sup>5</sup> οἱ θεαταί

Καὶ ὁ Ῥηγίνος δὲ Ἰβυκος βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγεν·

ἦρι μὲν αἶ τε Κυδώνιαι  
 μαλίδες<sup>6</sup> ἀρδόμεναι ῥόαι τ'<sup>7</sup>  
 ἐκ ποταμῶν ἵνα Παρθένων  
 κᾶπος<sup>8</sup> ἀκήρατος, αἶ τ' οἶνανθίδες<sup>9</sup>  
 αὐξόμεναι σκιεροῖσιν ὕφ' ἔρνεσιν  
 οἶναρέοις θαλέθοισιν· ἐμοὶ δ' ἔρος

<sup>1</sup> Stephanus ἀδειαν μουσαν A

<sup>2</sup> Welcker: παιδιά ACE.

<sup>3</sup> τοὺς ἔρωτας A, ἀρσενικούς ἔρωτας Schweighauser, ἀρτικούς  
 after an erasure C

<sup>4</sup> Schweighauser παιδεραστάν A

<sup>5</sup> Kaibel αἰσματα A, om. C (ἐδέχοντο οἱ θεαταί)

<sup>6</sup> μηλίδες A

<sup>7</sup> ῥόαι τ' Wilamowitz · ροὰν A, ροᾶν Musurus

a poetess and able to attract lovers to her by her conversation. He speaks thus of her<sup>a</sup>: "This is the gift of the sweet Muses, which she, happy maiden, the golden-haired Megalostrata, hath shown forth." Stesichorus, also, was immoderately erotic and has composed that type of songs; these, as is well known, were of old called *paidera* and *paiderika*<sup>b</sup>. So active was the pursuit of love-affairs, since no one regarded erotic persons as vulgar, that even a great poet like Aeschylus, and Sophocles, introduced in the theatre love themes in their tragedies—the first, that of Achilles and Patroclus,<sup>c</sup> the second, that of the boys in *Niobé*<sup>d</sup>—hence some call the tragedy *Paederastra*; and the audience gladly accepted such stories.

And Ibycus of Rhegium, also, cries out and shouts aloud<sup>e</sup>: "Only in spring grow the quinces and pomegranates,<sup>f</sup> watered by streams in the inviolate garden of the Maidens,<sup>g</sup> and the swelling grape-blossoms thrive beneath the shade of the vine-shoots; but for

<sup>a</sup> See Diehl II 36 for dialect and metre

<sup>b</sup> Lit. "songs in honour of favourite boys." See Godolphin in *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps*, p. 171

<sup>c</sup> *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 44, in *Myrmidons*, below, 602 e. For Plato's comment on this see *Symp.* 180 A. On the other hand, Euripides, in Aristoph. *Ran.* 1045, says to Aeschylus *μὰ Δί', οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης οὐδέν σοι*. To which Aeschylus retorts *μηδέ γ' ἐπέειπ*

<sup>d</sup> *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 229, Plut. 760 D, τῶν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους Νιοβιδῶν βαλλομένων καὶ θνησκόντων ἀνακαλεῖται τις οὐδένα βοηθὸν ἄλλον οὐδὲ σύμμαχον ἢ τὸν ἐραστήν

<sup>e</sup> *P.L.G.*<sup>4</sup> III 235, Diehl II 53, Wilamowitz, *Sappho u. Simonides* 122, Edmonds II. 84

<sup>f</sup> On quinces see Athen. 81 a (vol. I p. 349) and note d; on pomegranates, 650 e.

<sup>g</sup> i.e. The Nymphs, Roscher, *Lex. myth.* v. 503, 505, 515.

οὐδεμίαν κατάκοιτος<sup>1</sup> ὦραν  
 ἄθ'<sup>2</sup> ὑπὸ στεροπᾶς φλέγων  
 c Θρηίκιος<sup>3</sup> Βορέας, αἴσ-  
 σων παρὰ Κύπριδος ἄζαλέαις μανί-  
 αισιν ἐρεμνὸς ἀθαμβῆς  
 ἐγκρατέως<sup>4</sup> πάιθεν<sup>5</sup> φυλάσσει  
 ἡμετέρας φρένας

καὶ Πίνδαρος δ' οὐ μετρίως ὦν ἐρωτικός φησιν·

εἴη καὶ ἐρῶν καὶ ἔρωτι  
 χαρίζεσθαι κατὰ καιρόν<sup>6</sup>  
 μὴ πρεσβυτέραν ἀριθμοῦ δίωκε, θυμέ, πρᾶξιν

διόπερ καὶ ὁ Τίμων ἐν τοῖς Σίλλοις ἔφη·

ὦρῃ ἐρᾶν, ὦρῃ δὲ γαμεῖν, ὦρῃ δὲ πεπαῦσθαι,  
 καὶ μὴ ἀναμένειν ἔστ' ἂν ἐκείνός τις φθέγγηται κατὰ  
 τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον φιλόσοφον

d ἡνίκ' ἐχρήν' δύνειν, νῦν ἄρχεται ἡδύνεσθαι

μνησθεῖς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Γενεδίου Θεοξένου ὁ Πίνδαρος,  
 ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ ἐρώμενος, τί φησιν,

χρῆν μὲν<sup>7</sup> κατὰ καιρόν ἐρώ-  
 των δρέπεσθαι, θυμέ, σὺν ἀλικία<sup>8</sup>.  
 τὰς δὲ Θεοξένου ἀκτῖ-  
 νὰς ποτ' ὅσων μαρμαρυζοίσας<sup>9</sup> δρακεῖς

<sup>1</sup> Musurus κατακτητος A

<sup>2</sup> ἄθ' Hermann· τε A.

<sup>3</sup> Fiorillo: θρηικοῖς A

<sup>4</sup> ἀθαμβῆς ἐγκρατέως Hermann ἀθάμβησεν κραταιῶς A.

<sup>5</sup> πάιθεν Schulze, παιδόθεν B, Musurus (so, probably, Chamaeleon) παιδ' ὅθεν A

<sup>6</sup> CE· καὶ κατὰ καιρόν A.



me there is no season when love lies quiet . all aflame, like Thracian Boreas 'mid the lightning-flash, he from my boyhood hath darted love upon me from Cypris, darkling, unflinching, with scorching madness, and hath kept my heart under fierce sway " Pindar, too, being immoderately erotic, says <sup>a</sup> : " May it be mine to love and to yield to love in due season. Pursue not, my heart, that action as something to be esteemed beyond measure " Wherefore Timon in his *Satires* has said <sup>b</sup> . " There is a time to love, a time to marry, and a time to stop it for good," <sup>c</sup> and not wait until some one utters the line of this same philosopher . " Now, when his sun ought to be *declining*, he begins to *recline* in the lap of pleasure." When Pindar calls to mind Theoxenus of Tenedos, with whom he was in love, what does he say ? <sup>d</sup> " Meet it were, my heart, to cull the flowers of love in due season, in thy prime ; but whosoever, once he hath seen the rays flashing from the eyes of Theoxenus, is not tossed on the waves

<sup>a</sup> *P L G* <sup>5</sup> 1 440, Sandys 584, above, 561 b (p 33) This quotation does not support the accusation against Pindar, though the one below does, *cf Ol* \ 97-105 Christ and Kaibel regarded the second verse as corrupt, certainly *ῥυθμοῦ* would be a better word than *ἀριθμοῦ*.

<sup>b</sup> Frag 59 Wachsmuth, 17 Diels *P.P.G* III. 188 ; Athen. 281 e (vol III. p. 264) reverses the order of the verses

<sup>c</sup> *Cf.* Herrick's

" And while ye may, go marry,  
For having lost your prime,  
You may forever tarry."

<sup>d</sup> *P L G* <sup>5</sup> 437, Sandys 582, Puech II. 189, above, 564 d (p. 49), verse translation by J. A. Symonds, *Greek Poets*, p 124, " Gather ye rosebuds while ye may " " Pflucket die Rose eh' sie verbluht."

<sup>7</sup> Heyne . *μέ* A

<sup>8</sup> *ἡλικία* A.

<sup>9</sup> See p 49, note 4 : *προσώπου μαρμαρίζουσας* AC.

ὅς μὴ πόθῳ κυμαίνεται, ἐξ ἁδάμαν-  
τος ἢ σιδάρου κεχάλκευ-  
ται μέλαιναν καρδίαν

ψυχρᾷ φλογί, πρὸς δ' Ἀφροδί-  
τας ἀτιμασθεῖς ἐλικογλεφάρου<sup>1</sup>

ἢ περὶ χρήμασι μοχθί-  
ζει βιαίως ἢ γυναικείῳ θράσει

e ψυχὰν<sup>2</sup> φορεῖται<sup>3</sup> πᾶσαν ὁδὸν θεραπεύ-  
ων. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ θεᾶς ἕκατι κηρὸς<sup>4</sup> ὡς δαχθεῖς ἔλα

ἱρᾶν<sup>5</sup> μελισσᾶν<sup>6</sup> τάκομαι,<sup>7</sup> εὖτ' ἂν ἴδω  
παίδων νεόγυιον ἐς ἥ-

βαν ἐν δ' ἄρα καὶ Τενέδῳ<sup>8</sup>

Πειθώ τ' ἔναιεν καὶ Χάρις  
υἱὸν ἀνᾶγ'<sup>9</sup> Ἀγησίλα<sup>10</sup>

ὅλως δὲ τοὺς παιδικοὺς ἔρωτας τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς θη-  
λείαις προκρίνουσι πολλοί· παρὰ γὰρ τὰς ἄλλας<sup>11</sup>  
ταῖς εὐνομουμέναις πόλεσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
σπουδασθῆναι τόδε τὸ ἔθος· Κρηῖτες γοῦν, ὡς ἔφην,  
καὶ οἱ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ Χαλκιδεῖς περὶ τὰ παιδικὰ δαι-  
μονίως ἐπτόννται· Ἐχεμένης γοῦν ἐν τοῖς Κρη-  
f τικοῖς οὐ τὸν Δία φησὶν ἀρπάσαι τὸν Γανυμήδην  
ἀλλὰ Μίνωα· οἱ δὲ προειρημένοι Χαλκιδεῖς παρ'  
αὐτοῖς φασιν<sup>12</sup> ἀρπασθῆναι τὸν Γανυμήδην ὑπὸ τοῦ  
Διὸς καὶ τὸν τόπον δεικνύντες Ἀρπάγιον καλοῦσιν,<sup>13</sup>  
ἐν ᾧ καὶ μυρρίναι διάφοροι πεφύκασιν. καὶ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἐλικοβλεφάρου A.

<sup>2</sup> Schneider · ψυχρὰν A.

<sup>3</sup> Musurus: φορεῖτε A.

<sup>4</sup> ἐγὼ θεᾶς ἕκατι κηρὸς Hermann, Bergk, Schneidewin ·  
ἐγὼ δεκατιτὰς κηροσ A.

<sup>5</sup> ἔλα ἱρᾶν Bergk · ἐλερᾶν A.

<sup>6</sup> Hermann · μέλισσαν A.

<sup>7</sup> τήκομαι A.

<sup>8</sup> Musurus: τονεδῶ A

<sup>9</sup> ἀνᾶγ' added by Hermann.

of desire, hath a black heart forged, in cold flame, of adamant or of iron, and having no honour from Aphrodite of the quick glance, he either toileth brutally for wealth, or else through some woman's boldness his soul is borne along on every path while he serves her. But I, to grace the goddess,<sup>a</sup> like wax of the sacred bees<sup>b</sup> when smitten by the sun, am melted when I look at the young limbs of boys. And so, even in Tenedos, Persuasion came to dwell, and Charm reared the son of Hagesilas." Altogether, many persons prefer liaisons with males to those with females. For they maintain that this practice is zealously pursued in those cities throughout Hellas which, as compared with others, are ruled by good laws. The Cretans, for example, as I have said,<sup>c</sup> and the people of Chalcis in Euboea, have a marvellous passion for such liaisons. Echemenes, at any rate, says<sup>d</sup> in his *History of Crete* that it was not Zeus<sup>e</sup> who carried off Ganymede, but Minos<sup>f</sup>. But the Chalcidians just mentioned assert that Ganymede was carried off by Zeus in their own country, and they point out the place, calling it Harpagion<sup>g</sup>, in it grow excellent

<sup>a</sup> Aphrodite.

<sup>b</sup> On the mystical character of the bee see A. S. Pease's note on Cic. *De Div.* i. 73, P.-W. s. Biene, McCartney in *Papers of Michigan Acad.* xvi. 166.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. 561 e-f (p. 35).

<sup>d</sup> *F.H.G.* iv. 403.

<sup>e</sup> As Pindar avows, *Ol.* i. 44, x. 105.

<sup>f</sup> So Dosiades ap. Schol. Townl. *Il.* xx. 234

<sup>g</sup> i.e. the place of seizure, or carrying off.

<sup>10</sup> Bergk ('Αγ-). ἀγησιλάου Α.

<sup>11</sup> Wilamowitz. ταῖς ἄλλαις Α

<sup>12</sup> φησιν Α

<sup>13</sup> χαλκιδεῖς δὲ ληροῦντες (1) δεικνύουσι παρ' αὐτοῖς τόπον ὃν ἁρπάγιον καλοῦσιν C.

πρὸς Ἀθηναίους δ' ἔχθραν διελύσατο Μίνως, καίπερ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ παιδὸς συστάσαν, Θησέως ἐρασθεὶς καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τούτῳ γυναῖκα ἔδωκε Φαίδραν, ὡς Ζῆνις ἢ Ζηνεύς φησιν ὁ Χίος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος συγγράμματι.

- 12 Ἱερώνυμος δ' ὁ περιπατητικὸς περισπουδάστους φησὶ γενέσθαι τοὺς τῶν παίδων ἔρωτας ὅτι πολ-  
λάκις ἢ τῶν νέων ἀκμὴ καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
ἑταιρικὸν συμφρονῆσαν πολλὰς τυραννίδας καθεῖλεν  
παιδικῶν<sup>1</sup> γὰρ παρόντων ἐραστῆς πᾶν ὅτιοῦν ἔλοιτ'  
ἂν παθεῖν ἢ δειλοῦ δόξαν ἀπενέγκασθαι παρὰ τοῖς  
παιδικοῖς ἔργῳ γοῦν τοῦτο ἔδειξεν ὁ συνταχθεὶς  
Θήβησιν ὑπὸ Ἐπαμινώνδου ἱερὸς λόχος καὶ ὁ κατὰ  
τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν θάνατος ὑπὸ Ἀρμοδίου καὶ  
Ἀριστογείτονος γενόμενος, περὶ Σικελίαν δ' ἐν  
Ἀκράγαντι ὁ Χαρίτωνος καὶ Μελανίππου ἔρω<sup>2</sup>  
b Μελάνιππος δ' ἦν τὰ παιδικά, ὡς φησιν Ἡρα-  
κλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἑρωτικῶν οὗτοι  
φανέντες ἐπιβουλεύοντες Φαλάριδι καὶ βασανιζό-  
μενοι ἀναγκαζόμενοί τε λέγειν τοὺς συνειδότας οὐ  
μόνον οὐ κατεῖπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Φάλαριν αὐτὸν εἰς  
ἔλεον τῶν βασάνων ἤγαγον, ὡς ἀπολῦσαι<sup>3</sup> αὐτοὺς  
πολλὰ ἐπαινέσαντα. διὸ καὶ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἦσθεις  
ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναβολὴν τοῦ θανάτου τῷ Φαλάριδι

<sup>1</sup> Schweighauser · παίδων A

<sup>2</sup> ἔρω<sup>2</sup> added by Schweighauser

<sup>3</sup> CE ἀπολαῦσαι A

<sup>a</sup> Androgeôs, of whose violent death in Attic territory different accounts were given; P.-W. s.v 2143.

<sup>b</sup> F H G iv. 530.

<sup>c</sup> Hiller 104, the quotation extends to 602 e

myrtle-trees. Even his quarrel with the Athenians was given up by Minos, though it had arisen over the murder of his son.<sup>a</sup> because he loved Theseus and gave him his daughter Phaedra to be his wife, according to Zenis (or Zeneus) of Chios in the *History* of his native land.<sup>b</sup>

Hieronymus the Peripatetic declares<sup>c</sup> these love affairs with boys became widespread because it often happened that the vigour of the young men, joined to the mutual sympathy of their companionship, brought many tyrannical governments to an end. For if then favourites were present, lovers would choose to suffer anything whatever rather than incur a reputation for cowardice in the mind of their favourites.<sup>d</sup> This was proved, at any rate, by the Sacred Band organized at Thebes by Epameinondas,<sup>e</sup> and by the murderous attempt on the Peisistratidae made by Harmodius and Aristogeiton; and again in Sicily at Agrigentum, by the love of Chariton and Melanippus. The latter was Chariton's favourite, according to Heracleides of Pontus in his work *On Love Affairs*.<sup>f</sup> It transpired that they were plotting against Phalaris, but on being put to the torture and compelled to speak, they not only refused to name their accomplices but even moved Phalaris to pity for their tortures, so that he released them with hearty praise. Wherefore Apollo, pleased at this action, favoured Phalaris with a postponement of his death,

<sup>a</sup> Plat *Symp.* 179 A makes Phaedrus say the same.

<sup>b</sup> Plut *Pelopidas* 18 attributes the earliest forming of the Band to Gorgidas. Cf. above, 561 f (p. 35): ἐνιοι δὲ φασιν ἐξ ἐραστῶν καὶ ἐρωμένων γενέσθαι τὸ σύστημα τοῦτο P.-W. vii 1620, 36.

<sup>f</sup> Voss 52, it is uncertain whether the citations from Heracleides and Neanthes are from Hieronymus.

ἐχαρίσατο, τοῦτο ἐμφήνας τοῖς πυνθανομένοις τῆς Πυθίας ὅπως αὐτῷ ἐπιθῶνται ἔχρησεν δὲ<sup>1</sup> καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Χαρίτωνα, προτάξας τοῦ ἑξαμέτρου τὸ πεντάμετρον, καθάπερ ὕστερον καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησε ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Χαλκοῦς<sup>2</sup> ἐν τοῖς Ἑλεγείοις ἐστὶν δὲ ὁ χρησμός ὁδε·

εὐδαίμων Χαρίτων καὶ Μελάνιππος ἔφν,  
θείας ἀγητῆρες ἐφαμερίους φιλότατος.

διαβόητα δ' ἐστὶν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Κρατίνῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ γεγόμενα· ὃς μειράκιον ὦν<sup>3</sup> εὖμορφον, Ἐπιμενίδου καθαίροντος τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀνθρωπεῖω αἵματι διὰ τινα μύση παλαιά, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Νεάνθης ὁ Κυζικηνὸς δ' ἐν β' περὶ Τελετῶν, ἐκὼν αὐτὸν ἐπέδωκεν ὁ Κρατῖνος<sup>4</sup> ὑπὲρ τῆς θρεψαμένης· ᾧ καὶ ἐπαπέθανεν ὁ ἐραστής Ἀριστόδημος, λύσιν τ' ἔλαβε τὸ δεινόν. διὰ τοὺς τοιούτους οὖν ἔρωτας οἱ τύραννοι (πολέμιοι γὰρ αὐτοῖς αὐταὶ αἱ φιλίαι) τὸ παράπαν ἐκώλυνον τοὺς παιδικοὺς ἔρωτας,<sup>5</sup> πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκκόπτοντες. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὰς παλαιόστρας ὥσπερ

<sup>1</sup> Wilamowitz ἔχρησέν τε Α.

<sup>2</sup> Musurus χαλκεὺς Α.

<sup>3</sup> ὦν added by Dindorf, ὄν Schweighauser

<sup>4</sup> ὁ Κρατῖνος deleted as a gloss by Kaibel. The long intervening clauses may justify its retention

<sup>5</sup> A paraphrase in the margin of Α adds δεδειότες αὐτῶν τὸ συνεστραμμένον τοῦ φρονήματος, "because they feared their unified spirit."

<sup>a</sup> See Diehl i. 74 note 1, and Athen. 669 d. This arrangement may have started with the practice in social gatherings of capping a verse quoted by another, Reitzenstein, *Epigr u. Scol* 51.

making a declaration of this to those who inquired of the Pythian priestess how they should attack Phalaris; Apollo also gave forth an oracle concerning Chariton and his followers, putting the pentameter before the hexameter, according to the method later followed by Dionysius of Athens, nicknamed the Bronze, in his *Elegies* <sup>a</sup> The oracle is as follows: "Happy were Chariton and Melanippus, guides for mortals in divine loving" <sup>b</sup> Notorious are also the things that happened in the case of Cratinus of Athens, for he was a handsome lad at the time when Epimenides was purifying Attica by the sacrifice of human blood, because of some ancient acts of abomination, as recorded <sup>c</sup> by Neanthes of Cyzicus in the second book of his work *On the Rituals of Initiation*; and Cratinus voluntarily gave himself up in behalf of the land that had nurtured him, following him his lover Aristodemus also died, and so the terrible act was atoned for. Because of these love affairs, then, tyrants, to whom such friendships are inimical, tried to abolish entirely relations between males, extirpating them everywhere. Some even went so far as to set fire to the wrestling-schools, 1e-

<sup>b</sup> The rhythm of pentameter and hexameter may be illustrated thus.

Háppy the twain, Charitón and Melanippus his friend,  
Fór that to creatures of clay they were pátterns of godlike  
lóving

<sup>c</sup> *F.H.G.* iii. 8, J. 2 A 195, Preller, *Polemo*, 95. According to Diog. Laert. i. 110 (*Vit. Epimen.*) the pollution mentioned was that caused by the death of the Cylonian conspirators at the hands of the Alcmeonidae, for which see Hdt. v. 71, Thuc. 1.126, Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 1, Plut. *Solon* 12. J. H. Wright, *H.S.C.P.* iii. 39, dates the conspiracy between 636 and 628 B.C., and is inclined to reject the story of Epimenides' intervention; *op. cit.* 47 note 4, 66-70.

ἀντιτειχίσματα ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀκροπόλεσιν ἐνεπίμπρασάν τε καὶ κατέσκαψαν ὡς ἐποίησε Πολυκράτης ὁ Σαμίων τύραννος.

Παρά δὲ Σπαρτιάταις, ὡς Ἄγνων φησὶν ὁ Ἐκαδημαϊκός, πρὸ τῶν γάμων ταῖς παρθένοις ὡς παιδικοῖς νόμος ἐστὶν ὁμιλεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ὁ νομοθέτης Σόλων ἔφη·

μηρῶν ἱμείρων καὶ γλυκεροῦ στόματος

Αἰσχύλος τε καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἀναφανδὸν ἔφασαν, ὁ μὲν Μυρμιδόσιν

σέβας δὲ μηρῶν ἀγνόν<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἐπηδέσω,<sup>2</sup>  
ὦ δυσχάριστε τῶν πυκνῶν φιλημάτων,

ὁ δ' ἐν Κολχίσιν περὶ Γανυμήδους τὸν<sup>3</sup> λόγον ποιούμενος·

μηροῖς ὑπαίθων τὴν Διὸς τυραννίδα.

οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ ὅτι τὰ περὶ Κρατῖνον καὶ Ἀριστόφδημον πεπλάσθαι φησὶν Πολέμων ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν Νεάνθην Ἀντιγραφαῖς. ὑμεῖς δέ,<sup>4</sup> ὦ Κύνουлке, τὰς διηγήσεις ταύτας, καὶ ψευδεῖς ὦσιν, ἀληθεῖς εἶναι πιστεύετε, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ποιημάτων ἃ περὶ τοὺς παιδικούς ἐστιν ἔρωτας ἰδίως<sup>5</sup> μελετᾶτε. . . <sup>6</sup> τοῦ παιδεραστεῖν παρὰ πρώτων Κρητῶν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρελθόντος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Τίμαιος. ἄλλοι δὲ φασὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐρώτων κατάρξασθαι Λάιον ξενωθέντα<sup>7</sup> παρὰ

<sup>1</sup> Canter · αγιον Α

<sup>2</sup> οὐ κατηδέσω Plut.

<sup>3</sup> Kaibel · τινὰ Α.

<sup>4</sup> Schweighauser τε Α

<sup>5</sup> Kaibel · ἡδῖω Α, ἡδέως Schweighauser.

<sup>6</sup> Lacuna indicated by Kaibel · the next sentence, which is incomplete, would be more appropriate at 601 e.



garding them as counter-walls to their own citadels, and so demolished them; this was done by Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos

Among the Spartans, as Hagnon the Academic philosopher says, it was customary for guls before their marriage to be treated like favourite boys. Why, even the lawgiver Solon said<sup>a</sup>: "With longing glance at thighs and sweet lips" Likewise Aeschylus and Sophocles quite frankly said—the first in *The Myrmidons*<sup>b</sup> "For the pure honour of the thighs thou hadst no reverence, O thankless one for those frequent kisses!" while the other, in *The Colchian Women*, speaking of Ganymede<sup>c</sup>. "Setting Zeus's majesty aflame with his thighs." But I am not ignorant that Polemon the Geographer asserts<sup>d</sup> in his *Replies to Neanthes* that the story of Cratinus and Aristodemus is a fiction. But you, Cynulcus, believe these stories to be true even if they are false, and you practise in private all such things in the poems as have to do with the love of boys . . . The practice of paederasty came into Greece from the Cretans first, according to Timaeus.<sup>e</sup> But others declare that Laus initiated such love-practices when he was the guest of Pelops, he became enamoured

<sup>a</sup> *P.L.G.*<sup>1</sup> 11 50, Diehl 1. 29. The verse preceding this is given by Plut. 751 B: ἐσθ' ἥβης ἐρατοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀνθεσι παιδοφιλήσῃ "whilst he pursues boys in the lovely flower of their youth" On which Apuleius, *Apol.* 9, p. 10 H, remarks: num igitur etiam Solonem fuisse serium virum et philosophum negabis, cuius ille lascivissimus versus est?

<sup>b</sup> *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 44, cf. above, 601 a (p. 239)

<sup>c</sup> *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 206

<sup>d</sup> Preller 95, J. 2 A 191.

<sup>e</sup> *F.H.G.* 1. 201.

Πέλοπι καὶ ἐρασθέντα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Χρυσίππου,  
603 ὃν καὶ ἀρπάσαντα<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀναθέμενον εἰς ἄρμα εἰς  
Θήβας φυγεῖν. Πράξιλλα δ' ἡ Σικυωνία ὑπὸ  
Διός<sup>2</sup> φησιν ἀρπασθῆναι τὸν Χρυσίππον καὶ  
Κελτοὶ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων καίτοι καλλίστας ἔχοντες  
γυναῖκας παιδικοῖς μᾶλλον χαίρουσιν· ὥς πολλάκις  
ἐνίους ἐπὶ ταῖς δοραῖς μετὰ δύο ἐρωμένων ἀναπαύε-  
σθαι Πέρσας δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήνων φησὶν Ἡρόδοτος  
μαθεῖν τὸ παισὶν χρῆσθαι

Φιλόπαις δ' ἦν ἑκμανῶς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ  
βασιλεὺς Δικαίαρχος γοῦν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἐν  
b Ἰλῖω Θυσίας Βαγῶου τοῦ εὐνούχου οὕτως αὐτόν  
φησιν ἡττᾶσθαι ὥς ἐν ὄψει θεάτρου ὅλου κατα-  
φιλεῖν αὐτόν ἀνακλάσαντα, καὶ τῶν θεατῶν ἐπι-  
φωνησάντων<sup>3</sup> μετὰ κρότου οὐκ ἀπειθήσας πάλιν  
ἀνακλάσας ἐφίλησεν Καρύστιος δ' ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς  
Ὑπομνήμασι “Χάρωνι, φησί, τῷ Χαλκιδεῖ παῖς  
καλὸς ἦν καὶ εἶχεν εὖ πρὸς αὐτόν. ὥς δ' Ἀλέξ-  
ανδρος παρὰ Κρατερῷ αὐτόν ἐπήνεσεν γενομένου  
πότου, ὁ Χάρων<sup>4</sup> ἐκέλευσε τὸν παῖδα καταφιλῆσαι  
τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ ὃς ‘μηδαμῶς, εἶπεν, οὐ  
c γὰρ οὕτως ἐμὲ εὐφρανεῖ ὥς σὲ λυπήσει.’ ὥσπερ  
γὰρ ἦν ἐρωτικὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος, οὕτως καὶ πρὸς  
τὸ καθῆκον ἐγκρατῆς καὶ πρὸς τὸ πρεπωδέστατον.  
αἰχμαλώτους γοῦν λαβὼν τὰς Δαρείου θυγατέρας  
καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα κάλλει διαπρεπεστάτην οὖσαν οὐ  
μόνον ἀπέσχετο, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκείνας μαθεῖν ἐποίησεν

<sup>1</sup> ἀρπάξαντα C

<sup>2</sup> ὑπ' Οἰδίποδος Valckenaer

<sup>3</sup> A. ἐπιφωνούντων CE

<sup>4</sup> Dutheil κρατερὸς A.

<sup>a</sup> P.L.G.<sup>4</sup> iii 568, Edmonds iii. 78.

<sup>b</sup> The reading “by Oedipus” would make a better anti-  
αεα

of Pelops's son, Chrysippus, whom he seized and placed in his chariot, and then fled to Thebes. Yet Praxilla of Sicyon says <sup>a</sup> that Chrysippus was carried off by Zeus <sup>b</sup>. And among barbarians the Celts also, though they have very beautiful women, enjoy boys more; so that some of them often have two lovers to sleep with on their beds of animal skins. As for the Persians, Herodotus says <sup>c</sup> they learned the use of boys from the Greeks.

King Alexander also was madly devoted to boys. Dicaearchus, at any rate, in his book *On the Sacrifice at Ilium* says <sup>d</sup> that he was so overcome with love for the eunuch Bagôas that, in full view of the entire theatre, he, bending over, caressed Bagôas fondly, and when the audience clapped and shouted in applause, he, nothing loath, again bent over and kissed him. But Carystius in *Historical Notes* says <sup>e</sup>: "Charon of Chalcis had a beautiful boy who was dear to him. But when Alexander, at a drinking-party in the house of Craterus, praised the boy, Charon bade him kiss Alexander; and he said, 'Not so! For that will not delight me so much as it will pain you.' For, passionate as this king was, he was in like measure self-controlled when it came to the observance of decency and the best form. When, for example, he had taken captive the daughters of Darius and his wife as well, a woman of very distinguished beauty, he not only kept his hands off them, but he even re-

thesis, and seems to be supported by Schol. Eur. *Phoen* 60, *τινὲς δὲ φασιν ὅτι Λάιος ἀνῆρέθη ὑπὸ Οἰδίποδος ὅτι ἀμφοτέρου ἡρώων Χρυσίππου.*

<sup>a</sup> l. 135, see How and Wells, *ad loc.*

<sup>d</sup> *F.H.G.* II. 241; Muller assigns the quotation to the *Ἑλλάδος Βίος* quoted 557 b (p. 13),

<sup>e</sup> *F.H.G.* IV. 357.

ὅτι εἰσὶν αἰχμάλωτοι, ἀλλ' ὥς ἔτι Δαρείου ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ὄντος πάντα αὐταῖς χορηγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευσεν. διόπερ καὶ Δαρείος τοῦτο μαθὼν ηὔξατο τῷ Ἡλίῳ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας ἢ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν d ἢ Ἀλέξανδρον." Ῥαδαμάνθυνος δὲ τοῦ δικαίου Ἰβυκος ἐραστήν φησι γενέσθαι Τάλων Διότιμος δ' ἐν τῇ Ἡρακλείᾳ Εὐρυσθέα φησὶν Ἡρακλέους γενέσθαι παιδικά, διόπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄθλους ὑπομεῖναι Ἀγαμέμνονά τε Ἀργύννου ἐρασθῆναι λόγος, ἰδόντα ἐπὶ τῷ Κηφισῷ νηχόμενον ἐν ᾧ καὶ τελευτήσαντα αὐτὸν (συνεχῶς γὰρ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τούτῳ ἀπελούετο) θάψας εἶσατο<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἱερὸν αὐτόθι Ἀφροδίτης Ἀργυννίδος Λικύμνιος<sup>2</sup> δ' ὁ Χῖος ἐν Διθυράμβοις Ἀργύννου<sup>3</sup> φησὶν ἐρώμενον Ὑμέναιον<sup>4</sup> γενέσθαι Ἀντιγόνου δὲ τοῦ e βασιλέως ἐρώμενος ἦν Ἀριστοκλῆς ὁ κιθαρωδός, περὶ οὗ Ἀντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ Ζήνωνος Βίῳ γράφει οὕτως "Ἀντίγονος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεκώμαζε τῷ Ζήνωνι καὶ ποτε καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἔλθων ἔκ τινος πότου καὶ ἀναπηδήσας πρὸς τὸν Ζήνονα ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν συγκωμάσαι αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀριστοκλέα τὸν κιθαρωδόν, οὗ σφόδρα ἦρα ὁ βασιλεὺς"

Φιλομεῖραξ δὲ ἦν ὁ Σοφοκλῆς, ὡς Εὐριπίδης φιλογύνης. Ἴων γοῦν ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφο-

<sup>1</sup> Leopardi, Casaubon: εἰς αὐτο A.

<sup>2</sup> Remesius: ἀλκύνιος A <sup>3</sup> Διονύσου Wilamowitz

<sup>4</sup> B, Musurus: ὑμαίνεον A

frained from letting them know that they were captives, and ordered that everything be done for them just as if Darius were still king. Therefore Darius, on learning this, raised his arms and prayed to the Sun that either he or Alexander might be king." As for the righteous Rhadamanthys, Ibycus says <sup>a</sup> that Talôs was his lover. And Diotimus in the *Epic of Heracles* says <sup>b</sup> that Eurystheus was the favourite of Heracles, and for that reason Heracles patiently undertook his Labours. Again, Agamemnon loved Argynnus, so the story goes, having seen him swimming in the Cephissus river <sup>c</sup>; in which, in fact, he lost his life (for he constantly bathed in this river), and Agamemnon buried him and founded there a temple of Aphrodite Argynnis. Licymnius of Chios in his *Dithyrambs* says <sup>d</sup> that Hymenaeus was the beloved of Argynnus <sup>e</sup>. Aristocles the harp-singer was the beloved of King Antigonus, <sup>f</sup> concerning whom Antigonus of Carystus, in his *Life of Zeno*, writes as follows <sup>g</sup>. "King Antigonus used to have revels at the house of Zeno. On one occasion, coming away from a drinking-party at daybreak, he rushed to Zeno's and persuaded him to join in a revel at the house of Aristocles the harp-singer, whom the king loved greatly."

Sophocles was fond of young lads, as Euripides was fond of women.<sup>h</sup> The poet Ion, at any rate, in the

<sup>b</sup> *Frag. ep.* 213.

<sup>c</sup> The Boeotian Cephissus, not the Attic, is meant.

<sup>d</sup> *P.L.G.*<sup>4</sup> iii 599, Edmonds iii 338. Licymnius is quoted above, 564 c (p. 49).

<sup>e</sup> Or, reading Διονύσου, "of Dionysus."

<sup>f</sup> Gonatas

<sup>g</sup> Wilamowitz 117, *S V F* i. 10.

<sup>h</sup> Above, 557 e (p. 15)

μένας Ἐπιδημίας γράφει οὕτως· “ Σοφοκλεῖ τῷ  
 1 ποιητῇ ἐν Χίῳ συνήντησα ὅτε ἔπλει εἰς Λέσβον  
 στρατηγός, ἀνδρὶ παιδιῶδει παρ’ οἶνον καὶ δεξιῶ  
 Ἑρμησίλεω<sup>1</sup> δὲ ξένου οἱ ἑόντος<sup>2</sup> καὶ προξένου  
 Ἀθηναίων ἐστιῶντος αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ παρὰ τὸ πῦρ  
 ἐστεινός ὁ τὸν οἶνον ἐγγέων παῖς ὠραῖος καὶ ἐρυθρός<sup>3</sup>  
 εἰς . . . , δῆλος ἦν πτοεόμενος<sup>4</sup> εἶπέ τε ‘ βούλει με  
 ἡδέως πίνειν , ’ φάντος δ’ αὐτοῦ ‘ βραδέως τοίνυν  
 καὶ πρόσφερε μοι καὶ ἀπόφερε τὴν κύλικα ’ ἔτι  
 πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐρυθρίασάντος τοῦ παιδὸς εἶπε πρὸς  
 τὸν συγκατακείμενον ‘ ὥς καλῶς Φρύνιχος ἐποίη-  
 σεν εἶπας

604 λάμπει δ’ ἐπὶ πορφυρέαις παρηῃσι<sup>5</sup> φῶς ἔρωτος.’

καὶ πρὸς τόδε ἡμείφθη ὁ Ἑρετριεύς ἢ Ἐρυθραῖος  
 γραμμάτων ἐὼν διδάσκαλος ‘ σοφὸς μὲν δὴ σύ  
 γε εἶ, ὦ Σοφόκλεις, ἐν ποιήσει· ὁμῶς μέντοι γε  
 οὐκ εὖ εἴρηκε Φρύνιχος πορφυρέας εἰπὼν τὰς  
 γνάθους τοῦ καλοῦ. εἰ γὰρ ὁ ζωγράφος χρώματι  
 πορφυρέῳ ἐναλείψει τοῦδε<sup>6</sup> τοῦ παιδὸς τὰς γνάθους,  
 οὐκ ἂν ἔτι καλὸς φαίνοιτο. οὐ κάρτα δεῖ<sup>7</sup> τὸ  
 καλὸν τῷ μὴ καλῷ φαινομένῳ εἰκάζειν ’ ἀνα-  
 γελάσας<sup>8</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ Ἑρετριεῖ Σοφοκλῆς ‘ οὐδὲ τόδε  
 b σοι ἀρέσκει ἄρα, ὦ ξένε, τὸ Σιμωνίδειον, κάρτα  
 δοκέον τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν εὖ εἰρήσθαι·

<sup>1</sup> ἑρμῆς ἱεω A

<sup>2</sup> Musurus: εοντες A.

<sup>3</sup> ὠραῖος καὶ added by Gulick, ἐρυθρός by Valckenaer, Schweighauser. A verb is missing after ἐὼν.

<sup>4</sup> πτοεόμενος (Ionic) added by Gulick

<sup>5</sup> Porson· παρηῃσι A, παρειῇσι CE

<sup>6</sup> τοῦδε over an erasure A: τουδὶ edd

<sup>7</sup> οὐ κάρτα δη A, οὐ γὰρ δεῖ E.

<sup>8</sup> εἰκάζειν ἀναγελάσας Coraes: εἰκάζειν ἂν γελάσας A.

work entitled *Sojournings*, writes as follows <sup>a</sup>. "I met Sophocles the poet at Chios when he was sailing as general to Lesbos <sup>b</sup>; he was playful in his cups, and clever. A Chian friend of his, Hermesilaus, who was the provenus <sup>c</sup> of Athens, entertained him, when there appeared, standing beside the fire, the wine-pourer, a handsome, blushing boy, Sophocles was plainly stirred and said 'Do you want me to drink with pleasure?' And when the boy said 'Yes' he said, 'Then don't be too rapid in handing me the cup and taking it away' When the boy blushed still more violently he said to the man who shared his couch. 'That was a good thing Phrynichus wrote when he said <sup>d</sup> "There shines upon his crimson cheeks the light of love"' To this the man from Eretria (or Erythrae), who was a schoolmaster, made answer. 'Wise you are, to be sure, Sophocles, in the art of poetry, nevertheless Phrynichus did not express himself happily when he described the handsome boy's cheeks as crimson. For if a painter should brush a crimson colour on this boy's cheeks he would no longer look handsome. Surely one must not compare the beautiful with what is obviously not beautiful' <sup>e</sup> Laughing loudly at the Eretrian Sophocles said: 'So, then, stranger, you don't like that line of Simonides, either, though the Greeks

<sup>a</sup> *F H G.* II 46; the title refers to the visits of celebrated men to Ion's own island of Chios. The quotation, in Ionic Greek, extends to 604 d

<sup>b</sup> 440 B.C., see Jebb's *Antigone*, Introd. p. xliii and note 2, Malten, *Heim* III. 165, Bruns, *Das liter. Portrat*, pp. 50-55

<sup>c</sup> Corresponding to the modern consul, but a native of the city in which he served.

<sup>d</sup> *P L G.* <sup>4</sup> III 561, *T G. F.* <sup>2</sup> 723, above, 564 f (p. 51)

<sup>e</sup> Cf. Lessing, *Laocoon* II.: "bei den Alten [ist] die Schönheit das höchste Gesetz der bildenden Künste gewesen"

# ATHENAEUS

πορφυρέου ἀπὸ στόματος ἰεῖσα φωνὰν παρθένος, οὐδ' ὁ ποιητής, ἔφη, ὁ<sup>1</sup> λέγων χρυσοκόμαν Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσέας γὰρ εἰ ἐποίησεν ὁ ζωγράφος τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ κόμας καὶ μὴ μελαίνας, χεῖρον ἂν ἦν τὸ ζωγράφημα οὐδὲ ὁ<sup>2</sup> φὰς ῥοδοδάκτυλον εἰ γάρ τις εἰς ῥόδεον χρῶμα βάψει τοὺς δακτύλους, πορφυροβάφου χεῖρας καὶ οὐ γυναικὸς καλῆς ποιήσειεν ἂν<sup>3</sup> γελασάντων δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἑρετριεὺς ἐνωπήθη τῇ ἐπιρραπίζει, ὁ δὲ πάλιν τοῦ παιδὸς τῷ λόγῳ εἶχετο. εἶρετο γάρ μιν ἀπὸ τῆς κύλικος κάρφος τῷ μικρῷ δακτύλῳ ἀφαιρετέοντα, εἰ καθορᾷ τὸ κάρφος φάντος δὲ καθορᾷν ἅπο τοῖνυν φύσησον αὐτό, ἵνα μὴ πλύνοιτο<sup>4</sup> ὁ δάκτυλός σευ.<sup>5</sup> προσαγαγόντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον πρὸς τὴν κύλικα ἐγγυτέρω τὴν κύλικα τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ στόματος ἤγεν, ἵνα δὴ ἡ κεφαλὴ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀσσοτέρα<sup>6</sup> γένηται. ὥς δ' ἦν οἱ<sup>7</sup> κάρτα πλησίον, προσλαβὼν<sup>8</sup> τῇ χειρὶ ἐφίλησεν ἐπικροτησάντων δὲ πάντων σὺν γέλῳ καὶ βοῇ ὥς εὖ ὑπηγάγετο τὸν παῖδα, 'μελετῶ,<sup>9</sup> εἶπεν, στρατηγεῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες ἐπειδήπερ Περικλῆς ποιεῖν μὲν με ἔφη,<sup>10</sup> στρατηγεῖν δ' οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι ἄρ' οὖν οὐ κατ' ὀρθόν μοι πέπτωκεν τὸ στρατήγημα, ' τοιαῦτα πολλὰ δεξιῶς

<sup>1</sup> ὁ added by Kaibel, οὐδ' ὁ ποιήσας χρ ἀπ C

<sup>2</sup> ὁ "Ew Vollgraff

<sup>3</sup> ἂν added by Jacobs ποιήσει (with βάψει) C

<sup>4</sup> Not πλύνεται G M T 323

<sup>5</sup> σευ Dindorf εὖ A

<sup>6</sup> ἀσσοτέρω Meineke, perhaps rightly

<sup>7</sup> Musurus ἡ A

<sup>8</sup> προσλαβὼν A · περιλαβὼν Kaibel needlessly

<sup>9</sup> μελέτω A, μελετέω Meineke



think it very well expressed<sup>a</sup>. "From her crimson lips the maiden uttered speech": nor again the poet who speaks of "golden-haired<sup>b</sup> Apollo"; for if a painter had made the god's locks golden instead of black, the picture would not be so good. And so for the poet who said "rosy-fingered"<sup>c</sup>, for if one should dip his fingers into a rose-dye, he would produce the hands of a purple-dyer and not those of a lovely woman'. There was a laugh at this, and while the Eietrian was squelched by the rebuke, Sophocles returned to his conversation with the boy. He asked him, as he was trying to pick off a straw from the cup with his little finger, whether he could see the straw clearly. When the boy declared he could see it, Sophocles said, 'Then blow it away, for I shouldn't want you to get your finger wet'. As the boy brought his face up to the cup, Sophocles drew the cup nearer to his own lips, that the two heads might come closer together. When he was very near the lad, he drew him close with his arm and kissed him. They all applauded, amid laughter and shouting, because he had put it over the boy so neatly; and Sophocles said, 'I am practising strategy, gentlemen, since Pericles told me that whereas I could write poetry, I didn't know how to be a general. Don't you think my stratagem has turned out happily for me?' Many things of this sort he was wont to say and do cleverly

<sup>a</sup> *P L G.*<sup>4</sup> iii 419, Diehl frag. 44, Edmonds ii 324.

<sup>b</sup> In this Doric form χρυσοκόμης is found in Pind *Ol.* vi. 41, but already used of Apollo by Tyrtæus 3 2, of Dionysus by Hesiod, *Theog.* 947.

<sup>c</sup> Often in Homer and Hesiod of Dawn. There are those who would translate "rosy-toed"; this passage proves that that was not the interpretation in Sophocles' time.

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ἔλεγέν τε καὶ ἔπρησεν ὅτε πίνοι ἢ πράσσοι.<sup>1</sup> τὰ μέντοι πολιτικὰ οὔτε σοφὸς οὔτε ῥεκτήριος ἦν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἂν τις εἰς τῶν χρηστῶν Ἀθηναίων."

Καὶ Ἱερώνυμος δ' ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν τοῖς Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν φησιν ὅτι Σοφοκλῆς εὐπρεπῇ παῖδα ἔξω τείχους ἀπήγαγε χρησόμενος αὐτῷ ὁ μὲν οὖν  
 " παῖς τὸ ἴδιον ἱμάτιον ἐπὶ τῇ πόᾳ ὑπέστρωσεν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους χλανίδα περιεβάλοντο. μετ' οὖν τὴν ὁμίλιαν ὁ παῖς ἀρπάσας τὸ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους χλανίδιον ᾤχετο, καταλιπὼν τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ τὸ παιδικὸν ἱμάτιον. οἶα δὲ εἰκὸς διαλαληθέντος τοῦ συμβεβηκότος Εὐριπίδης πυθόμενος καὶ ἐπιτωθάζων<sup>2</sup> τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ αὐτός ποτε ἔφη τούτῳ κεκρῆσθαι τῷ παιδί, ἀλλὰ μηδὲν προσθεῖναι,<sup>3</sup> τὸν δὲ Σοφοκλέα διὰ τὴν ἀκολασίαν καταφρονηθῆναι.  
 f καὶ ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ἀκούσας ἐποίησεν εἰς αὐτὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπίγραμμα, χρησάμενος τῷ περὶ τοῦ Ἥλιου καὶ Βορέου λόγῳ, καί τι πρὸς μοιχείαν αὐτοῦ παραινιττόμενος·

"Ἥλιος ἦν, οὐ παῖς, Εὐριπίδη, ὅς με χλαίωνν  
 γυμνὸν ἐποίησεν· σοὶ δὲ φιλοῦνθ' ἔτεραν<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἢ παῖζοι Toup; ἢ πράσσοι deleted by Kaibel, following Valckenaer.

<sup>2</sup> διατωθάζοντος (in different constr.) C.

<sup>3</sup> πεπονθέναι Kaibel, ὑβρισθῆναι Morel; improbable and unnecessary.

<sup>4</sup> Musurus: φιλοῦντι ἐταίραν AC, κόρην Headlam.

when he drank or when he did anything.<sup>a</sup> In matters, however, he was neither wise nor efficient but like any other individual among the better class of Athenians."<sup>b</sup>

Hieronymus of Rhodes says <sup>c</sup> in his *Historical Notes* that Sophocles lured a handsome boy outside the city wall to consort with him. Now the boy spread his own cloak on the grass, while they wrapped themselves in Sophocles' cape.<sup>d</sup> When the meeting was over the boy seized Sophocles' cape and made off without leaving behind for Sophocles his boyish cloak. Naturally the incident was much talked of; when Euripides learned of the occurrence he jeered, saying that himself had once consorted with this boy without paying any bonus, whereas Sophocles had been treated with contempt for his licentiousness. When Sophocles heard that, he addressed to him the following epigram, which refers to the fable of the Sun and the North Wind,<sup>e</sup> and also alludes lightly to Euripides' practice of adultery: "Helios it was, and not a boy, Euripides, who by his heat stripped me of my cape; but with you, when you were embracing another man's wife, Boreas consorted. So you a

<sup>a</sup> On the good luck of Sophocles see G. Murray, *Greek Literature* p. 232. For the double meaning of πρόσσοι, "do (perhaps here *sens. obsc.*) and "faire," cf. Plato, *Apol.* 40 A.

<sup>b</sup> Or simply, "any one picked from the good Athenians," the adjective χρηστών "good" may be sarcastic.

<sup>c</sup> Hiller 96, who discusses the passage at some length. See also Nauck's edition of Euripides i p. xix, note 2. For the epigram here attributed to Sophocles see *P.L.G.* <sup>4</sup> i 244, Diehl i. 67.

<sup>d</sup> The χλαρίς was of finer material than the ἱμάτιον.

<sup>e</sup> The well-known Aesopic fable of the dispute between the two as to which was the more powerful. Babrius 18 1. Avienus 4, Suidas s. σισύρα, Lafontaine vi 2.

Βορρᾶς ὠμίλησε. σὺ δ' οὐ σοφός, ὃς τὸν Ἔρωτα  
ἄλλοτρίαν σπείρων λωποδύτην ἀπάγεις

Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν συληθέντων ἐκ  
5 Δελφῶν Χρημάτων Ἀσώπιχόν φησι τὸν Ἐπα-  
μινώνδου ἐρώμενον τὸ Λευκτρικὸν τρόπαιον ἐντε-  
τυπωμένον ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος καὶ θαυμαστῶς  
αὐτὸν κινδυνεύειν, ἀνακείσθαι τε τὴν ἀσπίδα ταύτην  
ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐν τῇ στοᾷ. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ συγγράμ-  
ματι Θεόπομπος φιλογύναιον μὲν φησι γεγονέναι  
Φάυλλον<sup>1</sup> τὸν Φωκέων τύραννον, φιλόπαιδα δὲ  
Ἵνιόμαρχον· καὶ ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίσασθαι  
τοῦτον εἰς Δελφούς παραγενομένῳ . . <sup>2</sup> τῷ Πυ-  
θοδώρου τοῦ Σικυωνίου νιῷ ἀποκειρομένῳ<sup>3</sup> τὴν  
6 κόμην, ὄντι καλῶ συγγενόμενον τὰ Συβαριτῶν  
ἀναθήματα, στλεγγίδια χρυσᾶ τέσσαρα. τῇ Δει-  
νιάδου δὲ αὐλητρίδι Βρομιάδι<sup>4</sup> Φάυλλος καρχήσιον  
ἀργυροῦν Φωκαέων καὶ στέφανον<sup>5</sup> χρυσοῦν κιττοῦ  
Πεπαρηθίων “ αὕτη<sup>6</sup> δέ, φησί, καὶ ἔμελλε τὰ  
Πύθια αὐλεῖν, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ<sup>7</sup> τοῦ πλήθους ἐκωλύθη  
τῷ δὲ Λυκόλα τοῦ<sup>8</sup> Τριχονεῖου<sup>9</sup> νιῷ Φυσκίδα<sup>10</sup> ὄντι

<sup>1</sup> Musurus φύλλον A

<sup>2</sup> The boy's name is lost.

<sup>3</sup> ἀποκερουμένῳ Kaibel.

<sup>4</sup> Dindorf. βρομιαδία A, Βρομιά Musurus

<sup>5</sup> Casaubon. καισ νον A.

<sup>6</sup> Cobet. αὐτῇ A

<sup>7</sup> Musurus. ἐπὶ A

<sup>8</sup> τῷ before τοῦ deleted by Kaibel

<sup>9</sup> Kaibel. τριχολέου A

<sup>10</sup> φυσκίδα A.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. as being no better than a foot-pad, λωποδύτης is a snatch-thief, specializing in the stealing of cloaks. Euripides by his adultery had made Love a thief. The verb ἀπάγεις plays on the double meaning “lure” (above, 604 d) and “arrest” (of summary legal action).

not so clever, because when sowing in another's field you bring Eros into court for thieving" <sup>a</sup>

Theopompus in his treatise *On the Funds plundered from Delphi* says <sup>b</sup> that Asopichus, the favourite of Epameinondas, had the trophy erected at Leuctia pictured on his shield, and that he risked extraordinary dangers; this shield was dedicated as a votive offering in the colonnade at Delphi <sup>c</sup>. In the same treatise Theopompus says that Phayllus, the tyrant of Phocis, was fond of women, Onomarchus, of boys; and from the treasures of Apollo the latter gave the offerings of the Sybautes, four golden strigils, to . . ., the son of Pythodorus of Sicyon, who had come to Delphi to dedicate his shorn locks, <sup>d</sup> and who, being beautiful, had accorded his favours to Onomarchus. To the flute-girl Bromias, daughter of Demiades, Phayllus gave a silver karchesion, <sup>e</sup> a votive offering of the Phocaeans, and an ivy wreath of gold the offering of the Peparethians. "This girl," Theopompus says, "would even have played the flute accompaniment to the Pythian Games had she not been prevented from doing so by the populace. And (he adds) to Physcidas, the son of Lycolas of Tri-

<sup>b</sup> *F.H.G.* i. 308, J. 2 B 588, G. and H. 240

<sup>c</sup> Epameinondas's victory over the Spartans at Leuctra occurred 371 B.C.

<sup>d</sup> See Frazer, *Pausanias* v. 282-286. The colonnade lies east of the temple of Apollo. W. B. Dinsmoor dates it c. 506 B.C.

<sup>e</sup> A ceremony performed by boys on attaining their majority (at the age of eighteen), by girls when they were married.

<sup>f</sup> See vol. v pp. 94-98, and Plate 2; for the loot obtained by the raiders of Delphi in the Sacred War, 355 B.C., see vol. iii pp. 40-48.

αλῶ Ὀνόμαρχος<sup>1</sup> ἔδωκεν, φησί, στέφανον χρυσοῦν<sup>2</sup> ἀφνης, Ἐφεσίων ἀνάθημα οὗτος ὁ παῖς πρὸς Ἰλιπποῖν ἀχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς κάκει προαγωγόμενος οὐδὲν λαβὼν ἀπεστάλη τῷ Ἐπιλύκου οὐ Ἀμφιπολίτου υἱῷ ὄντι καλῶ Δαμίππῳ . .<sup>3</sup> Ἰλεισθένους<sup>4</sup> ἀνάθημα Ὀνόμαρχος<sup>1</sup> ἔδωκε. Φαρσαλία τῇ Θεσσαλίδι ὀρχηστρίδι δάφνης στέφανον χρυσοῦν Φιλόμηλος ἔδωκε, Λαμψακηνῶν ἀνάθημα. ὣτη ἡ Φαρσαλία ἐν Μεταποντίῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἰγορᾷ μάντεων,<sup>5</sup> γενομένης φωνῆς ἐκ τῆς δάφνης ἥς χαλκῆς ἦν ἔστησαν Μεταποντῖνοι κατὰ τὴν Αριστέα τοῦ Προκονησίου ἐπιδημίαν, ὅτ' ἔφησεν ἔξ Ὑπερβορέων παραγεγονέναι, ὡς τάχιστα ὥφθη ἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμβαλοῦσα, ἔμμανῶν γενομένων τῶν μάντεων διεσπάσθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν.<sup>6</sup> καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἵστερον ἀναζητούντων τὴν αἰτίαν εὗρέθη διὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ στέφανον ἀνηρημένην.<sup>7</sup>

Ὅρατε οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ φιλόσοφοι, οἱ παρὰ βύσιν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ χρώμενοι καὶ ἀσεβοῦντες εἰς τὴν θεόν, μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν διαφθαρῆτε τρόπον. τότε γὰρ καὶ οἱ παῖδές εἰσιν καλοί, ὡς Γλυκέρα ἔφασκεν ἡ ἑταῖρα, ὅσον εἰκόλασι γυναικὶ<sup>7</sup> χρόνον, καθάπερ

<sup>1</sup> ὁ νόμαρχος A.

<sup>2</sup> χρυσοῦν added by Meineke, following Schweighauser

<sup>3</sup> Lacuna marked by Schweighauser.

<sup>4</sup> Κλεισθένους Meineke.

<sup>5</sup> νεανιῶν Schweighauser, following Plutarch.

<sup>6</sup> ὑπ' αὐτῶν deleted by Kaibel.

<sup>7</sup> γυναικὶ AC· γυναιξὶ Meineke.

<sup>a</sup> In Aetolia Polybius and Strabo have the form Τριχώνιον; see critical note 9, p. 260.

choneium,<sup>a</sup> a beautiful boy, Onomarchus gave a laurel wreath of gold, votive offering of the Ephesians. This boy was taken to Philip by his father and was there prostituted, and afterwards dismissed without reward. To Damippus, the son of Epilycus of Amphipolis, a beautiful boy, Onomarchus gave . . ., a votive offering of Pleisthenes.<sup>b</sup> To Pharsalia, the Thessalian dancing-girl, Philomelus<sup>c</sup> gave a laurel crown of gold, a votive offering of the Lampsacenes.<sup>d</sup> This Pharsalia lost her life in Metapontium at the hands of the soothsayers in the market-place; for a voice had issued from the bronze bay-tree which the Metapontines had set up when Aristeas of Proconesus visited them and declared that he had come from the land of the Hyperboreans; and no sooner was she spied setting foot in the market-place than the soothsayers became furious, and she was pulled to pieces by them. And when people later came to look into the cause it was found that she had been killed because of the wreath which belonged to the god."

So beware, you philosophers who indulge in passion contrary to nature, who sin against the goddess of love,—beware lest you also are destroyed in the same manner. For even boys are handsome, as the courtesan Glycera, in the account given by Clearchus, was wont to say, only so long as they look like a

<sup>b</sup> Not otherwise known. Possibly we should read Cleisthenes, see critical note 4.

<sup>c</sup> Athen. 264 c (vol. iii. p. 188).

<sup>d</sup> Plut. 397 f ascribes the offering to the Cnidian. He also says that lads in the market-place caused her death in their struggles to possess the gold wreath. On the journey of Aristeas to the Hyperboreans after it had been reported that he was dead see Herod. iv. 13-15, with How and Wells's note. Aristeas wrote a poem *Ἀριμάσπεια* describing his adventures. Cf. Pind. frag. 271 (*P.L.G.*<sup>5</sup> i. 486).

ἱστορεῖ Κλέαρχος. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν  
δοκεῖ πεποιηκέναι Κλεώνυμος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης,  
πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων εἰς ὀμηρεῖαν<sup>1</sup> λαβὼν παρὰ Μετα-  
ποντίνων γυναικας καὶ παρθένους τὰς ἐνδοξοτάτας  
καὶ καλλίστας διακοσίας, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δοῦρις ὁ  
Σάμιος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν περὶ Ἀγαθοκλέα Ἱστοριῶν.  
κἀγὼ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἐπικράτους Ἀντιλαΐδα

τάρωτίκ' ἐκμεμάθηκα<sup>2</sup> ταῦτα παντελῶς  
Σαπφούς, Μελήτου,<sup>3</sup> Κλεομένους, Λαμυνθίου.

ὕμεις δέ, ὦ φιλόσοφοι, κἄν ἐρασθέντες ποτὲ γυ-  
ναικῶν ἐν ἐννοίᾳ λάβητε ὡς ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τὸ  
τυχεῖν, μάθετε .<sup>4</sup> παύονται οἱ ἔρωτες, ὥς  
φησι Κλέαρχος τῇ τε γὰρ περὶ τὴν Πειρήνην  
χαλκῇ βοὶ βοῦς ἐпанέβη καὶ γεγραμμένη κυνὶ καὶ  
περιστερᾷ καὶ χηνὶ τῇ μὲν κύων, τῇ δὲ περιστερᾷ,  
τῇ δὲ χῆν προσῆλθον καὶ ἐπεπήδησαν· φανέντων δὲ  
πᾶσι τούτοις ἀδυνάτων ἀπέστησαν, καθάπερ Κλεί-  
σοφος ὁ Σηλυμβριανός οὗτος γὰρ τοῦ ἐν Σάμῳ  
Παρίου ἀγάλματος ἐρασθεὶς κατέκλεισεν αὐτὸν ἐν  
τῷ ναῷ, ὡς πλησιάσαι δυνησόμενος<sup>5</sup> καὶ ὡς ἡδυ-  
νάτει διὰ τε τὴν ψυχρότητα καὶ τὸ ἀντίτυπον τοῦ  
λίθου, τηνικαῦτα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀπέστη καὶ προβαλ-

<sup>1</sup> ὀμηρεῖαν A.

<sup>2</sup> Dobree ἐρωτικά μεμάθηκα A

<sup>3</sup> Dobree μέλη τοῦ A

<sup>4</sup> Lacuna marked by Schweighäuser Kaibel conjectures  
ὅτι ἀδυνατοῦσι. Read ὅτι τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ?

<sup>5</sup> A: δυνάμενος CE.

<sup>a</sup> F H G. ii. 314.

<sup>b</sup> F H G. ii. 478, J. 2 A 144. Diod. ix. 104 says that  
Cleonymus, who had come with a large force to aid the  
Tarentines in their war against the Lucanians and Romans



woman <sup>a</sup> It was, in my opinion, quite in accordance with nature that Cleonymus the Spartan acted when he, the first of men so to do, took as hostages from the Metapontines two hundred of their most eminent and beautiful matrons and maidens, as Duris of Samos records <sup>b</sup> in the third book of his *History of Agathocles and his Times*; and what is more, to put it as Epicrates does in *Anti-Lais* <sup>c</sup>: "I have learned completely all the love-affairs of Sappho, Meletus, Cleomenes, and Lamynthius" But do you, my philosophers, if you ever fall in love with women and then see that it is impossible to attain your object, learn that (when love is impossible) it comes to an end, as Clearchus asserts <sup>d</sup> For example, a bull once mounted the bronze cow of Peirene; and a painted bitch, pigeon, and goose were approached, in the one case, by a dog, in the other, by a pigeon, in the last, by a gander leaping upon them, but when it became clear to all these creatures that their desires were impossible, they desisted, like Cleisophus of Selymbria For he, becoming enamoured of the statue in Parian marble at Samos, locked himself up in the temple, thinking he should be able to have intercourse with it; and since he found that impossible on account of the frigidity and resistance of the stone, he then and there desisted from that desire and placing before him a small piece of flesh he

(303 B C), seized the women, οὐχ οὕτω τῆς περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἀσφαλείας χάριν ὥς τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκεν λαγνείας, i. e. to satisfy his own lust.

<sup>c</sup> Kock II 284. For Meletus see vol. v. p. 502; for Lamynthius see above, 597 a (p. 217) Cleomenes may be the rhapsodist mentioned below, 620 d, 638 d, or the dithyrambic poet, 402 a (vol. iv. p. 320), Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 332.

<sup>d</sup> F.H.G. II. 314

## ATHENAEUS

λόμενός τι<sup>1</sup> σαρκίον ἐπλησίασεν τῆς πράξεως ταύτης μνημονεύει καὶ Ἄλεξις ὁ ποιητῆς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ δράματι Γραφή,<sup>2</sup> λέγων ὧδε

γεγένηται δ', ὡς λέγουσι,<sup>3</sup> κὰν Σάμῳ τοιοῦθ' ἕτερον. λιθίνης ἐπεθύμησεν κόρης ἄνθρωπος ἐγκατέκλεισέ θ' αὐτὸν<sup>4</sup> τῷ νεῷ.

καὶ Φιλήμων τοῦ αὐτοῦ μνημονεύων φησίν·

ἀλλ' ἐν Σάμῳ μὲν τοῦ<sup>5</sup> λιθίνου ζώου<sup>6</sup> ποτὲ ἄνθρωπος ἡράσθη τις· εἶπ' εἰς τὸν νεῶν κατέκλεισεν αὐτόν

Κτησικλέους δ' ἐστὶν ἔργον τὸ ἄγαλμα, ὥς φησιν Ἀδαῖος ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀγαλματοποιῶν. Πολέμων δὲ ἢ ὁ ποιήσας τὸν ἐπιγραφόμενον Ἑλλαδικὸν “ἐν Δελφοῖς, φησίν, ἐν τῷ<sup>7</sup> Σπινατῶν<sup>8</sup> θησαυρῷ παῖδές εἰσιν λίθινοι δύο, ὧν τοῦ ἐτέρου Δελφοί φασι τῶν θεωρῶν ἐπιθυμήσαντά τινα συγκατακλεισθῆναι καὶ τῆς ὀμιλίας μισθόν<sup>9</sup> καταλιπεῖν στέφανον φωραθέντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν χρωμένοις τοῖς Δελφοῖς συντάξαι ἀφεῖναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον· δεδωκέναι γὰρ αὐτὸν μισθόν.”

Καὶ ἄλογα δὲ ζῶα ἀνθρώπων ἡράσθη· Σεκούνδου μὲν τινος βασιλικοῦ οἰνοχόου ἀλεκτρυῶν· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ὁ μὲν ἀλεκτρυῶν Κένταυρος, ὁ δὲ Σεκούνδος ἦν

consorted with that. This deed is mentioned by the poet Alexis in the play entitled *A Picture*<sup>a</sup>: "Another case of a like sort occurred, they say, in Samos. A man conceived a passion for a stone maiden, and locked himself up in the temple" And Philemon, mentioning the same, says<sup>b</sup>. "Why, once on a time, in Samos, a man fell in love with the stone image; thereupon he locked himself in the temple" Now the statue is the work of Ctesicles, as Adaeus of Mytilene says in his work *On Sculptors*.<sup>c</sup> But Polemon, or whoever wrote the work entitled *Of Hellas*, says<sup>d</sup> that "at Delphi, in the treasury of the Spinatae,<sup>e</sup> are two lads carved in stone; for one of these, the Delphians say, a pilgrim<sup>f</sup> to the shrine once conceived a passion and locked himself up with it, leaving behind him a wreath as the price of the intercourse. When his act was detected the god ordained to the Delphians who consulted his oracle that they should release the fellow; for, the god declared, he had paid the price."

What is more, dumb animals have fallen in love with human beings: a cock fell in love with a certain Secundus, royal wine-pourer; the cock was called Centaur, and Secundus was a slave of Nicomedes,

<sup>a</sup> Kock II. 312. Cf. the story of Pygmalion and Galatea, Ovid, *Met.* x. 243.

<sup>b</sup> Kock II. 521.

<sup>c</sup> For Adaeus cf. 210 b (vol. II. p. 448).

<sup>d</sup> Preller 56.

<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants of Spina, on the Po River; see critical note 8.

<sup>f</sup> The word *θεωρός* includes the notion of official delegate sent to represent his country at a festival, as well as that of ordinary worshipper.

<sup>7</sup> Dalechamps: ἡ ἐν τῷ Α.

<sup>8</sup> Meineke *πινάκων* Α.

<sup>9</sup> *μισθόν* added by Schweighauser (cf. below).

οἰκέτης Νικομήδους τοῦ Βιθυνῶν βασιλέως, ὡς  
c ἱστορεῖ Νίκανδρος ἐν ἔκτῳ Περιπετειῶν. ἐν  
Αἰγίῳ<sup>1</sup> δὲ παιδὸς ἡράσθη χήν, ὡς Κλέαρχος ἱστορεῖ  
ἐν πρώτῳ Ἑρωτικῶν. τὸν δὲ παῖδα τοῦτον Θεό-  
φραστος ἐν τῷ Ἑρωτικῷ Ἀμφίλοχον καλεῖσθαι  
φησι καὶ τὸ γένος Ὠλένιον εἶναι Ἑρμείας δ' ὁ τοῦ  
Ἑρμοδώρου, Σάμιος δὲ γένος, ἐρασθῆναι Λακύνδους  
τοῦ φιλοσόφου ἐν δὲ Λευκαδίᾳ φησὶν Κλέαρχος  
οὕτως ἐρασθῆναι ταῶν παρθένου ὡς καὶ τὸν βίον  
ἐκλιπούση συναποθανεῖν. δελφῖνα δ' ἐν Ἰασῷ  
παιδὸς ἐρασθῆναι λόγος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δοῦρις ἐν τῇ  
ἐνάτῃ. ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ περὶ<sup>2</sup> Ἀλεξάνδρου  
d καὶ λέγει οὕτως· “μετεπέμψατο δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς  
Ἰασοῦ παῖδα. περὶ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην Διονύσιός  
τις ἦν παῖς, ὃς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκ παλαιστρας  
παραγινόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐκολύμβη δελφίς  
δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους ἀπήντα καὶ  
ἀναλαμβάνων ἐπὶ τὰ νῶτα ἔφερεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον  
νηχόμενος καὶ πάλιν ἀποκαθίστα εἰς τὴν γῆν.”  
φιλανθρωπότατον δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ συνετώτατον ζῶον<sup>3</sup> ὁ  
e δελφίς χάριν τε ἀποδιδόναι ἐπιστάμενον. Φύλαρχος  
ε γοῦν ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ “Κοίρανος, φησὶν, ὁ Μιλή-  
σιος ἰδὼν ἀλιέας τῷ δικτύῳ λαβόντας δελφῖνα καὶ  
μέλλοντας κατακόπτειν ἀργύριον δοῦς καὶ παρ-  
<sup>1</sup> Aelian ἐναγειω A <sup>2</sup> ὁ before περὶ deleted by early edd  
<sup>3</sup> ζῶον C τὸ ζῶον A.

<sup>a</sup> Of Chalcedon, *F.H.G.* iv. 462. The work apparently dealt with the vicissitudes of the Bithynian kings. The king here was probably Nicomedes II (149–148 B.C.), cf. 496 e (vol. v p. 214). Aelian, *N.A.* vii 37, tells the same story, citing Philo.

<sup>b</sup> *F.H.G.* ii. 314; so Aelian, *N.A.* v 29, on the authority of Theophrastus.

the king of Bithymia, as recorded by Nicander <sup>a</sup> in the sixth book of his *Catastrophes*. In Aegium a goose fell in love with a boy, as Clearchus records in the first book of his *Love Stories*.<sup>b</sup> Of this boy Theophrastus in his essay *On Love* says <sup>c</sup> that he was named Amphilochous and that his family was from Olenê <sup>d</sup>: and Hermeias, the son of Hermodorus, a Samian by birth, says that a goose became enamoured of the philosopher Lacydes. In Leucadia, again, Clearchus says,<sup>e</sup> a peacock was so much in love with a maiden that when she departed this life it died with her. There is a story in Iasus that a dolphin fell in love with a boy, as Durius records in his ninth book <sup>f</sup>. He is talking about Alexander, and his account follows. "He summoned also the boy of Iasus. For near this city lived a boy named Dionysius who, in company with the other boys of the wrestling-school, went to the seashore and began to dive in. A dolphin came up to him out of the sea, and taking him on his back swam off with him a very great distance, setting him down again safely on the shore." Moreover, the dolphin is a most friendly animal to man and extremely intelligent, and knows how to repay kindness with gratitude. Phylarchus, at any rate, says in the twelfth book <sup>g</sup>: "Coeranus of Miletus saw that some fishermen had caught a dolphin in their net and were on the point of cutting it up; after entreating them and paying

<sup>a</sup> Frag. 109 Wimmer.

<sup>d</sup> In Elis.

<sup>e</sup> *F.H.G.* II. 314.

<sup>f</sup> *F.H.G.* II. 473, J. 2 A 140, Plut. 1205, Aelian, *N.A.* vi 15, Pliny, *N.H.* ix 8, Pliny, *Ep.* ix. 33. See A. Marx, *Gr. Märchen v. dankbaren Tieren* pp 5-29

<sup>g</sup> *F.H.G.* I. 340, J. 2 A 168, cf Plut 985 A, Aelian, *N.A.* viii 3.

αιτησάμενος<sup>1</sup> ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ μετὰ  
 ταῦτα ναυαγία χρησάμενος περὶ Μύκονον καὶ  
 πάντων ἀπολωμένων<sup>2</sup> μόνος ὑπὸ δελφίνος ἐσώθη ὁ  
 Κοίρανος. τελευτήσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ γηραιοῦ ἐν τῇ  
 πατρίδι καὶ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν γιγνο-  
 μένης κατὰ τύχην ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ, ἐν τῷ λιμένι  
 πλῆθος δελφίνων ἐφάνη ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ μικρὸν  
 f ἀπωτέρω τῶν συνεκκομιζόντων τὸν Κοίρανον,  
 ὥσεί συνεκφερόντων καὶ συγκεδηυόντων τὸν ἄν-  
 θρωπον.' ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ Φύλαρχος διὰ τῆς  
 εἰκοστῆς ὅσῃν ἐλέφας τὸ ζῶον φιλοστοργίαν ἔσχεν  
 εἰς παιδίον. γράφει δ' οὕτως· "τοῦτ' ὅτε τῷ  
 ἐλέφαντι συνετρέφετο θήλεια ἐλέφας ἦν Νίκαιαν  
 ἐκάλουν· ᾧ τελευτώσα ἡ τοῦ τρέφοντος<sup>3</sup> Ἰνδοῦ γυνή  
 παιδίον αὐτῆς τριακοσταῖον παρακατέθετο. ἀπο-  
 θανούσης δὲ τῆς ἀνθρώπου δεινὴ τις φιλοστοργία  
 γέγονε τοῦ θηρίου πρὸς τὸ παιδίον· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπ'  
 αὐτοῦ χωριζόμενον τὸ βρέφος ὑπέμενε, τὸ δὲ<sup>4</sup> εἰ  
 μὴ ῥέποι τὸ παιδίον ἤσχαλλεν. ὅτ' οὖν ἡ τροφὸς  
 ἐμπλήσειεν αὐτὸ γάλακτος,<sup>5</sup> ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ποδῶν  
 07 τοῦ θηρίου ἐτίθει αὐτὸ ἐν σκάφῃ<sup>6</sup> εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτο  
 πεποιήκοι,<sup>7</sup> τροφήν οὐκ ἐλάμβανεν ἡ ἐλέφας. καὶ  
 μετὰ ταῦτα δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας τοὺς καλάμους  
 λαμβάνων ἐκ<sup>8</sup> τῶν παρατιθεμένων χορτασμάτων  
 καθεύδοντας τοῦ βρέφους τὰς μυίας ἀπесόβει· ὅτε  
 δὲ κλαίοι, τῇ προβοσκίδι τὴν σκάφην ἐκίνει καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Dobree · παραστησάμενος A.

<sup>2</sup> Casaubon · ἀπολωμένων A

<sup>3</sup> τρέφοντος CE, Aelian: om. A

<sup>4</sup> Wilamowitz. ὁ δὲ ACE.

<sup>5</sup> CE · τοῦ γάλακτος A

<sup>6</sup> CE Aelian, cf. below · σκάφει A

<sup>7</sup> CE · πεποιήκει A.

<sup>8</sup> Kaibel καὶ A, om CE.

them money he let the dolphin go in the sea. Some time later he met with shipwreck off Myconos, and when all the rest were lost, Coeranus alone was saved by a dolphin <sup>a</sup>. When he died in old age in his native city his funeral chanced to take place in Miletus by the seashore; and a school of dolphins appeared that day in the harbour, a short distance from the company attending the remains of Coeranus, just as if they were joining in the funeral and the mourning for the man." Phylarchus, again, records in the twentieth book what great affection the animal known as the elephant <sup>b</sup> had for a baby. He writes as follows <sup>c</sup>: "With this elephant was kept a female elephant which they called Nicaea; when the wife of the Indian keeper was dying she placed her month-old baby in its care. On the woman's death a remarkable affection for the child arose in the animal; in fact she could not endure the baby's being separated from her, and she was distressed whenever the baby was out of her sight. So, whenever the nurse had satisfied the child with milk, she would place it in its cradle right between the animal's feet. Whenever she failed to do this, the elephant would refuse to take food. Then, throughout the hvelong day, she would take the stalks from the fodder set before her and brush away the flies from the baby while it slept; and whenever it cried, she would rock the cradle with her trunk and put it to sleep.

<sup>a</sup> Hence, according to Plut. *loc. cit.*, the verse of Archilochus (frag 117 Diehl)· πεντήκοντ' ἀνδρῶν λίπε Κοίρανον ἥπιος Ποσειδῶν

<sup>b</sup> The word ἐλέφας in earlier Greek meant ivory, hence, perhaps, the specifying phrase ἐλέφας τὸ ζῶον.

<sup>c</sup> *F.H.G.* 1 343, J. 2 A 171; Aelian, *N.A.* xi 14, adds interesting details

κατεκοίμιζεν αὐτό. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ ἐποίει καὶ ὁ ἄρρην  
ἐλέφας πολλάκις "

Ἰμεῖς δέ, ὦ φιλόσοφοι, καὶ τῶν δελφίνων καὶ  
τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἔστε κατὰ τὴν γνώμην ἀγριώτεροι  
ἔτι τε ἀνημερώτεροι, καίτοι Περσαίου τοῦ Κιτιέως  
b ἐν τοῖς Συμποτικοῖς Ἰπομνήμασιν βοῶντος καὶ  
λέγοντος " περὶ ἀφροδισίων ἀρμολογῶν εἶναι ἐν τῷ  
οἴνῳ μνείαν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ γὰρ πρὸς ταῦτα ἡμᾶς  
ὅταν ὑποπίωμεν ἐπιρρεπεῖς εἶναι καὶ ἐνταῦθα  
τοὺς μὲν ἡμέρως τε καὶ μετρίως αὐτοῖς χρωμένους  
ἐπαινεῖν δεῖ, τοὺς δὲ θηριωδῶς καὶ ἀπλήστως  
ψέγειν. καὶ εἰ διαλεκτικοὶ συνελθόντες εἰς πότον  
περὶ συλλογισμῶν διαλέγοντο, ἄλλοτρίως ἂν αὐ-  
τοὺς ὑπολάβοι τις ποιεῖν τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ, ὅτε<sup>1</sup>  
καὶ ὁ καλὸς καγαθὸς ἀνὴρ μεθυσθείη ἂν οἱ δὲ  
' βουλόμενοι σωφρονικοὶ εἶναι σφόδρα μέχρι τινὸς  
c διατηροῦσιν ἐν τοῖς πότοις τὸ τοιοῦτον· εἴθ' ὅταν  
παρεισδυῇ<sup>2</sup> τὸ οἰνάριον, τὴν πᾶσαν ἀσχημοσύνην ἐπι-  
δείκνυνται· ὁ καὶ πρῶν ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἀρ-  
καδίας θεωρῶν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον παραγενομένων  
ἐκεῖνοι<sup>3</sup> γὰρ ἡρίστων σφόδρα σκυθρωπῶς καὶ εὐσχη-  
μόνως, ὡς ᾤοντο, οὐχ ὅτι ἡμῶν τινα προσ-  
βλέποντες, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀλλήλους. ὡς δὲ ὁ πότος  
προέβαινε καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ἄλλα τε ἀκροάματα καὶ αἱ  
Θετταλαὶ αὐταὶ ὀρχηστρίδες, καθάπερ αὐταῖς ἔθος  
ἐστίν, ἐν ταῖς διαζώστραις γυμναὶ ὠρχοῦντο, οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> ὅτε added by Kaibel καὶ ὁ καλὸς γὰρ καγαθὸς ἀνὴρ C.

<sup>2</sup> παρεισδυῇ Cobet: παραδύηi ACE.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκεῖνοι B, Musurus· ἐκεῖνοι τε A.

<sup>a</sup> See F.H.G. ii. 623, Athen. 140 b, 162 b (vol. ii. pp. 138, 236), S.V.F. i. 100. The derisive words of Myrtilus, the speaker here, are directed against the hypocrisy of



And the same thing was often done by the male elephant also "

You, however, my philosophers, are more cruel and more untamed in your hearts than dolphins and elephants, although Persaeus of Citium in his *Convivial Notes* loudly proclaims<sup>a</sup> that " it is appropriate for a man in his cups to make mention of sexual matters ; for, he said, we are naturally prone to this when we tipple. In those circumstances those who indulge in them in a gentlemanly and moderate fashion are to be praised, but those who do it in beastly and insatiate ways are to be blamed. And if men skilled in dialectic should converse on the subject of syllogisms when they have gathered for a drinking-party, one might protest that they were acting in a way alien to the occasion, when even a polite gentleman might get drunk. Moreover, people who desire very earnestly to be sober maintain that ideal up to a certain point in their drinking-parties ; later, when the spirit of the wine insinuates itself,<sup>b</sup> then they display the entire picture of indecency, this actually happened the other day when the delegation from Arcadia visited Antigonus.<sup>c</sup> For they were breakfasting very solemnly and decently, according to their notions, not only not glancing at any of us, but even casting no looks at one another. But when the drinking was going on apace and there entered, among other entertaining shows, those Thessalian dancing-girls who danced. as their custom is, in loin-cloths without other covering, the men could no longer the Stoics. Persaeus was a pupil of Zeno, cf Diog. Laert. vii 1 8

<sup>b</sup> Lit " slips in the wrong way.", Clem Alex *Paed* ii 2 (1. 174 12 Stahlm), ἀκροσφαλῆς ἢ τοῦ οἴνου παρείσδυσις.

<sup>c</sup> Gonatas.

d ἔτι κατεΐχον αὐτοὺς οἱ ἄνδρες, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῶν κλινῶν ἀνώρμων καὶ ἐβόων ὡς θαυμαστόν τι θέαμα θεώμενοι καὶ μακάριον τὸν βασιλέα ἀπεκάλουν ὅτι ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ τούτων ἀπολαύειν, καὶ ἕτερα τούτοις παραπλήσια πάνυ πολλὰ τῶν φορτικῶν ἐποιοῦν. τῶν φιλοσόφων δέ τις συμπίνων ἡμῖν εἰσελθούσης αὐλητρίδος καὶ οὔσης εὐρυχωρίας παρ' αὐτῷ, βουλομένης τῆς παιδίσκης παρακαθίσαι οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν, ἀλλὰ σκληρὸν αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> εἰσήγεν εἰθ' ὕστερον πωλομένης τῆς αὐλητρίδος, καθάπερ ἔθος ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς πότοις γίνεσθαι, ἐν τῷ<sup>2</sup> ἀγοράζειν πάνυ νεανικὸς<sup>3</sup> ἦν καὶ τῷ πωλοῦντι, ἄλλω τινὶ θάπτον προσθέντι,<sup>4</sup> ἡμφισβήτει καὶ οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸν πεπρακέναι· καὶ τέλος εἰς πυγμὰς ἦλθεν ὁ σκληρὸς ἐκεῖνος φιλόσοφος καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ οὐδ' ἂν παρακαθίσαι ἐπιτρέπων τῇ αὐλητρίδι.” μήποτε αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ<sup>5</sup> Περσαῖος ὁ περὶ τῆς αὐλητρίδος διαπυκτεύσας· φησὶν γὰρ Αντίγονος ὁ Καρύστιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ζήνωνος γράφον ὧδε· “ Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεὺς Περσαίου παρὰ πότον αὐλητρίδιον πριαμένου καὶ διοκνοῦντος εἰσαγαγεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ τὴν αὐτὴν οἰκεῖν f οἰκίαν, συναισθόμενος εἰσείλκυσε<sup>6</sup> τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ συγκατέκλεισε τῷ Περσαίῳ.” οἶδα δὲ καὶ Πολύστρατον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, μαθητὴν δὲ Θεοφράστου, τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Τυρρηνόν, ὅτι τῶν αὐλητρίδων τὰ ἱμάτια περιέδυνεν.

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν A<sup>2</sup> ἐν τῷ Musurus · ἐν τε τῷ A<sup>3</sup> Casaubon · νεανίσκος A.<sup>4</sup> Casaubon · προσθέντος A<sup>5</sup> ὁ deleted by Kaibel<sup>6</sup> Kaibel συνείλκυσε A

<sup>a</sup> Lit. “staged himself (like an actor) as a hard person.” For the phrase cf. Aristot *Rhet.* iii. 16. 10, εἰσάγαγε σεαυτὸν ποῖόν τινα.  
<sup>b</sup> Lit. “youthful”; see critical note 3

restrain themselves, but started up from their couches and shouted aloud at the wonderful sight they were seeing ; and they hailed the king as a happy man because he was privileged to enjoy these things, and they proceeded to commit very many other vulgarities similar to that. There was a philosopher drinking with us ; and when a flute-girl entered and desired to sit beside him, although there was plenty of room for the girl at his side, he refused to permit it, and assumed an attitude of insensibility <sup>a</sup>. But later, when the flute-girl was put up for the highest bidder, as is the custom in drinking-bouts, he became very vehement <sup>b</sup> during the bargaining, and when the auctioneer too quickly assigned the girl to some one else, he expostulated with him, denying that he had completed the sale, and finally that insensible philosopher came to blows, although at the beginning he would not permit the flute-girl even to sit beside him ”. Possibly it was Persaeus himself who got into the fist-fight over the flute-girl ; for Antigonus of Carystus mentions him in his work *On Zeno*, writing as follows <sup>c</sup> : “ Zeno of Citium, when Persaeus bought a little <sup>d</sup> flute-player at a drinking-party, but hesitated to take her home because he lived in the same house with Zeno, no sooner perceived this than he pulled the lass into the house and shut her up with Persaeus.” I know, too, of Polystratus of Athens, nicknamed the Etruscan, <sup>e</sup> and a disciple of Theophrastus, that he used to clothe himself in the garments of the flute-girls.

<sup>c</sup> Wilamowitz 117.

<sup>d</sup> The diminutive is used in contempt, cf Plato, *Symp.* 215 c *φαιδῶν αἰδωτέρῃς*, Theopomp ap. Athen. 532 d (v 402).

<sup>e</sup> Cf the customs of the Etruscans, Athen. 517 d (vol. v. p. 328).

## ATHENAEUS

Ἐσπουδάκεσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς περὶ τὰς μουσουργούς, ὡς δῆλον ποιεῖ Παρμενίων ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον Ἐπιστολῇ ἣν ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸ Δαμασκὸν ἐλεῖν καὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς τῆς Δαρείου ἐγκρατῆς γενέσθαι. καταριθμησάμενος οὖν τὰ αἰχμάλωτα γράφει καὶ ταῦτα “ παλλακίδας εὖρον μουσουργοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως τριακοσίας εἴκοσι ἐννέα, ἄνδρας στεφανοπλόκους ἕξ καὶ τεσσαράκοιτα, ὀψοποιοὺς διακοσίους ἐβδομήκοντα ἑπτὰ, χυτρεψοὺς εἴκοσι ἐννέα, γαλακτουργοὺς τρεισκαίδεκα, ποτηματοποιοὺς ἑπτακαίδεκα, οἰνοθητὰς ἐβδομήκοντα, μυροποιοὺς τεσσαράκοντα.”

Καὶ ὑμῖν δέ, ὦ ἐταῖροι, λέγω ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστιν ὀφθαλμῶν<sup>1</sup> οὕτως εὐφραντικὸν ὡς γυναικὸς κάλλος. ὁ γοῦν τοῦ τραγικοῦ Χαιρήμονος Οἰνεὺς περὶ παρθένων τινῶν διηγούμενος ὧν ἐθεᾶτό<sup>2</sup> φησιν ἐν τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ δράματι

ἔκειτο γὰρ ἡ<sup>3</sup> μὲν λευκὸν εἰς σεληνόφως φαίνουσα μαστὸν λελυμένης ἐπωμίδος, τῆς δ' αὖ χορεία<sup>4</sup> λαγόνα τὴν ἀριστεράν ἔλυσεν· γυμνή<sup>5</sup> δ' αἰθέρος θεάμασιν ζῶσαν γραφὴν ἔφαινε· χρῶμα δ' ὄμμασι λευκὸν μελαίνης ἔργον ἀντητύγει<sup>6</sup> σκιᾶς. ἄλλη δ' ἐγύμνου καλλιχείρας ὠλένας, ἄλλης προσαμπέχουσα θῆλυν αὐχένα· ἡ δὲ ῥαγέντων χλανιδίων<sup>7</sup> ὑπὸ πτύχας<sup>8</sup> ἔφαινε μηρόν, καῖεπεσφραγίζετο ὥρας γελώσης χωρὶς ἐλπίδων ἔρως.

<sup>1</sup> ὀφθαλμοῖς lemma in A

<sup>2</sup> ἐτεθέατό Meineke

<sup>3</sup> γὰρ ἡ A: δ' ἡ Jacobs.

<sup>4</sup> Casaubon χορείασ A

<sup>5</sup> Valckenaer: γυμνῆσ A

Even princes were often excited over flute-girls and harp-girls, as is made clear by Parmenio in the *Letter to Alexander* dispatched to him after the capture of Damascus, when he came into possession of Darius's household goods <sup>a</sup> Having caused an inventory to be made of the captured stuff, he writes also the following "I discovered concubines of the king who played musical instruments, to the number of 329; men employed to weave chaplets, 46; caterers, 277; kettle-tenders, 29; pudding-makers, 13; bait-tenders, 17, wine-claifiers, 70, perfume-makers, 14."

And to you, my companions, I say that there is nothing so likely to delight the eyes as a woman's beauty The tragic poet Chaeremon's Oeneus, at any rate, in describing some girls whom he was gazing at, says in the play which bears his name <sup>b</sup> "One lay there displaying to the moonlight her white breast, her tunic slipped from her shoulder; of another girl, again, the left side had been loosed to view by the dance; bared to the eyes of the sky, it showed a living picture; its colour, so white to my eyes, outshone the effect of the shadowy darkness. Another girl had bared her fair arms and shoulders as she clasped the delicate neck of her companion; she, meanwhile, her robes all torn, showed her thigh from beneath its folds, and desire for that smiling loveliness was stamped upon my mind, but without hope. For-

<sup>a</sup> On Parmenion see Plut. *Alex.* 21. 4, 33. 6.

<sup>b</sup> *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 786. Hermann placed the first eleven verses after ἐξέτεινον αὐχένας below. Certainly the last six verses seem to be out of their right position.

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<sup>6</sup> Schweighauser: ἀνταυγεί A.

<sup>7</sup> Meineke, following Casaubon: δεκλαγεν τῶν χλανιδίων A.

<sup>8</sup> πτυχαῖς Nauck.

ὑπνωμέναι<sup>1</sup> δ' ἔπιπτον ἐλενίων ἔπι,  
ἴων τε μελανόφυλλα συγκλῶσαι πτερὰ  
κρόκον θ', ὃς ἡλιῶδες εἰς ὑφάσματα  
πέπλων σκιᾶς<sup>2</sup> εἶδωλον ἐξωμόργνυτο,<sup>3</sup>  
ἔρση<sup>4</sup> δὲ θαλερὸς ἐκτραφεὶς ἀμάρακος  
λειμῶσι μαλακοῦς<sup>5</sup> ἐξέτεινεν<sup>6</sup> αὐχέναν.

1 Ἐπικατάφορος δὲ ὢν ὁ ποιητῆς οὗτος ἐπὶ τὰ  
ἀνθη καὶ ἐν Ἀλφειβοῖα φησὶν

καὶ σώματος μὲν ὄψιν ἀντηυγάζετο<sup>7</sup>  
στίλβουσα<sup>8</sup> λευκῷ χρωτὶ<sup>9</sup> καὶ διαπρεπής.<sup>10</sup>  
αἰδῶς δ' ἐπερρύθμιζεν ἡπιώτατον  
ἐρύθημα λαμπρῷ προστιθεῖσα χρώματι  
κόμαι δὲ κηροχρῶτος<sup>11</sup> ὡς ἀγάλματος  
αὐτοῖσι βοστρύχοισιν ἐκπεπλασμένου<sup>12</sup>  
ξουθοῖσιν ἀνέμοις ἐνετρύφων φορούμεναι.<sup>13</sup>

ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἰοῖ ἔαρος τέκνα προσηγόρευε τὰ ἄνθη·

ἄνθηρου τέκνα

ἔαρος<sup>14</sup> πέριξ στρώσαντες.

ἐν δὲ Κενταύρῳ, ὅπερ δρᾶμα πολύμετρον ἐστίν,  
λειμῶνος τέκνα·

<sup>1</sup> Lobeck. ὑπτωμεναι (sic) A.

<sup>2</sup> Casaubon· οἰκίας A <sup>3</sup> Meineke· εισομοργνυται A.

<sup>4</sup> Bergk, ἔρσαις Lobeck· περσησ (sic) A.

<sup>5</sup> Wilamowitz, μαλακοῖς Grotius· μαλθακοῖσιν A.

<sup>6</sup> Scaliger· ἐξέτεινον A

<sup>7</sup> Hermann· ὄψεις κατειργάζετο A.

<sup>8</sup> Meineke· στίλβοντα A.

<sup>9</sup> Wagner· χρώματι A.

<sup>10</sup> καὶ διαπρεπής Meineke· διαπρεπῇ alone A.

<sup>11</sup> Wilamowitz· κηροχρῶτες A.

<sup>12</sup> Meineke· ἐκπεπλασμένοι A.

done with sleep they lay where they had thrown themselves, on beds of calamint,<sup>a</sup> after twining together the darkling petals of violets and the crocus, which had rubbed its sunny likeness<sup>b</sup> into the woven texture of their robes, and there sweet marjoram,<sup>c</sup> lush-grown by the dew, stretched forth its tender stalks in the meadows."

Now this poet, being attracted to flowers, has this also to say in *Alphesiboea*<sup>d</sup>. "Radiant and magnificent, her white skin shone resplendent in the vision of her body, yet modesty tempered the gentle blush with which she covered her brightness of colour; her long tresses, curls and all, as of some statue fashioned of wax, were tossed about luxuriantly in the humming breezes." And in his *Io* he called flowers "the children of the spring-time"<sup>e</sup> "The men had strewn all about the children of the flowering spring-time" But in *The Centaur*, a play written in many metres, they are "children of the meadow"<sup>f</sup>. "Thereupon

<sup>a</sup> A variety of mint or basil.

<sup>b</sup> The language is obscure. The epithet "sunny" refers to the colour of the robes (saffron), the phrase here rendered "likeness" is borrowed from Aesch. *Ag* 839 εἶδωλον σκιᾶς lit. "image of a shadow," cf. Soph. *Aj.* 126 εἶδωλα. ἡ κομφήν σκιάν.

<sup>c</sup> Friebel and Meineke thought this line belonged to the verses quoted below from *Alphesiboea*.

<sup>d</sup> *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 781 There is nothing about flowers in this passage, but the language is flowery enough. The text of all these passages is largely conjectural, and some of the verses have apparently been displaced from their original position.

<sup>e</sup> *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 784.

<sup>f</sup> *Ibid.* Aristot. *Poet.* 1447 b, says of this play: Κένταυρον, μκτὴν ραψωδίαν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν μέτρων See Bywater's note, p. 110

<sup>13</sup> Hermann. φορούμενοι A.

<sup>14</sup> Casaubon (cf. Eustath. 1658.56). ἄερος A.

ἐνθ' αἱ μὲν<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν εἰς ἀπείρονα στρατὸν  
ἀνθέων ἄλογχον<sup>2</sup> ἐστράτευσαν, ἡδοναῖς  
θηρώμεναι<sup>3</sup> θάλλοντα<sup>4</sup> λειμώνων τέκνα

ἐν δὲ Διονύσῳ

χορῶν ἐραστής κισσός, ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ παῖς.

περὶ δὲ ρόδων ἐν Ὀδυσσεὶ φησιν οὕτως·

κόμαισιν Ὠρῶν ὄμματ'<sup>5</sup> εὐανθῇ ρόδα  
εἶχον, τιθήνημ'<sup>6</sup> ἔαρος ἐκπρεπέστατον.

f καὶ ἐν Θυέστῃ·

ῥόδ' ὀξυφεγγῇ κρίνεσιν ἀργεῖνοῖς ὁμοῦ

ἐν δὲ Μινύαις<sup>7</sup>

πολλὴν ὀπώραν Κύπριδος εἰσορᾶν παρῆν,  
ἄκραισι<sup>8</sup> περκαΐζουσιν οἰνάνθαις χρόνον<sup>9</sup>

Ἐπὶ κάλλει δέ—“ ἔτι γὰρ<sup>10</sup> γέρων ἀοιδὸς κελαδεῖ  
Μναμοσύναν” κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην—διαβόητοι  
γεγόνασιν γυναῖκες Θαργηλία ἢ Μιλησία, ἥτις καὶ  
9 τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἀνδράσιν ἐγαμήθη, οὔσα καὶ τὸ  
εἶδος πάνυ καλὴ καὶ σοφὴ, ὥς φησιν Ἰππίας ὁ  
σοφιστὴς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Συναγωγῇ Δίνων  
δ' ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Περσικῶν τῆς πρώτης<sup>11</sup>  
συντάξεώς φησιν ὅτι ἡ Βαγαβάζου<sup>12</sup> γυνή, ἥτις ἦν

<sup>1</sup> Meineke· ἐνθεμέν A.

<sup>2</sup> Hermann, Meineke· ἀλόχων A.

<sup>3</sup> Schweighäuser· θηρώμενον A.

<sup>4</sup> θάλλοντα Cobet· τὰ A.

<sup>5</sup> Kaibel· σώματ' A.

<sup>7</sup> Μινύαι Nauck.

<sup>6</sup> τιθήνημα A.

<sup>8</sup> ἀβραῖσι Meineke.

<sup>9</sup> χρόα Wilamowitz, γένυν Kaibel.

<sup>10</sup> τοι Euripides.

<sup>11</sup> τρίτης Muller.

<sup>12</sup> Ruhl (cf. Pomp Trog. iii. 1. 5): βαγάζου A, Μεγαβύζου Muller.



some of the maidens charged upon the unnumbered, spearless host of flowers, hunting in their delight the lush children of the meadows." Again, in *Dionysus*<sup>a</sup>: "Ivy, that lover of the dancing choirs, child of the year." And of roses he speaks in his *Odysseus* as follows<sup>b</sup>. "In their long hair they wore the eyes of the Horae, lovely-flowered roses, splendid nurselings of the spring-time" In *Thyestes*<sup>c</sup>. "Roses of bright lustre, together with white lilies" And in *The Minyae*<sup>d</sup> "Love's fruit was there to be seen in abundance, darkling to the ripeness of youthful bloom at time's decree"

Many women have been renowned for beauty (indeed, as Euripides says,<sup>e</sup> "an aged baird can still celebrate Memory") Among them was Thargelia of Miletus, who had been married fourteen times, and who was very beautiful in looks as well as clever, according to the Sophist Hippias in his work entitled *A Collection*<sup>f</sup> Dinon, in the fifth book of his *Persian History*, first part, says<sup>g</sup> that the wife of Bagabazus,

<sup>a</sup> T.G.F.<sup>2</sup> 783.

<sup>b</sup> T.G.F.<sup>2</sup> 786.

<sup>c</sup> T.G.F.<sup>2</sup> 784.

<sup>d</sup> T.G.F.<sup>2</sup> 785. The title, according to K. O. Muller, denotes the Argonauts. Nauck, conjecturing Μινυάσαι, refers the plot to the story of the mad Minyan women in Aelian, *V.H.* iii 42. Text and interpretation are uncertain. I have retained χρόνον, believing the quotation to be incomplete. Cf. Pind. *Nem.* v. 6, of the youthful Pytheas: οὐπω γένυσσι φαίνων τέρειναν ματέρ' οἰνάνθας ὀπώραν, "or ever he showed on his cheeks the hue of summer, the soft harbinger of youthful bloom" (Sandys in L.C.L.); see Schroeder's note.

<sup>e</sup> *Heracles* 678.

<sup>f</sup> *F.H.G.* ii 61, J. 1. 157 Diels, *Vorsokr.* 584; cf. *Plut. Per.* 24

<sup>g</sup> *F.H.G.* ii. 93. Ctesias ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 39a 14 gives the woman's name as Ἀμντίς, and says she was the sister of Αἰταξέρξης, not of Xerxes.

ὁμοπάτριος Ξέρξου ἀδελφή, ὄνομα Ἀνοῦτις, καλλίστη ἦν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ γυναικῶν καὶ ἀκολαστοτάτῃ Φύλαρχος δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃ Τιμῶσάν φησι τὴν Ὀξυάρτου παλλακίδα πάσας γυναικάς ὑπερβεβληκέναι κάλλει. ταύτην δ' ἀπεστάλκει δῶρον ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς Στατίρα<sup>1</sup> τῇ βασιλέως γυναικί. Θεόπομπος δὲ ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ καὶ πεντηκοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν Ξενοπείθειαν<sup>2</sup> τὴν Λυσαιδρίδου μητέρα πασῶν τῶν κατὰ Πελοπόννησον γυναικῶν γεγονέναι καλλίονα. ἀπέκτειναν δὲ αὐτὴν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς Χρύσην, ὅτε καὶ τὸν Λυσανδρίδαν ἐχθρὸν ὄντα Ἀγησίλαος ὁ βασιλεὺς καταστασιάσας φυγαδευθῆναι ἐποίησεν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καλλίστη δ' ἦν καὶ Παντίκα ἢ Κυπρία, περὶ ἧς φησι Φύλαρχος ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν ὅτι παρ' Ὀλυμπιάδι οὖσαν τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου μητρὶ ἦται πρὸς γάμον Μόνιμος ὁ Πυθίωνος. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἦν ἀκόλαστος ἢ γυνή, ἔφη ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς· “ὦ πόνηρε, τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς γαμεῖς καὶ οὐ τῷ νῷ” καὶ τὴν καταγαγούσαν<sup>3</sup> δὲ Πεισίστρατον ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα, ὡς Ἀθηνᾶς Παλληνίδος εἶδος ἔχουσιν,<sup>4</sup> καλὴν φησι γεγονέναι, ἥτις καὶ τῇ θεῷ εἴκαστο τὴν μορφήν. στεφανόπωλις δ' ἦν· καὶ αὐτὴν ἐξέδωκε πρὸς γάμου κοινωνίαν ὁ Πεισίστρατος Ἱππάρχῳ

<sup>1</sup> στατίραι A: Στατεῖρα Brucknei.

<sup>2</sup> ξενοπειθειαν A.

<sup>3</sup> Kaibel κατάγουσαν A

<sup>4</sup> Παλληνίδος εἶδος ἔχουσιν Gulick (cf. Hdt. i. 62): πειραν εἶδος ἔχουσιν A, Σωτεῖρας εἶδος ἔχουσιν Valckenaer, πείραν [εἶδος] ἔχοντα (which I cannot interpret) Jacoby, ὡς Ἀθηνᾶ, δῆθεν CE.

who was a step-sister of Xerxes by the same father, and named Anoutis, was the most beautiful of all the women in Asia, and the most licentious. Phylarchus, in his nineteenth book, says <sup>a</sup> that Timôsa, the concubine of Olyartes, surpassed all other women in beauty. This girl had been sent as a present by the king <sup>b</sup> of Egypt to Statira, the king's wife. Again, Theopompus, in the fifty-sixth book of his *Histories*, says <sup>c</sup> that Xenopeitheia, the mother of Lysandridas, was more beautiful than all the other women of Peloponnesus. But the Lacedaemonians murdered her and her sister Chrysê when King Agesilaus, having defeated Lysandridas, who was his personal enemy, in party quarrels, caused him to be banished by the Lacedaemonians. Very beautiful, also, was Pantica of Cyprius, concerning whom Phylarchus says, <sup>d</sup> in the tenth book of his *Histories*, that when she was living at the court of Olympias, Alexander's mother, she was demanded in marriage by Monimus, the son of Pythion. But since the woman was licentious, Olympias said to him. "You poor fool, you are marrying with your eyes and not with your reason." Then again, there was the woman who restored Peisistratus to supreme power, <sup>e</sup> as having the likeness of Athena Pallenis, and who, Phylarchus says, was beautiful, seeing that she resembled the goddess in looks. She had been a flower-girl <sup>f</sup>; and Peisistratus gave her in marriage

<sup>a</sup> *F H G* 1. 343, J. 2 A 171.

<sup>b</sup> Or satrap. But Schweighauser conjectured that it was Tachôs, the king mentioned below, 616 d.

<sup>c</sup> *F H G* 1. 324, J. 2 B 587, G. and H. 233.

<sup>d</sup> *F H G*. 1 338, J. 2 A 166.

<sup>e</sup> Hdt. 1. 60, with How and Wells's note.

<sup>f</sup> So Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 14.

τῷ υἱῷ, ὡς Ἀντικλείδης<sup>1</sup> ἱστορεῖ ἐν ἡ' Νόστων.  
 d " ἐξέδωκεν δὲ καὶ Ἰππάρχῳ τῷ υἱεῖ τὴν παραι-  
 βατήσασαν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα Φύην τὴν Σωκράτους  
 θυγατέρα, καὶ Χάρμου τοῦ πολεμαρχήσαντος  
 θυγατέρα ἔλαβεν<sup>2</sup> Ἰππία περικαλλεστάτην οὖσαν  
 τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν τυραννεύσαντι. συνέβη δέ, ὥς  
 φησι, τὸν Χάρμον ἐραστὴν τοῦ Ἰππίου γενέσθαι  
 καὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀκαδημία Ἔρωτα<sup>3</sup> ιδρύσασθαι  
 πρῶτον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγέγραπται

ποικιλομήχαν' Ἔρωτος, σοὶ τόνδ' ιδρύσατο βωμὸν  
 Χάρμος ἐπὶ σκιεροῖς τέρμασι γυμνασίου "

e Ἡσίοδος δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Μελαμποδίας τὴν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ  
 Χαλκίδα καλλιγύναϊκα εἶπεν. εὐπρεπεῖς γὰρ  
 αὐτόθι γίνονται γυναῖκες, ὡς καὶ Θεόφραστος  
 εἴρηκεν. καὶ Νυμφόδωρος δ' ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀσίας  
 Περίπλῳ καλλιονάς φησι γίνεσθαι γυναῖκας τῶν  
 πανταχοῦ γυναικῶν ἐν Τενέδῳ τῇ Τρωικῇ νήσῳ.

Οἶδα δὲ καὶ περὶ κάλλους γυναικῶν ἀγωνά ποτε  
 διατεθέντα· περὶ οὗ ἱστορῶν Νικίας ἐν τοῖς Ἀρκα-  
 δικοῖς διαθεῖναι φησιν αὐτὸν Κύψελον, πόλιν<sup>4</sup>  
 κτίσαντα ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περὶ τὸν Ἀλφειόν· εἰς ἣν  
 f κατοικίσαντα<sup>5</sup> Παρρασίων τινὰς τέμενος καὶ βωμὸν  
 ἀναστήσαι Δήμητρι Ἐλευσινία, ἥς ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ  
 καὶ τὸν τοῦ κάλλους ἀγῶνα ἐπιτελέσαι· καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Stiehle (cf. 409 f). κλείδημος A

<sup>2</sup> Suspected· Kaibel suggests Ἐλάτην

<sup>3</sup> Ἔρωτος βωμὸν Siebel.

<sup>4</sup> Βασιλίδα πόλιν Meineke.

<sup>5</sup> Schweighäuser: κατοικήσαντα A.

to his son Hipparchus, as Anticleides records in the eighth book of his *Returns*<sup>a</sup>: "He also gave in marriage to his son Hipparchus the woman who had driven beside him,<sup>b</sup> Phya the daughter of Socrates, and for Hippias, who assumed the tyranny after him, he took the daughter of the former polemarch Charmus, a very beautiful girl. It happened, he says, that Charmus had been the lover of Hippias and had been the first to establish the Eros near the Academy,<sup>c</sup> on which is the inscription 'Eros of many devices, for thee hath Charmus established this altar here at the shadowy limits of the Gymnasium.' " Again, Hesiod in the third book of his *Epic of Melampus* has called<sup>d</sup> Chalcis, in Euboea, the city of lovely women. The women there are indeed good-looking, as Theophrastus also testifies<sup>e</sup>. And Nymphodorus, in his *Voyage in Asia*, says<sup>f</sup> that women more beautiful than women anywhere else are found in Tenedos, the island near Troy.

I know also of a contest of feminine beauty that was instituted once, Nicias, recounting this in his *History of Arcadia*, says<sup>g</sup> that Cypselus instituted it after founding a city in the plain of the Alpheus river: in it he settled some Parthians and dedicated a precinct and altar to Demeter of Eleusis, in whose festival he held the beauty contest; and on

P.-W. i 2425 with ii 2597. The title "Returns" refers to cases of restoration to power.

<sup>b</sup> In his chariot, when he went back to Athens

<sup>c</sup> Pausan. i 30 1, with Frazer's note, ii 390-391

<sup>d</sup> Rzach frag. 195

<sup>e</sup> Wimmer frag. 110.

<sup>f</sup> F.H.G. ii 378.

<sup>g</sup> F.H.G. iv. 463. The new city was Basilis, Pausan. viii. 29. 5, Nilsson, *Gr Feste* 94, 336. Whether this is Nicias of Nicaea, author of the *Διαδοχαὶ φιλοσόφων*, is uncertain.

νικῆσαι πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα Ἡροδίκην ἐπιτελείται δὲ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὁ ἀγὼν οὗτος, καὶ αἱ ἀγωνιζόμεναι γυναῖκες χρυσοφόροι ὀνομάζονται Θεόφραστος δὲ ἀγῶνα κάλλους φησὶ γίνεσθαι<sup>1</sup> παρὰ Ἡλείοις, καὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι μετὰ σπουδῆς λαμβάνειν τε τοὺς νικήσαντας ἄθλα ὅπλα· ἅπερ ἀνατίθεσθαι φησιν Διονύσιος ὁ Λευκτρικὸς 610 τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, τὸν δὲ νικήσαντα ταινιούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων καὶ πομπεύοντα ἕως τοῦ ἱεροῦ παραγίνεσθαι τὸν στέφανον δ' αὐτοῖς δίδοσθαι μυρρίνης ἱστορεῖ Μυρσίλος ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Παραδόξοις. ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ φησιν ὁ αὐτὸς Θεόφραστος καὶ κρίσεις<sup>2</sup> γυναικῶν περὶ σωφροσύνης γίνεσθαι καὶ οἰκονομίας, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις· ἐτέρωθι δὲ κάλλους, ὡς δέον καὶ τοῦτο τιμᾶσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Τενεδίοις καὶ Λεσβίοις· ταύτην δὲ τύχης ἢ φύσεως εἶναι, τιμὴν δέον<sup>3</sup> προκείσθαι σωφροσύνης. τὸ b κάλλος γὰρ οὕτως καλόν, εἰ δὲ μή, κίνδυνον ἔχον<sup>4</sup> ἐπ' ἀκολασίαν"

Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Μυρτίλου ἐξῆς καταλέξαντος καὶ πάντων αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ μνήμῃ θαυμασάντων ὁ Κύνουλκος ἔφη·

“ πούλυμαθημοσύνης, τῆς οὐ κενεώτερον οὐδέν,”

Ἰππων ἔφη ὁ ἄθεος. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ὁ

<sup>1</sup> Cobet, Meineke. γενέσθαι A.

<sup>2</sup> κρίσις, εἰ added in margin A.

<sup>3</sup> εἶναι, τιμὴν δέον Schweighauser, Musurus: εἶναι τιμὴν δέον A.

<sup>4</sup> Kaibel: ἔσχον A.

<sup>a</sup> Wearers of Gold (not Gold-diggers, on whom see Plaut. Men. 377). For other beauty contests see above, 565 f (p. 57).

the first occasion his own wife Herodicê won the prize. This contest is held even to the present day, and the women who enter are called "Chrysophoroe."<sup>a</sup> Theophrastus, too, says <sup>b</sup> that there is a beauty contest of men in Elis, that the trial is held with all solemnity, and that the winners receive weapons as prizes; these, says Dionysius of Leuctra, are dedicated to Athena, and the winner, beribboned by his friends, leads the procession which marches to her temple. But the crown given to the winners is of myrtle, as Myrsilus records in his *Historical Paradoxes*.<sup>c</sup> In some places, the same Theophrastus says,<sup>d</sup> there were female contests also of sobriety and house-keeping, as among the barbarians, in other places, of beauty, as though this also deserved a reward of honour, as among the people of Tenedos and of Lesbos; but, he says, this honour is a matter of chance or of nature, whereas a special reward for sobriety should be offered. For only so is beauty an honourable thing, otherwise there is danger that it will lead to licentiousness.

After this long catalogue <sup>e</sup> had been given in order by Myrtilus, and all the others had expressed their admiration for his powers of memory, Cynulcus said: "Learning, much learning—than which there is nothing more empty!" So said the godless Hippon<sup>f</sup> But even the divine Heracleitus says <sup>g</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Wimmer frag. 111.

<sup>c</sup> *F.H.G.* iv 460.

<sup>d</sup> Wimmer frag. 112.

<sup>e</sup> His speech, briefly interrupted, began at 571 a.

<sup>f</sup> See *P.L.G.* <sup>4</sup> ii 259; but the saying is Timon's, Wachsmuth 186, Diels, *Vorsokr.* i. 226, *P.P.G.* iii 189. Supply οὐ μοι μέλει, "I care not for."

<sup>g</sup> Bywater frag. 16. Diels, *Vorsokr.* i. 68, cf. Diog. Laert. ix. 1. 1. "Knowledge comes but wisdom lingers"

# ATHENAEUS

θείος φησι “ πολυμαθί<sup>1</sup> νόον ἔχειν οὐ διδάσκει.”  
καὶ ὁ Τίμων δὲ ἔφη·

ἐν δὲ πλατυσμὸς

πολυμαθημοσύνης,<sup>2</sup> τῆς οὐ κενεώτερον ἄλλο.

ε τί γὰρ ὄφελος τῶν τοσούτων ὀνομάτων, ὧ γραμματικέ, πάντων ἐπιτρίψαι μᾶλλον ἢ σωφρονίσαι δυναμένων τοὺς ἀκούοντας, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν τίς σου πύθεται τίνες ἦσαν οἱ εἰς τὸν δούρειον<sup>3</sup> ἵππον ἐγκατακλεισθέντες, ἐνὸς καὶ δευτέρου ἴσως ἐρεῖς ὄνομα καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτ’ ἐκ τῶν Στησιχόρου, σχολῇ<sup>4</sup> γάρ, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς Σακάδου τοῦ<sup>5</sup> Ἀργείου Ἰλίου Πέρσιδος· οὗτος γὰρ παμπόλλους τινὰς κατέλεξεν. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν Ὀδυσσεώς ἐταίρων ἔχοις ἂν οὕτως εὐρύθμως καταλέξαι τὰς προσηγορίας καὶ τίνες οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύκλωπος αὐτῶν καταβρωθέντες ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν Λαιστρυγόνων καὶ εἰ ὄντως κατεβρώθησαν· ὅστις οὖν<sup>6</sup> οὐδὲ τοῦτ’ οἶδας, καίτοι συνεχῶς Φυλάρχου μνήμην ποιούμενος, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς Κείων<sup>7</sup> πόλεσιν οὔτε ἐταίρας οὔτε ἀλητρίδας ἰδεῖν ἔστι.”

Καὶ ὁ Μυρτίλος “ τοῦτο δὲ ποῦ εἶρηκεν ὁ Φύλαρχος, κατανέγων γὰρ<sup>8</sup> αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἱστορίαν.” εἰπόντος δ’ “ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ,” ὁ Μυρτίλος ἔφη· εἴτ’ οὐκ ἐγὼ δικαίως πάντας ὑμᾶς τοὺς φιλοσόφους μισῶ μισοφιλο-  
e λόγους ὄντας; οὓς οὐ μόνον Λυσίμαχος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξεκήρυξε τῆς ἰδίας βασιλείας ἀπελαύνων, ὡς ὁ

<sup>1</sup> Schweighäuser: πολυμαθῇ (sic) A.

<sup>2</sup> πολυμαθημοσύνησ A

<sup>3</sup> δούριον A.

<sup>4</sup> Casaubon· σχολή A.

<sup>5</sup> τῆς Σακάδου (or Σακάδα) τοῦ Schweighäuser τῆς Σακατου A, τῆς Ἀγία τοῦ wrongly C. F Hermann

<sup>6</sup> οὖν bracketed by Cobet



"Much learning teaches not how to possess wisdom." And Timon, also, said <sup>a</sup>. "And the boasting of much learning withal, than which there is nothing more empty." What, really, is the use of all these names, you pedant—more likely to obstruct than to instruct your hearers? Why, if one should ask you who the men were who shut themselves up in the Wooden Horse,<sup>b</sup> you would perhaps tell at most the name of one or two; and you couldn't get even that number from the poems of Stesichorus—hardly!—but from the *Sack of Troy* by Sacadas of Argos<sup>c</sup> he, to be sure, has given a list of a great many. What is more, you couldn't recite so glibly the names of Odysseus's companions, and who among them were devoured by the Cyclops,<sup>d</sup> or by the Laestrygonas,<sup>e</sup> or whether they really were devoured; well then, you don't even know this, though you continually quote Phylarchus, that in the towns of Ceos neither courtesans nor flute-girls are to be seen.<sup>f</sup>

Thereupon Myrtilus asked: Where has Phylarchus said this? For I have read his *History* from one end to the other. When Cynulcus replied, In the twenty-third book, Myrtilus said: Then am I not right in hating all of you philosophers, seeing that you hate literature? You are the persons whom not only King Lysimachus drove by proclamation from his

<sup>a</sup> Wachsmuth frag. 65, Diels, *P.P.F.* III. 189

<sup>b</sup> *Od.* VIII. 492-520.

<sup>c</sup> See critical note and Bethe in *P.-W.* VII. 2205, Abert *P.-W.* s.v. Sakadas 1769. On Sacadas see *Plut.* 1134 c

<sup>d</sup> *Od.* IX. 166-566

<sup>e</sup> *Od.* X. 81-132.

<sup>f</sup> *F.H.G.* I. 346, J. 2 A 174.

<sup>7</sup> Broendsted. κίων Α

<sup>8</sup> καίτοι ἀνέγνω γ' Peppink. καταναγιγνώσκω occurs only here.

Καρύστιός φησιν ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι. Ἀλεξίς γοῦν ἐν Ἰππεῖ<sup>1</sup> φησιν

τοῦτ' ἔστιν Ἀκαδήμεια,<sup>2</sup> τοῦτο Ξενοκράτης;  
 πόλλ' ἀγαθὰ δοῖεν οἱ θεοὶ Δημητρίῳ  
 καὶ τοῖς νομοθέταις, διότι τοὺς τὰς τῶν λόγων,  
 ὥς φασι, δυνάμεις παραδιδόντας τοῖς νέοις  
 ἐς κόρακας ἐρρίφασιν<sup>3</sup> ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς.

καὶ Σοφοκλῆς δέ τις ψηφίσματι ἐξήλασε πάντας φιλοσόφους τῆς Ἀττικῆς, καθ' οὗ λόγον ἔγραψε Φίλων ὁ Ἀριστοτέλους γνώριμος, ἀπολογίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους Δημοχάρους πεποιηκότος τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀνεψιοῦ. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι δ' οἱ πάντα ἄριστοι ἐξέβαλον τοὺς σοφιστὰς τῆς Ῥώμης ὡς διαφθειρόντας τοὺς νέους· ἔπειτ'<sup>4</sup> οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως κατεδέξαντο. ἐμφανίζει δ' ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ ἀνόητον Ἀνάξιππος ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Κεραυνουμένῳ λέγων οὕτως

οἷμοι, φιλοσοφεῖς. ἀλλὰ τοὺς γε<sup>5</sup> φιλοσόφους  
 1 ἐν τοῖς λόγοις φρονούντας εὐρίσκω μόνον,  
 ἐν τοῖσι δ' ἔργοις ὄντας ἀνοήτους<sup>6</sup> ὁρῶ.<sup>7</sup>

Εἰκότως οὖν πολλὰ τῶν πόλεων καὶ μάλιστα ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς Χαμαιλέων φησὶν ἐν τῷ

<sup>1</sup> Schweighauser, Kock: ἱππῳ A

<sup>2</sup> ἀκαδημία A

<sup>3</sup> Dobree ἔρρειν φασιν A

<sup>4</sup> ACE· ἐπεὶ Wilamowitz.

<sup>5</sup> Grotius. τε A, om CE.

<sup>6</sup> ἀνοήτους ὄντας C

<sup>7</sup> σφόδρα Herwerden.

<sup>a</sup> F H.G. iv 358

<sup>b</sup> Kock ii 327, obviously spoken by a father angry at the evil influences exerted on his son (Kock). The title *Horse* found in A is not otherwise recorded; ἱππίσκος, Scarf, might

kingdom, as Caiystius declares <sup>a</sup> in his *Historical Notes*, but the Athenians did it as well. Alexis, at any rate, says in *The Horseman* <sup>b</sup> "So this is what the Academy is, this is Xenociates." May the gods grant many blessings to Demetrius <sup>c</sup> and the legislators, for they have hurled to perdition out of Attica the men who transmit to our youth the power of discourse, as they call it." A man named Sophocles <sup>d</sup> also drove out of Attica all philosophers by a decree; against him Philon, a disciple of Aristotle, wrote a speech, after Demochares, the cousin <sup>e</sup> of Demosthenes, had made a speech defending Sophocles. And the Romans, too, the most virtuous of men in all things, cast out the Sophists from Rome on the ground that they corrupted the young men; later, for some reason or other, they took them back. The comic poet Anaxippus brings out clearly your foolishness when he says, in *Thunder-struck* <sup>f</sup>. "Woe's me, you go in for philosophy! But I find philosophers are wise only when it is a matter of words, but when it comes to actions I see they are fools."

With good reason, therefore, many states, including especially the Lacedaemonian (so says <sup>g</sup> Chamaeleon

also be read. For other remarks on philosophers see 544 c, f, 547 a (vol. v. pp. 466, 468, 478).

<sup>c</sup> Of Phalerum.

<sup>d</sup> Son of Amphicleides, from the deme Sunium, Pollux ix. 42. Diog. Laert. v. 2. 38 says that exceptions might be granted by the Council and Assembly, and that Philon's indictment resulted in rescinding the law and a fine of five talents imposed upon Sophocles, see Athen. 508 f (vol. v p. 287) and note b.

<sup>e</sup> Really nephew; cf 252 f (vol. iii p. 138) and note e. For the fragments of Demochares see Baier and Sauppe 341.

<sup>f</sup> Kock iii. 299. The usual title of this play is *Κεραυνός*, *Thunderbolt*.

<sup>g</sup> Koepke 24

περὶ Σιμωνίδου, οὐ προσίενται οὔτε ῥητορικὴν οὔτε φιλοσοφίαν<sup>1</sup> διὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὑμῶν φιλοτιμίας καὶ ἔριδας καὶ τοὺς ἀκαίρους ἐλέγχους· δι' οὓς Σωκράτης μὲν ἀπέθανεν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς εἰς τὰ δικαστήρια διακληρουμένους διαλεγόμενος περὶ τοῦ δικαίου κλεπτιστάτους ὄντας ἀπέθανεν δὲ <sup>b</sup> διὰ ταῦτα καὶ Θεόδωρος ὁ ἄθεος καὶ Διαγόρας ἐφυγαδεύθη<sup>2</sup> ὅτε καὶ πλέων ναυαγίῳ<sup>3</sup> ἐχρήσατο· Διότιμος<sup>4</sup> δ' ὁ γράψας τὰ κατ' Ἐπικούρου βιβλία ὑπὸ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐπικουρείου<sup>5</sup> ἐξαιτηθεὶς ἀνηρέθη, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς Ὀμωνύμοις. συνελόντι δὲ εἰπεῖν κατὰ τὸν Σολέα Κλέαρχον οὐ καρτερικὸν βίον ἀσκεῖτε, κυνικὸν δὲ τῷ ὄντι ζητε· καίτοι τοῦ ζώου τούτου ἐν τέτταρσι τὴν φύσιν περιττὴν ἔχοντος, ὥνπερ<sup>6</sup> ὑμεῖς τὰ χεῖρω μερὶσάμενοι τηρεῖτε. αἰσθήσει τε γὰρ τῇ πρὸς ὅσ-  
<sup>c</sup> φρανσιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ οἰκείον καὶ ἀλλότριον<sup>7</sup> θαυμαστὸν καὶ τῷ συνανθρωπίζον οἰκουρὸν<sup>8</sup> εἶναι καὶ φυλακτικὸν τοῦ τῶν εὐδρώντων βίου πάντων περιττότατον ὦν οὐδέτερον πρόσσεστιν ὑμῖν τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> οὔτε φιλοσοφίαν added by Musurus.

<sup>2</sup> ACE Διαγόρας ἐξεκηρύχθη καὶ Πρωταγόρας ἐφυγαδεύθη Wilamowitz <sup>3</sup> A: ναυαγία CE. <sup>4</sup> Jonsen θεότιμος ACE.

<sup>5</sup> CE. ἐπικουρείου A.

<sup>6</sup> Musurus: ὥσπερ A

<sup>7</sup> περὶ ὁσφρανσιν οἰκείων καὶ ἀλλοτρίων Kaibel

<sup>8</sup> E οἰκείον καὶ τὸ συνανθρωπίζον A· τῷ συνανθρωπίζον καὶ οἰκουρὸν CE (om θαυμαστὸν C)

<sup>a</sup> Since this was the fate of Protagoras rather than Diagoras, who was not merely banished, Wilamowitz reads, "Diagoras had a price set on his head, and Protagoras was sent into exile." But why try to correct mistakes in a speaker like Myrtilus?

<sup>b</sup> His attack took the form of fifty letters, of a licentious nature, which he forged and ascribed to Epicurus, Diog Laert x. 3.

in his work *On Simonides*). refuse to permit the teaching either of rhetoric or of philosophy because of the envious strife in which you indulge in your debates, and because of your untimely arguments ; because of which, in fact, Socrates lost his life—he who, in the presence of the very men who were assigned by lot to jury-duty, used arguments of the most knavish sort, though his theme was justice ; on this account, also, Theodorus the atheist lost his life, and Diagoras was sent into exile : on which occasion, when he was sailing away, he met with shipwreck <sup>a</sup> ; again, Diotimus, who wrote the books attacking Epicurus, <sup>b</sup> was sought out by Zeno the Epicurean and put to death, as Demetrius of Magnesia tells us in *Like-named Poets* <sup>c</sup> To put it concisely in the words of Clearchus of Soli, <sup>d</sup> you do not pursue a life of dogged endurance, but rather you live truly the life of the Cynic dogs ; although this animal possesses a nature that is extraordinary for four qualities, of which you share and keep only the worst. For example, in his powers of perception, with reference to his sense of smell, and with reference to the familiar and the unfamiliar, the dog is remarkable <sup>e</sup> ; and in his association with man as the guardian of the house, and in his capacity to watch over the lives of all who treat him well, he is most extraordinary ; but neither of these two last qualities belongs to you, who imitate the

<sup>c</sup> See *F.H.G.* iv. 382, note The title varies, the full form seems to have been *περὶ ὁμωνύμων ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων*, *Diog. Laert.* i. 112, P.-W iv 2814.

<sup>d</sup> *F.H.G.* ii. 310.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 375 A, 376 A, Sext *Empir. Pyrrh Hypot.* i. 64 The Greek is awkward, as is to be expected in Clearchus, but there is no need to alter the text.

τὸν κυνικὸν βίον μιμουμένοις. οὔτε γὰρ συναν-  
θρῶπιζετε οὔτε διαγινώσκετε οὐδένα τῶν ὀμι-  
λούντων, αἰσθήσει τε πολλῶ<sup>1</sup> ὑστεροῦντες ἀργῶς  
καὶ ἀφυλάκτως ζῆτε λαιδόρου δὲ καὶ παμφάγου  
τοῦ ζώου πεφυκότος, ἔτι δὲ τάλαιπώρου καὶ  
γυμνοῦ τὸν βίον, ἅμφω ταῦτα μελετᾶτε, κακολόγοι  
καὶ βοροὶ πρὸς τε τούτοις ἀνοικοὶ καὶ ἀνέστιοι  
1 βιοῦντες. ἐξ ὧν ἀπάντων ἀλλότριοι μὲν ἀρετῆς,  
μάταιοι δὲ ἔστε<sup>2</sup> εἰς τὸ τοῦ βίου χρήσιμον. οὐδὲν  
γὰρ ἔστι τῶν καλουμένων φιλοσόφων ἀφιλοσο-  
φώτερον<sup>3</sup> τίς γὰρ ἤλπισεν<sup>1</sup> Αἰσχίνην τὸν Σωκρα-  
τικὸν τοιοῦτον γεγενῆσθαι τοὺς τρόπους ὁποῖόν  
φησι Λυσίας ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τοῖς τῶν Συμβολαίων  
λόγοις, ὃν ἐκ τῶν φερομένων ὡς αὐτοῦ διαλόγων  
θαυμάζομεν ὡς ἐπικεικῇ καὶ μέτριον, πλὴν εἰ μὴ  
ὡς ἀληθῶς τοῦ σοφοῦ Σωκράτους ἔστιν συγγράμ-  
ματα, ἐχαρίσθη δὲ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Ξανθίππης τῆς  
Σωκράτους γυναικὸς μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον,  
ὡς οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰδομενέα φασίν.

Ἄλλ' ὃ γε Λυσίας ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ λόγῳ  
οὕτως Πρὸς Αἰσχίνην τὸν Σωκρατικὸν χρέως—  
ἀπομνημονεύσω δ' ἐγώ, εἰ καὶ πολλά ἔστι τὰ  
λεχθέντα, διὰ τὸν βρένθον ὑμῶν τὸν πολύν, ὃ  
φιλόσοφοι· ἄρχεται δ' οὕτως ὁ ῥήτωρ “ οὐκ ἄν  
ποτ' ᾤηθην, ὃ<sup>5</sup> ἄνδρες δικασταί, Αἰσχίνην τολμῆσαι

<sup>1</sup> Casaubon· πολλῶν ACE

<sup>2</sup> ἔστε added by Kaibel

<sup>3</sup> Musurus: φιλοσοφώτερον A.

<sup>4</sup> ἄν added by Kaibel after ἤλπισεν If required, which is doubtful, it should stand after γὰρ (so Cobet)

<sup>5</sup> ὃ added by Nowack.

life of Cynic dogs. For you neither associate with men, nor can you discern the character of anyone with whom you deal, and further, you lag far behind the dog in your powers of perception, and live idly and unguardedly. But the dog is also by nature snarling and voracious, and what is more, he lives an abject and naked life, and both these qualities you diligently affect, for you are given to abuse, you are voracious, and in addition to this, you live on, homeless and hearthless. As a result of all this you are aliens to virtue, and futile when it comes to a useful life. In fact, there is nothing more unphilosophic than the so-called philosophers. For who ever expected Aeschines, the disciple of Socrates, to prove himself such a character as the orator Lysias describes in his speeches *On Contracts*?<sup>a</sup> We admire Aeschines as a good, sober man, to judge him by the dialogues published under his name, unless, to be sure, they are really compositions of the wise Socrates presented to Aeschines as a token of esteem by Xanthippê, Socrates's wife, after his death, as Idomeneus and others of his group assert.<sup>b</sup>

However that may be, in the speech bearing the title *Against Aeschines the Socratic*, for debt—I will quote it, although what he says is lengthy, to match your loud swaggering, my philosophers!—the orator begins thus<sup>c</sup>. “I should never have expected Aeschines, gentlemen of the court, to hazard a verdict in

<sup>a</sup> There was only one such speech, and its genuineness has been contested. Jebb, *Attic Orators* i. 314, quotes Diog. Laert ii. 62. “Socrates advised Aeschines, when he was hard pressed by poverty, to borrow from himself by reducing his rations.”

<sup>b</sup> *F.H.G.* ii. 490.

<sup>c</sup> Thalheim 343, Herwerden 238; cf Diog. Laert ii. 64.

οὕτως αἰσχρὰν δίκην δικάσασθαι, νομίζω δ' οὐκ<sup>1</sup>  
 ἂν ῥαδίως αὐτὸν ἑτέραν ταύτης συκοφαντωδεστέραν  
 ἐξευρεῖν. οὗτος γάρ, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὀφείλων  
 ἀργύριον ἐπὶ τρισὶ δραχμαῖς Σωσινόμῳ τῷ τρα-  
 πεζίτῃ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι, προσελθὼν πρὸς ἐμὲ  
 ἔδειτο μὴ περιδεῖν αὐτὸν διὰ τοὺς τόκους ἐκ τῶν  
 ὄντων ἐκπεσόντα “ κατασκευάζομαι δ', ἔφη,  
 τέχνην μυρεψικὴν ἀφορμῆς δὲ δέομαι, καταθήσω<sup>2</sup>  
 δέ σοι ἐννέ' ὀβολοὺς τῆς μνᾶς τόκους.” καλὸν γε  
 τὸ τέλος τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τῷ φιλοσόφῳ ἢ μυρεψικῇ  
 τέχνῃ ἀκόλουθός τε τῇ Σωκράτους φιλοσοφίᾳ,  
 ἀνδρὸς τοῦ καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην<sup>3</sup> χρήσιν τῶν μύρων  
 ἀποδοκιμάσαντος, Σόλωνος δὲ τοῦ νομοθέτου οὐδ'  
 ἐπιτρέποντος ἀνδρὶ τοιαύτης προΐστασθαι τέχνης·  
 διὸ καὶ Φερεκράτης ἐν Ἰπνῷ ἢ Παννυχίδι φησὶν

κᾶτα μυροπωλεῖν<sup>4</sup> τί μαθόντ'<sup>5</sup> ἀνδρ' ἐχρῆν<sup>6</sup>  
 καθήμενον  
 ὑψηλῶς ὑπὸ σκιαδείῳ,<sup>7</sup> κατεσκευασμένον  
 συνέδριον<sup>8</sup> τοῖς μεираκίοις ἐλλαλεῖν<sup>9</sup> δι' ἡμέρας;  
 εἴθ' ἐξῆς φησιν

αὐτίκ' οὐδεὶς οὔτε μαγείραινεν εἶδε πώποτε  
 οὔτε<sup>10</sup> μὴν οὐδ' ἰχθυοπώλαιναν.

<sup>1</sup> Sauppe νομίζων οὐκ A.

<sup>2</sup> Scheibe (cf. Plato, *Legg.* 921 D). καὶ οἶσω A

<sup>3</sup> τοιαύτην deleted by Kaibel, τὴν τῶν τοιούτων χρήσιν (de-  
 leting τῶν μύρων) Peppink

<sup>4</sup> Casaubon: καταμυροπωλεῖν A.

<sup>5</sup> τιμαθόντ' A· τί παθόντ' Dobree

<sup>6</sup> Erfurdt· ἀνδεχρην A.

<sup>7</sup> σκιαδίῳ A.

<sup>8</sup> Hermann: συνέδριον οὐ A

<sup>9</sup> Dobree. ἐλάλει A

<sup>10</sup> Dindorf. οὐ A, ἀλλ' οὐ Kock.

<sup>a</sup> It is not clear how Aeschines happens to be the plaintiff  
 instead of the defendant; see Blass, *Att. Beredsamkeit* <sup>2</sup> 1.  
 360, 630-633.



a case so scandalous <sup>a</sup> as this, and I do not think he could easily find another case that smelt more of black-mail than this does. For the plaintiff here, gentlemen of the court, owed money, with interest at three drachmas a month, to the banker Sosinomos and to Aristogeiton, and he came to me with the entreaty not to permit him to be evicted from his property because of the defaulted interest. 'I am setting up,' said he, 'the business of distilling perfumes; I require capital, and I will pay you nine obols <sup>b</sup> per mina a month interest.' " Glorious, indeed, is the philosopher's goal of happiness, <sup>c</sup> this business of distilling perfumes, the natural sequence, too, of the Socratic philosophy! For Socrates was a man who actually disapproved of such a use of perfumes, <sup>d</sup> and Solon the lawgiver would not so much as permit a male to superintend that kind of business, hence Pherecrates, too, says in *The Oven* or *The Vigil* <sup>e</sup>. " And besides, what is a man thinking of that he should keep a perfume-stall, loftily seated under an awning, his establishment just a gathering-place for lads to gossip in the hivelong day? " Then he goes on to say <sup>f</sup>. " For example, no one has ever yet seen a butcheress or a fishmongeress." He means

<sup>b</sup> 1½ drachmas, or 18 per cent a year

<sup>c</sup> i.e. the philosopher's goal, which is happiness (Aristotle's *telos* of the perfumery business. This is said by Myrtilus, who proceeds to other things in the speech of Lysias.

<sup>d</sup> noted by Athen. 686 d. For Solon

see Athen. 687 a.

<sup>e</sup> Kock i. 162

<sup>f</sup> The argument is *e contrario*. Just as we have no female butchers or fishmongers, so we should have no male perfumers. For the feminine forms *μαγείραιναν* and *ιχθυοπώλαιναν*, here coined for the occasion, cf. Aristoph. *Nub* 666, *ἀλεκτρύαιναν*.

ἐκάστω γὰρ γένει ἀρμόζοντα δεῖν εἶναι καὶ τὰ τῆς τέχνης. ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις ὁ ῥήτωρ τάδε λέγει. “πεισθεῖς δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα λέγοντος καὶ ἅμα οἰόμενος τοῦτον<sup>1</sup> Σωκράτους γεγονότα<sup>2</sup> μαθητὴν καὶ περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀρετῆς πολλοὺς καὶ σεμνοὺς λέγοντα<sup>3</sup> λόγους οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐπιχειρῆσαι οὐδὲ τολμῆσαι ἅπερ οἱ πονηρότατοι καὶ ἀδικώτατοι ἄνθρωποι ἐπιχειροῦσι πράττειν”

Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν καταδρομὴν αὐτοῦ ποιή-  
 c σάμενος ὡς ἐδανείσατο, ὡς οὔτε τόκους οὔτε τάρ-  
 χαῖον ἀπεδίδου, καὶ ὅτι ὑπερήμερος ἐγένετο γνώμη  
 δικαστηρίου ἐρήμην καταδικασθεῖς, καὶ ὡς ἠνεχυ-  
 ράσθη οἰκέτης αὐτοῦ στιγματίας, καὶ πολλὰ  
 ἄλλα κατειπὼν αὐτοῦ ἐπιλέγει ταῦτα “ἀλλὰ γάρ,  
 ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐκ εἰς ἐμὲ μόνον τοιοῦτός  
 ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας τοὺς  
 αὐτῷ κεχρημένους οὐχ οἱ μὲν κάπηλοι οἱ ἐγ-  
 γὺς οἰκούντες, παρ’ ὧν προδόσεις λαμβάνων οὐκ  
 ἀποδίδωσι, δικάζονται αὐτῷ συγκλείσαντες τὰ  
 καπηλεῖα, οἱ δὲ γείτονες οὕτως ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ δει-  
 d νὰ πάσχουσιν ὥστ’ ἐκλιπόντες τὰς αὐτῶν οἰκίας  
 ἐτέρας πόρρω μισθοῦνται, ὅσους δ’ ἐράνους συν-  
 εἰλεκται, τὰς μὲν ὑπολοίπους φораὶς<sup>4</sup> οὐ κατα-  
 τίθησιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν κάπηλον ὡς περὶ  
 στήλην διαφθείρονται τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν

<sup>1</sup> Cobet. τοῦτον αἰσχύνῃ A

<sup>2</sup> Sauppe. γεγονέναι A

<sup>3</sup> ἐκδόντα Kaihel

<sup>4</sup> Lacuna marked here by Sauppe, after διαφθείρονται by Meineke

<sup>a</sup> The quotations from Pherecrates interrupt the speech of Lysias.

that the various arts should be adapted appropriately to each sex. Well, following the words given above the orator continues <sup>a</sup> "I was persuaded by this plea of his, believing at the same time that as he had been a disciple of Socrates and had been giving many solemn lectures on justice and virtue, he would never undertake or venture upon those acts which only the most depraved and dishonest men undertake to practise."

After this the orator again attacks him for the manner in which he had borrowed the money—he had paid neither interest nor principal; he had let the day of payment lapse, and by a court verdict had been adjudged in default, and a branded slave of his had been seized as security; finally, after many other accusations against him Lysias concludes: "But enough of this, gentlemen of the court; not towards me alone has he been that sort of man, but towards all others who have had dealings with him. Do not the retail-dealers who live near him, and from whom he gets credit without paying his bills, shut up their shops and go to law with him, while his neighbours are so ill-treated by him that they abandon their own houses and hire others far away?" And as for all the club-contributions which he has collected—he does not pay out the sums left over, but they are as completely ruined by this swindling peddler as (a chariot which crashes when) rounding the turning-post <sup>b</sup> And so many people go to his house at

<sup>b</sup> Soph. *El.* 744 κάμπτοντος ἵππου λανθάνει στήλην ἄκραν παίσας (Schweighauser). The contributions might be in money or in viands; see vol. iv. p. 535 (Antiphanes) and notes. The text seems to be defective: there is difficulty in κατατίθωσιν, "pays," instead of ἀποδίδωσιν, "gives back," but there is no reason, with Kaibel, to suspect ὑπολοίπους

ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ<sup>1</sup> ἀπαιτήσονται τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἔρχονται ὥστε οἷσθαι τοὺς παριόντας ἐπ' ἐκφοράν αὐτοὺς ἦκειν τούτου<sup>2</sup> τεθνεώτος. οὕτω δ' οἱ ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ διάκεινται ὥστε πολὺ ἀσφαλέστερον εἶναι δοκεῖν εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν πλεῖν ἢ τούτῳ συμβάλλειν<sup>3</sup> πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἂν δανείσῃται αὐτοῦ νομίζει εἶναι ἢ ἂν ὁ πατήρ αὐτῷ κατέλιπεν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ τὴν οὐσίαν κέκτηται Ἑρμαίου τοῦ μυροπώλου, τὴν γυναῖκα διαφθείρας ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη γεγονυῖαν; ἣς ἐρᾶν προσποιησάμενος οὕτω διέθηκεν ὥστε τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς πτωχοὺς ἐποίησεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀντὶ καπήλου μυροπώλην ἀπέδειξεν· οὕτως ἐρωτικῶς τὸ κόριον μετεχειρίζετο τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῆς ἀπολαύων, ἣς ῥᾶον τοὺς ὀδόντας ἀριθμῆσαι, ὅσω<sup>4</sup> ἐλάττους ἦσαν,<sup>5</sup> ἢ τῆς χειρὸς τοὺς δακτύλους. καὶ μοι ἀνάβητε τούτων μάρτυρες.—ὁ μὲν οὖν βίος τοῦ σοφιστοῦ τοιοῦτος'' ὁ μὲν οὖν Λυσίας, ὦ Κύνουλκε, οὕτως ἐγὼ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἀρίσταρχον τὸν τραγικὸν ποιητὴν

τάδ' οὐχ ὑπάρχων, ἀλλὰ τιμωρούμενος,

καταπαύσω τὸν πρὸς σέ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κύνας ἐνταῦθα λόγον."

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ ΝΑΤΚΡΑΤΙΤΟΥ ΔΕΙΠΝΟСОΦΙСТΩΝ: ΙΓ  
—ΠΕΡΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ

<sup>1</sup> ἄμα ἡμέρα CE

<sup>2</sup> τοῦ CE τοῦ τεθνεώτος deleted by Halbertsma, perhaps rightly

<sup>3</sup> συμβαλεῖν CE.

<sup>4</sup> Toup: ὅσου ACE

<sup>5</sup> CE. ἐλαττούσης ἂν A ὅσου ἐλ. ἦσαν deleted by Casaubon, om. Demetr. *Eloc.* 128, 262, Suid s 'Pᾶον

day-break to claim what is owing to them that the passers-by imagine that he is dead, and that they have come to attend his funeral<sup>a</sup> Moreover, the Peiraeus merchants are in such a state of mind that it seems much safer to them to send a ship to the Adriatic<sup>b</sup> than to lend money to him For in fact he regards what he borrows as far more his own than what his father bequeathed to him. Why! Has he not acquired the property of Heirmaeus the perfume-seller, after seducing his wife, who was seventy years old? Pretending to be in love with her, he put her in such a state of mind that he made beggars of her husband and her sons, and promoted himself from the condition of peddler to that of perfume-seller, with such erotic passion did he treat 'the girl' the while he enjoyed her 'youth.' Why! It was easier to count her teeth than the fingers of one's hand, so much fewer were they. Witnesses of these facts, step up on the platform — So the life of the sophist is as I have described it " So much, then, for what Lysias has said, my Cynuleus As for myself, I have spoken, to quote<sup>c</sup> the tragic poet Aristarchus, "Not as the aggressor in these things, but as the avenger," and I will now bring to a close the speech here spoken against you and the other Cynic-Dogs.

<sup>a</sup> The carrying out of the body (ἐκφορά) always occurred before the sun was high.

<sup>b</sup> This was an especially hazardous commercial venture, Lysias xxxii. 25. Tyrrhenian pirates added to the dangers of a turbulent sea. *I.G.* ii. 809. 225, *Hor. Odes* iii 9 23 *improbo iracundior Hadria.*

<sup>c</sup> *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 729, so Chaeremon, *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 783, Menander, *Kock* iii 104.

## ΙΑ

113 Τὸν Διόνυσον, ἑταῖρε Τιμόκρατες, μαινόμενον οἱ πολλοὶ<sup>1</sup> λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦς πλείονας<sup>2</sup> ἀκράτου σπῶντας θορυβῶδεις γίνεσθαι

οἶνός σε τρώει μελιτηδής, ὃς τε καὶ ἄλλους  
βλάπτει, ὃς ἂν μιν χανδὸν ἔλη μῆδ' αἴσιμα πίνη  
οἶνος καὶ κένταυρον ἀγακλυτὸν Εὐρυτίωνα  
ὤλεσ' ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ<sup>3</sup> μεγαθύμου Πειριθόοιο,  
ἐς Λαπίθας ἐλθόνθ'. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ φρένας ἄασεν οἶνω,

b μαινόμενος κάκ' ἔρεξε δόμοις ἐνὶ Πειριθόοιο

“κατιόντος γοῦν τοῦ οἶνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα,” ὥς φησιν  
Ἡρόδοτος, “ἐπαναπλέει κακὰ ἔπεα” καὶ μαινόμενα.  
Κλέαρχός τε ὁ κωμωδιοποιὸς ἐν Κορινθίοις φησίν·

εἰ τοῖς μεθυσκομένοις ἐκάστης ἡμέρας  
ἀλγεῖν συνέβαινε τὴν κεφαλὴν πρὸ τοῦ πιεῖν  
τὸν ἄκρατον, ἡμῶν οὐδὲ εἰς ἔπινεν ἂν.  
νυνὶ δὲ πρότερον<sup>4</sup> τοῦ πόνου τὴν ἡδονὴν  
προλαμβάνοντες ὑστεροῦμεν τὰγαθοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> ποιηται Kaibel, but cf. Philo, *De Plant.* Noe 36.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦς πλείονας ACE: τοῦς πλείονος Musurus, perhaps rightly.

<sup>3</sup> ἐνιμεγαρῶι A (as often).

<sup>4</sup> Porson: νῦν δὲ πρότερόν γε A

## BOOK XIV

THE majority of writers, friend Timocrates, call Dionysus "the mad" from the fact that most people who take a pull at unmixed wine grow uproarious<sup>a</sup>: "It is wine that wounds thee, honey-sweet wine, which hurts others, too, who take it too copiously and drink not in due measure. It was wine that wrought the undoing even of the Centaur, most glorious Eurytion, in the hall of high-souled Peirithous, when he visited the Lapithae. And when he had sore hurt his wits with wine, in his madness he wrought evil deeds in the house of Peirithous." "At any rate, when wine goes down into the body," as Herodotus says,<sup>b</sup> "evil words float on top," that is, words of madness. And so the comic poet Clearchus says in *The Corinthians*<sup>c</sup>: "If it so happened that people who get drunk every day had a headache *before* they drank the unmixed wine, not one of us would ever drink. But as it is, we take our pleasure too early, before the pain, and so arrive too late to

<sup>a</sup> *Od.* xxi. 293, Antinous addressing Odysseus. *Cf. Il.* vi. 132 *μαινομένοιο Διωνύσοιο*, Nonnus, *Dionys.* xxxiii 114 *Βάκχου μαινομένου*, Philo. Alex. *Plant. Noe* 36 (148) *τὸν εὐρετὴν τῆς περὶ τὸν οἶνον ἐργασίας μαινόλην ἐκάλεσαν οἱ πρῶτοι* Genesis ix. 20.

<sup>b</sup> *Hdt.* i. 212, part of the message of Tomyris, queen of the Massagetae, to Cyrus.

<sup>c</sup> *Kock* ii. 409; *cf. Athen.* 429 e (*Alexis*, vol. iv. p. 446).

ο Ξενοφώντας δὲ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον . . . “ μέθης μὲν ἀπέχεσθαι ὁμοίως ᾤετο χρῆναι καὶ μανίας, σίτων δὲ ὑπερκαίρων<sup>1</sup> ὁμοίως καὶ ἀργίας ” ἀλλ’ οὐχ ἡμεῖς γε<sup>2</sup> οὔτε τῶν πλείον πινόντων ὄντες οὔτε<sup>3</sup> τῶν ἑξοίωνων γινομένων πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ μουσικὰ ταῦτα ἐρχόμεθα συμπόσια. καὶ γὰρ ὁ φιλεπιτιμητῆς Οὐλπιανὸς πάλιν τινὸς ἐπείληπτο εἰπόντος “ ἑξοῖνος οὐκ εἰμι, ” λέγων “ ὁ δ’ ἑξοῖνος ποῦ; ” καὶ ὃς “ παρ’ Ἀλέξειδι ἐν Εἰσοικιζομένῳ.

ἑξοῖνος ἐποίει ταῦτά γε ”<sup>4</sup>

ἔφη.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας μετὰ τοὺς παρ’ ἡμῶν δ καινοὺς αἰεὶ λεγομένους λόγους καὶ ἀκροάματα ἐκάστοτε διάφορα ἐπεισάγει ὁ λαμπρὸς ἡμῶν ἐστιάτωρ Λαρήνσιος ἔτι τε καὶ γελωτοποιούς, φέρε λέγωμέν τι καὶ ἡμεῖς περὶ τούτων. καίτοι γε οἶδα καὶ Ἀνάχαρσιν τὸν Σκύθην ἐν συμποσίῳ γελωτοποιῶν εἰσαχθέντων ἀγέλαστον διαμείναντα, πιθήκου δ’ ἐπεισαχθέντος γελάσαντα φάναι, ὡς οὗτος μὲν φύσει γελοῖός ἐστιν, ὁ δ’ ἄνθρωπος ἐπιτηδεύσει.<sup>5</sup> καὶ Εὐριπίδης δὲ ἐν τῇ Δεσμώτιδι Μελανίππῃ ἔφη.

<sup>1</sup> ὑπερκαίρων A, ὑπερκαίρων CE· ὑπὲρ καιρὸν Xen

<sup>2</sup> Musurus τε A.

<sup>3</sup> οὔτε added by Casaubon.

<sup>4</sup> Kaibel ταῦτατ’ A

<sup>5</sup> Musurus ἐπιτηδεύει ACE.

<sup>a</sup> Ages. 5 1 ὃς μέθης μὲν ἀποσχέσθαι ὁμοίως ᾤετο χρῆναι καὶ λαιμαργίας (gluttony), σίτων δ’ ὑπὲρ καιρὸν ὁμοίως καὶ ἀμαρτίας (crime)

<sup>b</sup> In *exoinos* the preposition has an intensive force, “completely wined.”

<sup>c</sup> Kock ii 318, Athen vol. v. p. 251 note e.

<sup>d</sup> Lit. “laughter-producers,” “fun-makers”



get the good" Xenophon says of Agesilaus<sup>a</sup>: "He thought that one should abstain from drunkenness as he would from madness, and from excessive foods as he would from sloth" But we, at least, belonging neither to the class of those who drink too much nor to those who get drunk (*exoinos*) in the morning, resort to these erudite symposia Yes, when one repeated the word saying "I am not drunk (*exoinos*)," Ulpian, who is given to criticism, caught him up saying. "Where does the word *exoinos*<sup>b</sup> occur?" To which the other replied: "You will find it in Alexis, *The New Tenant*<sup>c</sup>. 'He must have been drunk (*exoinos*) when he did that!'"

Since our illustrious host Larensis, following our discussion of novel topics brought up continually every day, introduces for our entertainment various diversions on all occasions, and notably brings on the scene buffoons,<sup>d</sup> come, let us<sup>e</sup> talk a while on that subject And yet, to be sure, I am aware that the Scythian Anarcharsis, when buffoons were brought in at a symposium, remained unmoved by laughter; whereas when a monkey was brought in later he laughed, explaining that a monkey is funny by nature, but a man is funny by special effort<sup>f</sup> And Euripides, also, says in *Melanippé Bound*<sup>g</sup>. "Many

<sup>a</sup> The speaker here is Ulpian, as appears below, 615 e (p 314).

<sup>f</sup> Or, accepting ἐπιτηδεύει of the mss., "practises [fun] on purpose" Cf. Lessing: es ist leichter, zum Mitleid zu bewegen, als lachen zu machen (letter to his brother Karl, 9 June, 1768, brought to my notice by Prof W. G. Howard). Anacharsis takes no account of spontaneous wit nor of unconscious humour.

<sup>g</sup> T G.F.<sup>2</sup> 516, Ox. Pap. ix. 1176. 154 The *Melanippé* was a feminist play, Schol. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 547. See *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps*, pp 177-179.

# ATHENAEUS

ἀνδρῶν δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦ γέλωτος εἵνεκα<sup>1</sup>  
 ἀσκοῦσι χάριτας κερτόμους. ἐγὼ δέ πως  
 μισῶ γελοίους, οἵτινες τήτη<sup>2</sup> σοφῶν  
 ἄχάλιν' ἔχουσι στόματα· καὶ<sup>3</sup> ἀνδρῶν μὲν οὐ  
 τελοῦσιν ἀριθμόν, ἐν γέλωτι δ' εὐπρεπεῖς . . .

οἰκοῦσι δ'<sup>4</sup> οἴκους καὶ τὰ ναυστολούμενα  
 ἔσω δόμων σῶζουσιν

Παρμενίσκος<sup>5</sup> δὲ ὁ Μεταποιντῖνος, ὥς φησιν Σῆμος  
 ἐν ἑ' Δηλιάδος, καὶ γένει καὶ πλούτῳ πρωτεύων  
 εἰς Τροφωνίου καταβάς καὶ ἀνελθὼν οὐκ ἔτι γελᾶν  
 ἐδύνατο. καὶ χρηστηριαζομένῳ περὶ τούτου ἡ  
 Πυθία ἔφη·

εἶρη μ' ἀμφὶ γέλωτος, ἀμείλιχε, μειλιχίοιο  
 δώσει σοι μήτηρ οἴκοι· τὴν ἔξοχα τίε  
 ἐλπίζων δ' ἂν ἐπανελθῇ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα γελάσειν,  
 ὥς<sup>6</sup> οὐδὲν ἦν πλείον, οἰόμενος ἐξηπατῆσθαι ἔρχεταιί  
 ποτε κατὰ τύχην εἰς Δῆλον· καὶ πάντα τὰ κατὰ  
 τὴν νῆσον θαυμάζων ἦλθεν καὶ εἰς τὸ Λητῶν,  
 νομίζων τῆς Ἀπόλλωνος μητρὸς ἄγαλμά τι θεω-  
 ρήσειν ἀξιόλογον· ἰδὼν δ' αὐτὸ ξύλον ὄν' ἄμορφον

<sup>1</sup> εἵνεκα Eustath 1837 1, ἔνεκα C οὐνεκα A

<sup>2</sup> Wilamowitz (τήτει L. Dindorf): τι εἰ τι A

<sup>3</sup> καὶ εἰς AC<sup>F</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> οἰκοῦσι δ' ACE. νέμουσι δ' Or Par ix 1176 154  
 Lacuna marked by Gulick.

<sup>5</sup> Παρμίσκος Iambl Vit Pythag 267

<sup>6</sup> ὥς οἱ (-) Kaibel. <sup>7</sup> ξύλον ὄν Meineke: ξύλινον ACE

<sup>a</sup> Eur Alc. 1125 ἡ κέρτομός με θεοῦ τις ἐκπλήσσει χαρά,  
 "is it some mocking jest (lit 'joy') from a god that over-  
 whelms me?"

<sup>b</sup> Or "who, at the expense of wise men," so Wilamowitz,  
 Berl Klass-Texte v. 11 125

men there be who to make fun practise mocking jests <sup>a</sup> But I somehow detest these funny men, who when wise thoughts fail them <sup>b</sup> keep their lips unbudled; and though they have no rating in the ranks of true men, they put on a specious front of laughter. But women, on the other hand <sup>c</sup> and tend their households and hoard the gathered store within their halls" But Parmeniscus of Metapontum, as Semus declares <sup>d</sup> in the fifth book of his *History of Delos*, a man of the first rank in family and wealth, descended into the cave of Trophonius and on coming up was no longer able to laugh. And when he consulted the oracle about this the Pythian priestess said to him: "Thou, unrelenting one, askest me concerning relenting laughter; the Mother will give it to thee at home; her shalt thou honour exceedingly" So he hoped that if he returned to his own land he would laugh again; but when he met with no success, he thought that he had been deceived; but he had occasion once to go to Delos, and there he admired all the wonders of the island, and finally entered the temple of Leto, thinking that he should find the statue of Apollo's mother something remarkable to look at; but when he discovered that it was an ugly block of wood <sup>e</sup> he

<sup>c</sup> The papyrus confirms the δ' of the mss. and makes it clear that the subject changes from sporting husbands to sober wives. It continues · οὐδ' ἐρημία γυναικὸς οἶκος εὐπρωῆς οὐδ' ὀλβιος, "and bereft of a woman no house is tidy or prosperous."

<sup>d</sup> *F.H.G.* iv 493, Diels, *Vorsokr.* i 33, Schultz, *Ratsel* 76. On the terrors of the cave of Trophonius in Lebadeia (Boeotia) cf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 508 Schol.

<sup>e</sup> Not to be regarded as a relic of tree-worship, P.-W. iii. 155.

παραδόξως ἐγέλασεν. καὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χρησμὸν συμβάλλων<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῆς ἀρρωστίας ἀπαλλαγεὶς μεγαλῶστί τὴν θεὸν ἐτίμησεν.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀναξανδρίδης δ' ἐν Γερωντομανία καὶ εὐρετὰς τῶν γελοίων φησὶ γενέσθαι Ῥαδάμανθυν καὶ Παλαμήδην, λέγων οὕτως

καίτοι πολλοί γε πονοῦμεν.

τὸ δ'<sup>2</sup> ἀσύμβολον εὔρε γελοῖα<sup>3</sup> λέγειν Ῥαδάμανθους καὶ Παλαμήδης.

γελωτοποιῶν δὲ μέμνηται Ξενοφῶν μὲν<sup>4</sup> ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ Φιλίππου, περὶ οὗ καὶ οὕτως λέγει· “ Φίλιππος δ' ὁ γελωτοποιὸς κρούσας τὴν θύραν εἶπε τῷ ὑπακούσαντι εἰσαγγεῖλαι ὅστις τε εἴη καὶ διότι κατάγεσθαι βούλεται· συνεσκευασμένος δὲ ἔφη παρεῖναι πάντα τὰπιτήδεια ὥστε δειπνεῖν τὰλ-  
d λότρια. καὶ τὸν παῖδα δ' ἔφη πάνυ πιέζεσθαι διὰ τε τὸ φέρειν μηδὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνάριστον εἶναι.” Ἰππόλοχος δ' ὁ Μακεδὼν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Λυγκέα Ἐπιστολῇ γελωτοποιῶν μέμνηται Μανδρογένους καὶ Στράτωνος τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ. πλήθος δ' ἦν Ἀθήνησι τῆς σοφιστείας<sup>5</sup> ταύτης ἐν γοῦν τῷ Διομέων Ἡρακλείῳ συνελέγοντο ξ' ὄντες τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει διωνομάζοντο<sup>6</sup> ὥς “ οἱ ξ' τοῦτ' εἶπον ” καὶ “ ἀπὸ τῶν ξ' ἔρχομαι ” ἐν δὲ

<sup>1</sup> συμβαλὼν C.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ δ' Herwerden: τὸν A.

<sup>3</sup> γέλοια A.

<sup>4</sup> μὲν transferred from next line (Φιλίππου μὲν) by Cobet· om. C.

<sup>5</sup> CE σοφίαις A

<sup>6</sup> Kaihel: δὲ ὠνομάζοντο A, δὲ ἐλέγετο CE

<sup>a</sup> A silver mixing-bowl dedicated by Parmiscus (here called Parmeniscus) is recorded on a Delian inscription, B.C. H. iv. 403, xv. 127-128.

burst unexpectedly into laughter. And so he understood the meaning of the god's oracle, and having been cured of his defect he honoured the goddess greatly <sup>a</sup>

Now Anaxandrides, in *Old Men's Madness*, says that Rhadamanthys and Palamedes were the inventors of jesting. He speaks as follows <sup>b</sup>. "And yet, many of us must suffer indeed. For Rhadamanthys and Palamedes invented the custom of letting the gentry that pay no scot <sup>c</sup> utter jests." Among jesters Xenophon in *The Symposium* mentions Philip, of whom he has this to say <sup>d</sup>. "Philip the jester knocked at the front door and told the man who answered the knock to announce who he was and to say that he desired to be put up there, he further said that he had come packed up with all the necessaries for dining—at other people's expense. He said that his slave was weighed down heavily because he had nothing to carry and had had no luncheon." Hippolochus of Macedon, again, in his *Letter to Lynceus* mentions as jesters Mandrogenes and Straton of Athens <sup>e</sup>. For at Athens there was an abundance of these clever gentry. At any rate, in the temple of Heracles, in the deme Diomeia, they were in the habit of assembling to the number of sixty, and in the city itself they bore a special name: "The sixty said so-and-so," or, "I've just come from the sixty." Among them were

<sup>b</sup> Kock ii. 139. See Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 12, where we are told that Philemon was the protagonist of the play. See Cope's note, iii. 49.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ ἀσύμβολον is an abstract collective term denoting those who had paid no contributions to the symposium, i.e. the parasites, Athen. 235 f-248 e (vol. iii. pp. 62-120).

<sup>d</sup> Xen. *Symp.* i. ii.

<sup>e</sup> Athen. 130 c (vol. ii. p. 98), cf. 128 a-b (vol. ii. p. 90).

τούτοις ἦσαν Καλλιμέδων τε ὁ Κάραβος καὶ Δεινίας,<sup>1</sup> ἔτι τε Μνασιγείτων καὶ Μέναιχμος,<sup>2</sup> ὥς φησι Τηλεφάνης ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ "Αστεος. τοσαύτη δ' αὐτῶν δόξα τῆς ῥαθυμίας ἐγένετο ὥστε<sup>3</sup> καὶ Φίλιππον ἀκούσαντα τὸν Μακεδόνα πέμψαι αὐτοῖς τάλαντον, ἔν' ἐκγραφόμενοι<sup>4</sup> τὰ γέλοια πέμπωσιν<sup>5</sup> αὐτῷ ὅτι δὲ ἦν περὶ τὰ γέλοια ἐσπουδακῶς ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος μαρτυρεῖ Δημοσθένης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τοῖς Φιλιππικοῖς φιλόγελως δὲ ἦν καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Πολιορκητής, ὥς φησι Φύλαρχος ἐν τῇ 5<sup>6</sup> τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, ὅς γε καὶ τὴν Λυσιμάχου αὐλὴν κωμικῆς σκηνῆς οὐδὲν διαφέρειν ἔλεγεν· ἐξιέναι γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῆς πάντας δισουλάβους· τὸν τε Βίθυν χλευάζων καὶ τὸν Πάριν, μεγίστους ὄντας παρὰ τῷ Λυσιμάχῳ, καὶ τινὰς ἐτέρους τῶν φίλων παρὰ δ' αὐτοῦ Πευκέστας καὶ Μενελάους, ἔτι δὲ Ὁξυθέμιδας ταῦτα δ' ἀκούων ὁ Λυσίμαχος "ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ἔφη, πόρνην ἐκ τραγικῆς σκηνῆς οὐχ ἐώρακα ἐξιούσαν," τὴν αὐλητρίδα Λάμιαν λέγων. ἀπαγγελθέντος δὲ καὶ τούτου πάλιν ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Δημήτριος ἔφη· "ἀλλ' ἢ παρ' ἐμοὶ<sup>7</sup> πόρνη σωφρονέστερον τῆς παρ' ἐκείνῳ Πηνελόπης ζῇ"

<sup>1</sup> CE: δινίας A<sup>2</sup> CE μαίνεχμος A<sup>3</sup> CE ὥς A<sup>4</sup> ἐκγ superser E· ἐκγραφόμενοι ACE<sup>5</sup> A: πέμπειεν CE<sup>6</sup> δεκάτῃ 261 b<sup>7</sup> CE: ἐμοῦ A.

<sup>a</sup> On his fondness for delicacies see 100 c, 104 d (vol. 1 pp. 430, 446), 212 d (vol. III p. 90), 338 f-340 e, 364 e vol. IV pp. 36-44, 150)

<sup>b</sup> F H. 4 IV. 507. On this "Narrenbund," or Buffoons' Band, see A. Dieterich, *Pulcinella* 42, Cornford, *Att. Comedy* 11

Callimedon the Crayfish <sup>a</sup> and Demias, also Mnasi-geiton and Menaechmus, as Telephanes declares <sup>b</sup> in his work *On the City of Athens*. So great was their reputation for light humour that Philip of Macedon, when he heard of them, sent them a talent to have their jests copied out and brought to him. Now that this king keenly loved jests is borne out by the orator Demosthenes in his *Philippics* <sup>c</sup>. Fond of jesting also was Demetrius Poliorcetes, as Phylarchus says <sup>d</sup> in the sixth book of his *Historics*. Demetrius used to say that the court of Lysimachus differed in no respect from a scene in comedy; for all the characters that appeared in the scene had dissyllabic names, <sup>e</sup>—thus poking fun at Bithys and at Paris, who were in very high favour with Lysimachus, and some others among his friends, whereas from his own court came Peucestes and Menelauses, and even Oxythemises <sup>f</sup>. When Lysimachus heard this he said: "Well, I for my part have never seen a whore appearing in a tragic scene," referring to the flute-girl Lamia <sup>g</sup>. And on this being reported to him Demetrius once more took him up and said: "But any whore at my court lives more chaste than any Penelope at his" <sup>h</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See Demosth. *Olynth.* II 19 *μίμους γελοίων καὶ ποιητὰς αἰσχροῦν ἀσμάτων . . . τούτους ἀγαπᾷ καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχει.*

<sup>d</sup> *F H G* I 335, J. 2 A 165, Athen. 261 b (vol. III p. 174).

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* they were no better than slaves, who generally bore short names, Luc. *Gall.* 29 *τὸν Σίμωνα, ὃς ἀντὶ δισυλλάβου τετρασύλλαβος (i.e. Σιμωνίδης) ἤδη τελευτήσας εἶναι ἀξιοῖ,* Harmon, *Lucian* (L.C.L.) II. 201.

<sup>f</sup> On the names in tragedy as differing from those in comedy *cf.* Athen. 222 a-223 a (vol. III pp. 2-4). For Bithys in *parasitica* see 246 e (vol. III. p. 108), on Oxythemises, above 575 b (p. 171).

<sup>g</sup> Above, 577 c (p. 117).

<sup>h</sup> *Cf.* Plut. *Demetr.* 25. 6.

"Οτι δὲ καὶ Σύλλας ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς φιλό-  
 γελως ἦν προεῖρηται Λεύκιος δὲ Ἀνίκιος, καὶ  
 αὐτὸς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῆσας, Ἰλλυριοὺς κατα-  
 πολεμήσας καὶ αἰχμάλωτον ἀγαγὼν Γένθιον<sup>1</sup> τὸν  
 τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν βασιλέα σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις, ἀγῶνας  
 ἐπιτελῶν τοὺς ἐπινικίους ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παντὸς  
 γέλωτος ἄξια πράγματα ἐποίησεν, ὡς Πολύβιος  
 ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ. " μεταπεμψάμενος γὰρ  
 τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπιφανεστάτους τεχνίτας  
 καὶ σκηνὴν κατασκευάσας μεγίστην ἐν τῷ κίρκῳ  
 πρώτους εἰσῆγεν αὐλητάς<sup>2</sup> οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν Θεόδωρος  
 ὁ Βοιώτιος, Θεόπομπος,<sup>3</sup> Ἑρμιππος, ὁ<sup>4</sup> Λυσίμαχος,  
 οἷτινες ἐπιφανέστατοι ἦσαν. τούτους οὖν στήσας  
 ἐπὶ τὸ προσκήνιον μετὰ τοῦ χοροῦ αὐλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν  
 ἅμα πάντας. τῶν δὲ διαπορευομένων τὰς κρούσεις  
 μετὰ τῆς ἁρμοζούσης κινήσεως προσπέμψας οὐκ  
 ἔφη καλῶς αὐτοὺς αὐλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνίζεσθαι μᾶλλον  
 ἐκέλευσεν.<sup>5</sup> τῶν δὲ διαπορούντων ὑπέδειξέν τις  
 τῶν ῥαβδούχων ἐπιστρέψαντας ἐπαγαγεῖν<sup>6</sup> ἐπ'  
 αὐτοὺς<sup>7</sup> καὶ ποιεῖν ὡσανεὶ μάχην ταχὺ δὲ συννοή-  
 σαντες οἱ αὐληταὶ καὶ λαβόντες ὄρμην<sup>8</sup> οἰκείαν<sup>9</sup>  
 ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀσελγείαις μεγάλην ἐποίησαν σύγ-

<sup>1</sup> γένιον AC, γένιον E with τ superscr, τενθίωνα A at 440 a, Gentium Liny xlin 30, Γένθιον Plut

<sup>2</sup> ἅμα πάντας after αὐλητάς (om CE) deleted by Meineke. cf. below.

<sup>3</sup> θεόπεμπον (in different constr.) C.

<sup>4</sup> ὁ deleted by Kaihel, ὁ Λυσίμαχος Schweighauser.

<sup>5</sup> CE ἐκέλευεν A.

<sup>6</sup> Schweighauser: ἀπαγαγεῖν ACE.

<sup>7</sup> Schweighauser: ἐπ' αὐτοὺς A, ἑαυτοὺς alone CE.

<sup>8</sup> ὄρμην added by Kaihel: κίνησιν Schweighauser, ἄδειαν Cohet, διάθεσιν Hultsch, λαβὴν ἐνδόντες Peppink.

<sup>9</sup> Casaubon: οἰκίαν A.



That Sulla, too, the Roman general, was fond of jesting has been said before.<sup>a</sup> And Lucius Anicius, another general of the Romans, after defeating<sup>b</sup> the Illyrians and taking their king Genthius prisoner with his children, celebrated his triumph at Rome with contests in which he brought on acts evoking all manner of mirth, as Polybius records in the thirtieth book: "Having summoned the most distinguished artists of Greece and constructed a very large stage in the Circus, he first brought on the flute-players; these were Theodorus of Boeotia, Theopompus, Hermippus, Lysimachus,<sup>d</sup> all of them the most distinguished. Posting them, then, at the front of the stage with the chorus, he directed them to play all together. As they started to perform their music to accompany the dance-motions which corresponded to it, he sent word to them that they were not playing in the right way, and ordered them to whoop up the contest against one another. Since they were puzzled at this, one of the hictors<sup>e</sup> indicated that they should turn and advance upon one another and act as if they were fighting. Quickly the players caught the idea, and taking on motions in keeping with their own licentious characters they caused great confusion. For the

<sup>a</sup> See 261 c (vol. iii. p. 174) and Leo in *Hermes*, xlix p. 164.

<sup>b</sup> Genthius or Gentius had allied himself with Perseus, Livy, xlv 21, cf. 17, Plut. *Aemil. Paul* 13. Anicius, as proprætor, defeated him in 167 B.C.; P.-W. i. 2197, Athen. 440 a (vol. iv. p. 492).

<sup>c</sup> Chap. 14.

<sup>d</sup> The names have become corrupted; we expect other gentile names to match *ὁ Βουώριος*, e.g. Theopompus of Hermionê (Meineke), Hermippus of Lysimacheia. CE omit all mention of Lysimachus, but a Boeotian flute-player of that name is known from a Delphic inscription, Wescher-Foucart no. 5. 63, p. 4.

<sup>e</sup> Or "beadles."

χυσιν συνεπιστρέψαντες δὲ τοὺς μέσους χοροὺς  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἄκρους οἱ μὲν αὐληταὶ φυσῶντες  
 ἀδιανόητα καὶ διαφέροντες τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἀπῆγον<sup>1</sup>  
 ἀνὰ μέρος ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, ἅμα δὲ τούτοις ἐπι-  
 δ κτυποῦντες οἱ χοροὶ καὶ συνεπισείοντες<sup>2</sup> τὴν  
 σκευὴν<sup>3</sup> ἐπεφέροντο τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ πάλιν  
 ἀνεχώρουν ἐκ μεταβολῆς. ὥς δὲ καὶ περιζωσά-  
 μενός τις τῶν χορευτῶν ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ στραφεῖς  
 ἦρε τὰς χεῖρας ἀπὸ πυγμῆς πρὸς τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον  
 αὐλητήν, τότε ἤδη κρότος ἐξαίσιος ἐγένετο καὶ  
 κραυγὴ τῶν θεωμένων. ἔτι δὲ τούτων ἐκ παρα-  
 τάξεως ἀγωνιζομένων ὀρχησται δύο εἰσήγοντο  
 μετὰ συμφωνίας εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν, καὶ πύκται  
 τέσσαρες ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν μετὰ σαλ-  
 πιγκτῶν καὶ βυκανιστῶν.<sup>4</sup> ὁμοῦ δὲ τούτων πάντων  
 ἀγωνιζομένων ἄλεκτον ἦν τὸ συμβαῖνον περὶ δὲ  
 ε τῶν τραγωδῶν, φησὶν ὁ Πολύβιος, ὅτι ἂν<sup>5</sup> ἐπι-  
 βάλωμαι λέγειν, δόξω τισὶν διαχλευάζειν.

Ταῦτα τοῦ Οὐλπιανοῦ διεξεληθόντος καὶ πάντων  
 ἀνακακχασάντων ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἀνικίοις ταύταις θέαις  
 ἐγένοντό τινες λόγοι καὶ περὶ τῶν καλουμένων  
 πλάνων· καὶ ἐζητεῖτο εἰ μνήμη τις καὶ περὶ τούτων  
 ἐγένετο παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοτέροις περὶ γὰρ θαυ-  
 ματοποιῶν ἤδη προειρήκαμεν. καὶ ὁ Μάγνος ἔφη·

<sup>1</sup> ACE: ἐπῆγον Kaibel.

<sup>2</sup> Hermann: συνεπεισίδοντες AE, συνεπεισίδοντες C

<sup>3</sup> Hermann: σκηνὴν ACE.

<sup>4</sup> CE. βυκανητῶν A (so Polyb. ii. 29. 6).

<sup>5</sup> ἐὰν A.

flute-players by a concerted movement turned the middle choruses against those at the ends, while they blew on their flutes unintelligible notes, and all differing, and then they drew away in turn upon each other; and at the same time the members of the choruses clashed noisily against the players as they shook their gear at them and rushed upon their antagonists, to turn again and retreat. And so in one case a member of the chorus girded himself, and stepping out of the ranks he turned and raised his fists as if to box against the flute-player who plunged against him; and then, if not before, the applause and shouts that arose from the spectators knew no bounds. Furthermore, while these were contending in a pitched battle, two dancers entered the orchestra with castanets,<sup>a</sup> and four boxers mounted upon the stage accompanied by trumpeters and horn-players. All these contests went on together, and the result was indescribable. But when it comes to the performers of tragedy, says Polybius, whatever I might undertake to add would seem to some to be pure mockery."

After Ulpian had narrated these details the whole company burst out in laughter at these Invincible<sup>b</sup> spectacles, and then certain remarks were made about the so-called *planoi*<sup>c</sup>; and the question was raised whether there is any mention of these men also in the more ancient writers; for on the subject of magicians we have spoken already.<sup>d</sup> Then Magnus spoke.

<sup>a</sup> Polybius elsewhere (xxvi 10, xxxi. 4=Athen. 439 a-d, vol. iv. p. 488) uses the same word (*symphonia*) seemingly of some percussion instrument, see vol. ii. p. 377 note g.

<sup>b</sup> The adjective *Ἀνικτοίς* puns on the name Anicius.

<sup>c</sup> Vagabond jugglers and acrobats, Athen. 224 d (vol. iii p. 10).

<sup>d</sup> 20 a (vol. i. p. 86).

“ Διονύσιος μὲν ὁ Σινωπεὺς ὁ τῆς κωμωδίας ποιητῆς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ὀμώνυμοι<sup>1</sup> μνημονεύει Κηφισοδώρου τοῦ πλάνου διὰ τούτων

- f Κηφισόδωρόν φασιν<sup>2</sup> ἐπικαλούμενον Πλάνον τιν’ ἐν Ἀθήναις γενέσθαι, τὴν σχολὴν εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τοῦ βίου καταχρῶμενον. τοῦτον ταχὺν ὄντα<sup>3</sup> πρὸς τὸ σιμὸν ἀνατρέχειν, ἥσυχά δὲ κατιέναι ᾗ<sup>4</sup> τῇ βακτηρίᾳ.

μνημονεύει δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ Νικόστρατος ἐν Σύρῳ.

Κηφισόδωρον οὐ κακῶς μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Πλάνον φασὶ στενωπὸν εἰς μέσον<sup>5</sup> στῆσαι  
 τινας  
 ἀγκαλίδας ἔχοντας, ὥστε μὴ παρελθεῖν μηδένα.

- 616 Πανταλέοντος δὲ μνημονεύει Θεόγνητος ἐν Φιλοδεσπότῳ.

ὁ Πανταλέων μὲν αὐτὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς ξένους τοὺς τ’ ἀγνοοῦντας αὐτὸν ἐπλάνα, καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπεκραιπάλα τὰ πλεῖστα, τοῦ γελάσαι χάριν ἰδίαν τιν’ αὐτῷ<sup>6</sup> θέμενος ἀδολεσχίαν

καὶ Χρύσιππος δ’ ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν ε’ περὶ τοῦ Καλοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἠδονῆς περὶ τοῦ Πανταλέοντος τάδε γράφει “ ὁ δὲ πλάνος Πανταλέων τελευτᾶν μέλλων ἐκάτερον τῶν υἱῶν κατ’ ἰδίαν ἐξηπάτησε,

<sup>1</sup> Schweighauser. ὁμωνύμοι A.

<sup>2</sup> CE. φησιν A.

<sup>3</sup> ταχὺν ὄντα Kock: ἐντυχόντα A.

<sup>4</sup> ἥσυχά Jacobs, δὲ κατιέναι ᾗ Kock· ἡ συγκαθεῖναι τηπι A.

<sup>5</sup> Kock: στενὸν A.

<sup>6</sup> Dindorf· αὐτῷ A.

<sup>a</sup> Since this Dionysius apparently lived in the fourth century, perhaps we should read τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας, “ of the 316

Dionysius of Sinopê, the poet of comedy,<sup>a</sup> in the play entitled *Namesakes*, mentions the juggler (*planos*) Cephisodorus in these lines<sup>b</sup> "They say there was a man at Athens named Cephisodorus, with the title Wanderer, for he devoted his spare time to that mode of life. He was an agile one in running up the steep side of the Acropolis, and gently coming down upon his pole."<sup>c</sup> He is mentioned also by Nicostriatus in *The Syrian*<sup>d</sup>: "Not a bad job, they say, did Cephisodorus the Wanderer do, by Zeus, when he stationed some men with bundles in their arms in the middle of a narrow pass so that nobody could get by." And Pantaleon is mentioned by Theognetus in *He liked his Master*<sup>e</sup>: "Pantaleon himself could 'juggle' only the foreigners and those who didn't know him, and he squandered away in drunken sprees about all that he earned after he had invented for himself a style of talking all his own that would provoke laughter."<sup>f</sup> And Chrysippus the philosopher in the fifth book of his work *On Pleasure and the Good*, writes the following about Pantaleon<sup>g</sup>: "The wandering juggler Pantaleon, as he was about to die, deceived each of his two sons separately by Middle Comedy." His first victory occurred 340-335 B.C. (*I G.* II. 977, col. IV.) at the Lenaea. At 381 C (vol. IV. p. 224) he is given the more common title *κωμωδιοποιός*.

<sup>b</sup> Kock II. 426.

<sup>c</sup> The text is very uncertain, but seems to describe a pole act common among acrobats. For τὸ σιμόν, "the steep," see Schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 288, who says it was a place on (περὶ) the Acropolis.

<sup>d</sup> Kock II. 226. The title denotes a slave.

<sup>e</sup> Kock III. 365. For Pantaleon see 20 b (vol. I. p. 86).

<sup>f</sup> I can understand this passage only in the light of the practices on the stage instituted by the late Will Rogers, who convulsed audiences by his talk when performing his tricks with a lariat.

<sup>g</sup> *S.V.F.* III. 199

β φήσας μόνῳ αὐτῷ λέγειν ὅπου κατωρύχοι τὸ χρυσίον ὥστε μάτην ὕστερον κοινῇ σκάπτοντας αἰσθῆσθαι ἐξηπατημένους "

Οὐκ ἡπόρει δ' ἡμῶν<sup>1</sup> τὸ συμπόσιον οὐδὲ τῶν φιλοσκωπτούντων περὶ δὲ τοιούτου τινὸς πάλιν ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γράφει " φιλοσκώπτῃς τις<sup>2</sup> μέλλων ὑπὸ τοῦ δημίου σφάττεσθαι<sup>3</sup> ἔτι ἐν τι<sup>4</sup> ἔφη θέλειν ὥσπερ τὸ κύκνειον ἄσας ἀποθανεῖν. c ἐπιτρέψαντος δ' ἐκείνου ἔσκωψεν " ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων πολλάκις ὁ Μυρτίλος σκωφθέντα καὶ ἀγανακτήσαντα<sup>5</sup> εἶπεν καλῶς Λυσιμάχον τὸν βασιλέα πεποιηκέναι. Τελέσφορον γὰρ ἓνα τῶν ὑπάρχων αὐτοῦ, ἐπειδὴ ἔσκωψέ<sup>6</sup> ποτε ἐν συμποσίῳ τὴν Ἀρσινόην (γυνὴ δ' ἦν τοῦ Λυσιμάχου) ὡς ἐμετικὴν οὔσαν, εἰπών

κακῶν κατάρχεις<sup>7</sup> τήνδ' ἐμούσαν εἰσάγων,

ὁ Λυσιμάχος ἀκούσας ἐμβληθῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς γαλεάγραν καὶ δίκην θηρίου περιφερόμενον καὶ τρεφόμενον, κολαζόμενον οὕτως ἐποίησεν ἀποθανεῖν σὺν δέ, ὦ Οὐλπιανέ, εἰ τὴν γαλεάγραν

<sup>1</sup> Musurus· ὡμῶν A

<sup>2</sup> τις CE om A.

<sup>3</sup> ὑπὸ δημητρίου ἀναιρεθῆναι CE

<sup>4</sup> ἔτι ἐν τι Kaibel· εἰπεῖν A, εἰ γ' εἴη Lumb, om CE

<sup>5</sup> Kaibel σκωφθεῖς καὶ ἀγανακτήσας A

<sup>6</sup> A. ἔσκωπτέ CE.

<sup>7</sup> γὰρ ἄρχεις Plut.

<sup>a</sup> Here ends the speech of Magnus, who is followed in the next paragraph by Myrtilus.

<sup>b</sup> S. F. P. iii. 199.

<sup>c</sup> Plut. 634 F tells this story of one Timagenes, not mentioning Lysimachus. Seneca, *De Ira* iii 17 gives his name as Telephorus of Rhodes and adds gruesome details of

saying that he was revealing to him alone where he had buried his gold ; so when later they dug together in vain they perceived that they had been deceived " <sup>a</sup>

Our dinner-party did not suffer for lack of joke-lovers. Concerning one person of this sort Chrysippus again writes in the same book <sup>b</sup>. " A certain joker was on the point of having his throat cut by the public executioner, when he said that he was willing to die after he had said one more thing in the way of a swan song. On the executioner giving him permission he made jokes." King Lysimachus, says Myrtilus, did a good thing when, as often happened, he was joked about and roused to indignation by such persons. For Telesphorus, <sup>c</sup> one of his lieutenants, had once made a joke at a drinking-party at the expense of Arsinoë (she was the wife of Lysimachus), who was subject to vomiting, and he said, quoting <sup>d</sup>. " You are starting trouble by bringing in this vomiting woman (this Muse) " <sup>e</sup>. When Lysimachus heard it he commanded him to be thrown into a cage, in which he was carried about and kept like a wild beast until this punishment brought about his death. As for you, Ulpian, if you ask about that word for cage, <sup>f</sup> you his punishment as illustrating the cruel ingratitude of monarchs.

<sup>a</sup> *T.G.F.* <sup>2</sup> 914 Porson, *Med* 139 (p. 419), conjectured that the verse came from Euripides' *Antiope*, where it read τήνδε Μοῦσαν εἰσάγει as Plut has it.

<sup>e</sup> Telesphorus pronounced τήνδε Μοῦσαν "this Muse" (note *d*) so that it sounded like τήνδ' ἐμοῦσαν "this sick woman." *Uf.* the story of the actor Hegelochus, Aristoph. *Ran* 303, who, when reciting Eur. *Or.* 279 αἶθις αἶ γαλήν' (= γαλήνᾳ) ὀρώ, "once more I see the calm," was understood by the audience to say γαλήν ὀρώ, "I see the weasel." It is very likely that Athenaeus repeated the Hegelochus story here in his original text.

<sup>f</sup> Galeagra, lit. "weasel-trap," Pollux x. 155.

ζητείς, ἔχεις παρ' Ὑπερείδῃ<sup>1</sup> τῷ ῥήτορι· ὅπου δέ,  
d σὺ ζήτει. καὶ Ταχῶς<sup>2</sup> δ' ὁ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς  
Ἀγηςίλαον σκώψας τὸν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέα,  
ὅτ' ἦλθεν αὐτῷ συμμαχήσων (ἦν γὰρ βραχὺς τὸ  
σῶμα), ἰδιώτης ἐγένετο, ἀποστάντος ἐκείνου τῆς  
συμμαχίας τὸ δὲ σκῶμμα τοῦτ' ἦν

ᾧδινεν ὄρος, Ζεὺς δ' ἐφοβείτο, τὸ δ' ἔτεκεν μῦν  
ὅπερ ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀγηςίλαος καὶ ὀργισθεὶς ἔφη  
“ φανήσομαί σοί ποτε καὶ λέων.” ὕστερον γὰρ  
ἀφισταμένων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ὡς φησι Θεόπομπος  
e καὶ Λυκέας ὁ Ναυκρατίτης ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτιακοῖς,  
οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συμπράξας ἐποίησεν ἐκπεσόντα τῆς  
ἀρχῆς φυγεῖν εἰς Πέρσας.

Πολλῶν οὖν πολλάκις ὄντων τῶν ἀκροαμάτων  
καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οὐκ αἰεὶ, ἐπειδὴ πολλοὶ περὶ αὐτῶν  
ἐγίνοντο λόγοι, τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν εἰπόντων παρα-  
λιπὼν τῶν πραγμάτων μνησθήσομαι. περὶ μὲν γὰρ  
αὐλῶν ὁ μὲν τις ἔφη τὸν Μελανιππίδην καλῶς ἐν  
τῷ Μαρσῷ διασύροντα τὴν αὐλητικὴν εἰρηκέναι  
περὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.

τῶργαν<sup>3</sup> ἔρρυμέν θ'<sup>4</sup> ἰερᾶς ἀπὸ χειρὸς  
ἀ μὲν Ἀθάνα

<sup>1</sup> ὑπερίδῃ A

<sup>2</sup> Ταχῶς Diod., Ael., τάχως CE· ταχῶς A.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀθάνα τῶργαν Bergk: ἀθάνατα ὄργανα A, ἀθάνα ὄργανα CE.

<sup>4</sup> ἔρρυμεν C, ἔρρυμέ τε A, ἔρρυμ' E.

<sup>a</sup> Blass<sup>3</sup> frag. 34, Kenyon frag. 239.

<sup>b</sup> For the visit of Agesilaus in Egypt see 384 a (vol. iv. p. 234), which cites Theopompus; cf. F.H.G. i 281, J. 2 B 320



have it in the orator Hypereides<sup>a</sup>; as for *where* it is, you may hunt it up yourself. And Tachôs, the king of Egypt, because of a joke made at the expense of Agesilaus,<sup>b</sup> the king of Sparta (for he was short of stature), when Agesilaus arrived to be his ally, was reduced to private station because Agesilaus renounced the alliance. The joke was this. "The mountain was in travail-pains and Zeus was affrighted; but it brought forth—a mouse."<sup>c</sup> When Agesilaus heard that, he said in anger, "I shall one day look to you like a lion."<sup>d</sup> Later, in fact, when the Egyptians revolted from Tachôs, as Theopompus says,<sup>e</sup> also Lyceas of Naucratis in his *History of Egypt*,<sup>f</sup> Agesilaus, by refusing to help him, caused him to be ejected from his rule and he fled to Persia.

Well, we often had many entertainments, not always the same, and since there was much talk about them, I will omit the speakers' names and mention what was done. On the subject of flutes, for instance, one remarked that Melanippides, when ridiculing flute-music delightfully in his *Marsyas*, had said of Athena<sup>g</sup>: "Athena hurled the instruments<sup>h</sup> from her sacred hand and said 'To perdition

560, G. and H. 105. Cf. Nepos, *Ages.* 8, who gives the king's name as Thacus. See below, 657 b, and Plut. *Ages.* 36, Diod. xv. 92, Aelian, *V.H.* v. 1.

<sup>c</sup> Hor. *A.P.* 139 parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus, Phaedr. iv. 22

<sup>d</sup> Cf. the retort of Alcibiades, Plut. *Alc.* 2, Reich, *Mimus* 1. 27.

<sup>e</sup> *F.H.G.* i. 297, J. 2 B 560, G. and H. 105.

<sup>f</sup> *F.H.G.* iv. 441

<sup>g</sup> *P.L.G.* i. iii. 590, Diehl ii. 153, Edmonds iii. 234. For the satyr Marsyas, defeated in a musical contest by Apollo, see Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 8, Michaelis, *Die Verurteilung des Marsyas*.

<sup>h</sup> i.e. the two pipes.

# ATHENAEUS

f εἶπέ τ' " ἔρρετ' αἰσχεα, σώματι λύμα,<sup>1</sup>  
οὐ με τᾷ δ' ἐγὼ<sup>2</sup> κακότητι<sup>3</sup> δίδωμι "

πρὸς ὃν ἀντιλέγων ἄλλος ἔφη· " ἀλλ' ὁ γε Σελι-  
νούντιος Τελέστης<sup>4</sup> τῷ Μελανιππίδῃ ἀντικορυς-  
σόμενος ἐν Ἀργοῖ ἔφη—ὁ δὲ λόγος ἐστὶ περὶ τῆς  
Ἀθηνᾶς·

ὃν σοφὸν σοφὰν<sup>5</sup> λαβοῦσαν οὐκ ἐπέλπομαι νόῳ δρυ-  
μοῖς ὀρείοις<sup>6</sup> ὄργανον<sup>7</sup>

δίαν Ἀθάναν<sup>8</sup> δυσόφθαλμον αἰσχος ἐκφοβηθεῖσαν  
αὖθις ἐκ χερῶν βαλεῖν

νυμφαγενεῖ χειροκτύπῳ<sup>9</sup> φηρὶ Μαρσύᾳ κλέος.

617 τί γάρ νιν εὐηράτοιο κάλλεος ὀξὺς ἔρως ἔτειρεν,  
ᾧ<sup>10</sup> παρθενίαν ἄγαμον<sup>11</sup> καὶ ἄπαιδ' ἀπένειμε  
Κλωθῷ;

ὥς οὐκ ἂν εὐλαβηθείσης τὴν αἰσχροτήτα τοῦ εἵδους  
διὰ τὴν παρθενίαν. ἐξῆς τέ φησι

ἀλλὰ μάταν ἀχόρευτος<sup>12</sup>

ἄδε ματαιολόγων φάμα προσέπταθ' Ἑλλάδα μου-  
σοπόλῳν

σοφᾶς ἐπίφθονον βροτοῖς τέχνας ὄνειδος.

μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἐγκωμιάζων τὴν αὐλητικὴν λέγει·

ἂν<sup>13</sup> συνεριθοτάταν<sup>14</sup> Βρομίῳ παρέδωκε σεμνᾶς

<sup>1</sup> αἰσχεα σώματι λύμα A, αἰσχεα σωματόλυμα Meineke

<sup>2</sup> Bergk· ἐμέ δ' ἐγὼ A, ἐμέ δ' ἐγὼγ' οὐ Wilamowitz, ἐμέ  
δ' αὐτὰν οὐκ ἐγὼ Edmonds.

<sup>3</sup> C: κακότητι A

<sup>5</sup> σοφὰν σοφόν Wilamowitz.

<sup>4</sup> CE: τελεστής A

<sup>6</sup> Musurus ὀρειοῖς A.

<sup>7</sup> ὀργάνων Bergk.

<sup>9</sup> χοροκτύπῳ Meineke.

<sup>8</sup> Ἀθανᾶν A.

<sup>10</sup> Dobree: αἰγάρ A.

with you, shameful things, an outrage to my body.<sup>a</sup> I yield me not to such baseness' ” In answer to him another speaker said Yes, but Telestes of Selinus, taking up the cudgels against Melanippides, has said in *Argo*—he is speaking of Athena<sup>b</sup> · “ As to which<sup>c</sup> I cannot believe in my heart that divine Athena, clever goddess, found that clever instrument in the mountain thickets, and frightened at the ugliness which offends the eye, cast it again from her hands, so that it became the glory of Marsyas, the hand-clapping creature<sup>d</sup> whose dam was a nymph. For how could sharp yearning for lovely beauty have troubled her, to whom Clothô had assigned virginity unwedded, unchilded? ” Obviously she could not have been frightened at the ugliness of her looks, because of her virginity<sup>e</sup> ! Going on Telestes says : “ No, idle and hostile to the dance is this story, told by foolish bards, that has sped to Hellas—a jealous reproach of a clever art among men ” Next he praises flute-playing in these words : “ Which the uplifted breath of the august goddess, joined with the swiftness of her flashing fingers that quivered

<sup>a</sup> i.e. my good looks. Plut. *Alc.* 2 says that Alcibiades disliked the flute because the player could neither sing nor talk ; it should be left to Theban boys, who have no conversation. See above, p. 237 note *a*, and P.-W. ii. 2406.

<sup>b</sup> *P.L.G.*<sup>4</sup> iii 627, Diehl ii. 155, Edmonds iii 274.

<sup>c</sup> The flute, αὐλός, antecedent of ὃν

<sup>d</sup> The word φήρ, Thessalian for θήρ, “ beast,” was usually applied to a Centaur. But cf. φήρεα, of the Satyrs' horns, Hippocr. *Morb.* vi. 7.

<sup>11</sup> Casaubon: ἀγανὸν A.

<sup>12</sup> Grotefend · ἀλλαματαν αναχορευτος ACE.

<sup>13</sup> λέγει ἂν Kaibel, λέγει τὰν Musurus: λεγεγαν A.

<sup>14</sup> Hecker ουμεριθοταταν A (sic).

δαίμονος ἀερθὲν<sup>1</sup> πνεῦμ' αἰολοπτερύγων σὺν ἀγλαῶν  
ὠκύτατι χειρῶν.

ἡ κομψῶς δὲ<sup>2</sup> καὶ τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ὁ Τελέστης<sup>3</sup> ἐδή-  
λωσε τὴν τῶν αὐλῶν χρεῖαν ἐν τούτοις·

ἦ Φρύγα καλλιπνόων αὐλῶν ἱερῶν βασιλῆα,  
Λυδὸν ὃς<sup>4</sup> ἤρμοσε<sup>5</sup> πρῶτος  
Δωρίδος<sup>6</sup> ἀντίπαλον Μούσης<sup>7</sup> νόμον αἰόλον, ὁμφᾶ<sup>8</sup>  
πνεύματος εὐπτερον αὔραν ἀμφιπλέκων καλά-  
μοις.”

Πρατίνας δὲ ὁ Φλιάσιος αὐλητῶν καὶ χορευτῶν  
μισθοφόρων κατεχόντων τὰς ὀρχήστρας ἀγανα-  
κτήσας<sup>9</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦς αὐλητὰς μὴ συναυλεῖν τοῖς  
χοροῖς, καθάπερ ἦν πάτριον, ἀλλὰ τοῦς χοροῦς  
συνάδειν τοῖς αὐληταῖς ὃν οὖν εἶχεν κατὰ τῶν  
ταῦτα ποιούντων θυμὸν ὁ Πρατίνας ἐμφανίζει διὰ  
τοῦδε τοῦ Ὑπορχήματος·

τίς ὁ θόρυβος ὅδε; τί τάδε τὰ χορεύματα,  
τίς ὕβρις ἔμολεν ἐπὶ Διονυσιάδα πολυπάταγα  
θυμέλαν;

<sup>1</sup> A. ἀερόεν Bergk

<sup>2</sup> Schweighauser. κομψῶδε A

<sup>3</sup> τελεστής A

<sup>4</sup> Huschke: ἀυδοнос A (sic)

<sup>5</sup> Grotefend ηρσε A.

<sup>6</sup> Musurus δουρίδος A.

<sup>7</sup> More correctly Μούσας

<sup>8</sup> Dobree, Bergk, Schweighauser νομοαιολονορφαί A (sic)

<sup>9</sup> Wilamowitz. ἀγανακτεῖν τινας A.

like wings, gave over to Bromius to be his most faithful handmaid" Again, in *Asclepius*, Telestes elegantly set forth the use of flutes in these lines <sup>a</sup>: "Or that Phrygian king <sup>b</sup> of the sacred, fair-breathing flutes, who first composed the quivering Lydian strain to match the Dorian Muse, with tuneful breath tilling the winged airs on his reeds."

But Pratinas of Phlius, when hiring flute-players and dancers usurped the dancing-places, <sup>c</sup> became indignant at the way in which the flute-players failed to accompany the choruses in the traditional fashion, and choruses now sang a mere accompaniment to the flute-players; the anger which Pratinas felt against those who did this is clearly shown in the following *Hyporcheme* <sup>d</sup>. "What uproar is this? What dances are these? What outrage hath assailed the altar of Dionysus with its loud clatter? Bromius is mine, he is mine! Mine

<sup>a</sup> *P L G.* <sup>4</sup> iii. 629, Diehl ii. 156, Edmonds iii 276.

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps Olympus is meant, pupil of Marsyas, Plato, *Symp.* 215 c. For the differences between the Lydian and the Dorian modes in music see *Dict Antiq.* ii 196 ff For Plato's strictures on the Lydian mode see *Rep* 398 d-399 c, and Mahaffy, *Old Greek Education* 63 ff; on the modes see Mountford, *C.Q.* 1923, 125-130.

<sup>c</sup> They had previously been paid by the poets, and were subordinate to them. As virtuosi now hired by the choregi they demanded more attention; Plut. 1141 c-d.

<sup>d</sup> *P L G.* <sup>4</sup> iii 558, Diehl ii. 124, Edmonds iii 50. This celebrated poem belonged to a tragedy or satyric drama, according to Guard, *Mel. Weil*, pp 131-139: against this view see Crusius P.-W. v. 1223, cf below, 630 d, where hyporchematic poetry is included under lyric. On Pratinas and other matters suggested by the poem see H. W Garrod, *Class. Rev.* xlxiii. (1920), pp 129 ff. The hyporcheme was a song accompanied by lively dancing, Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets* lxxix.-lxxv. and below, 628 d.

# ATHENAEUS

ἐμός, ἐμός ὁ Βρόμιος, ἐμέ δεῖ κελαδεῖν, ἐμέ δεῖ  
παταγεῖν

ἀν' ὄρεα σύμενον μετὰ Ναιάδων<sup>1</sup>  
οἶά τε<sup>2</sup> κύκινον ἄγοντα<sup>3</sup> ποικιλόπτερον μέλος  
τὰν ἀοιδὰν κατέστασε Πιερίς βασιλείαν·<sup>4</sup> ὁ δ'<sup>5</sup>  
αὐλός

ὕστερον χορευέτω·  
καὶ γάρ ἐσθ' ὑπηρέτας  
κώμῳ<sup>6</sup> μόνον<sup>7</sup> θυραμάχοις τε πυγμαχίαισι νέων  
θέλοι<sup>8</sup> παροίνων<sup>9</sup>

ἔμμεναι στρατηλάτας  
παῖε τὸν φρυγέου<sup>10</sup>  
ποικίλου πνοᾶν ἔχοντα,<sup>11</sup>  
φλέγε τὸν ὀλεσισιαλοκάλαμον<sup>12</sup>  
λαλοβαρύοπα παραμελορυθμοβάταν<sup>13</sup>  
θῆτα<sup>14</sup> τρυπάνῳ δέμας πεπλασμένον.  
ἦν ἰδοῦ ἄδε σοι δεξιᾶς<sup>15</sup> καὶ ποδὸς<sup>16</sup> διαρριφά,  
θριαμβοδιθύραμβε  
κισσοχαῖτ' ἄναξ· ἄκουε τὰν ἐμὰν Δώριον χορεῖαν.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς αὐλῶν πρὸς λύραν κοινωνίας, ἐπεὶ

<sup>1</sup> Μαινάδων Valckenaer

<sup>2</sup> οἶά τε ACE· ἄτε Garrod.

<sup>3</sup> ἀφέντα Siebourg.

<sup>4</sup> Bergk after Heringa. κατεστάσ ἐπιερεῖσ βασιλεία A.

<sup>5</sup> CE· οὐδ' A

<sup>6</sup> Bergk κωμῶν A.

<sup>7</sup> μόνων CE

<sup>8</sup> Wilamowitz (θέλει Dobree). θεαεῖ A, θέα E, θεά C

<sup>9</sup> Bergk παροῖνον A

<sup>10</sup> Wilamowitz (φρυγίου Emperius) φρυγίου A.

<sup>11</sup> χέοντα Jacobs.

is the right to sing, mine the right to raise a clatter as I speed over the mountains with the Naiads,<sup>a</sup> even as the swan with his motley-plumed melody. 'Tis the song that is queen, stablished by the Pierian Muse, but the flute must be second in the dance, for he is e'en a servant, let him be content to be leader in the revel only, in the fist-fights of tipsy youngsters raging at the front door.<sup>b</sup> Beat back him who has the breath of a mottled toad,<sup>c</sup> burn up in flames that spit-wasting, babbling raucous reed, spoiling melody and rhythm in its march, that hireling whose body is fashioned by an auger! Look at me! Here thou shalt have the proper tossing of hand and foot, thou ivy-tressed lord of the triumphant dithyramb;<sup>d</sup> hear now the Dorian<sup>e</sup> dance-song that is mine."

Now concerning the partnership of flutes with

<sup>a</sup> Or, reading *μετὰ Μαινάδων*, "with the Maenads"

<sup>b</sup> Cf. the singularly apt description of Alcibiades' intrusion at Agathon's house, Plato, *Symp* 212 c *ἐξαίφνης τὴν αὐλειον θύραν κρουομένην πολὺν ψόφον παρασχεῖν ὥς κωμαστῶν, καὶ ἀλητρίδος φωνὴν ἀκούειν*

<sup>c</sup> *Phrynios*, probably hitting at the tragic poet Phrynichus, for whom Aristophanes, at least, professed great admiration, *Av* 749-750

<sup>d</sup> Fitzhugh (*Univ Virginia Record* 11 3 492) reads here *Θρίαμβε, Διθύραμβε*, comparing *Carm Arvale* 4 *Triumpe, Triumpe*

<sup>e</sup> As in the poem of Telestes above, the contrast between Dorian song and Phrygian virtuosity in flute-playing is suggested

<sup>12</sup> Bergk: *ὀλοσιαλοκαλαμον* A (*sic*) C, *ὀλοσιακάλαμον* E.

<sup>13</sup> Bergk *λαλοβαρυοπαραμελορυθμοβαταν* A, *λαλοβαρυπαρα* . . etc CE.

<sup>14</sup> Hartung: *θυπα* A.

<sup>15</sup> Bamberger: *δεξία* A.

<sup>16</sup> edd. *πόλος* A.

πολλάκις καὶ αὐτὴ ἡμᾶς ἢ συναυλία ἔθελγεν,  
Εφίππος ἐν Ἑμπολῇ φησιν·

κοινωνεῖ γάρ, ὦ μεираκίδιον,  
ἢ ἔν τοῖσιν<sup>1</sup> αὐλοῖς μουσικὴ καὶ τῇ λύρα  
τοῖς ἡμετέροισι παιγνίοις. ὅταν γὰρ εὖ  
συναρμόσῃ τις<sup>2</sup> τοῖς συνοῦσι τὸν τρόπον,  
τόθ' ἡ μεγίστη τέρψις ἐξευρίσκεται

ἣν δὲ συναυλίαν τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ἐμφανίζει Σῆμος ὁ  
Δήλιος ἐν ἐ' Δηλιάδος γράφων οὕτως “ ἀγνοου-  
ιένης δὲ παρὰ πολλοῖς τῆς συναυλίας, λεκτέον.  
ἦν τις ἄγών συμφωνίας ἀμοιβαῖος αὐλοῦ καὶ  
ῥυθμοῦ, χωρὶς λόγου<sup>3</sup> τοῦ προσμελωδοῦντος.” ἀσ-  
εῖως δὲ αὐτὴν Ἀντιφάνης φανεράν ποιεῖ ἐν τῷ  
Αὐλητῇ λέγων·

ποῖαν, φράσον γάρ, ἥδε τὴν<sup>4</sup> συναυλίαν,  
β ταύτην ἐπίστανται παρ' ἀλλήλων ἔτι  
μαθόντες αὐλεῖν.<sup>5</sup> ὥστε τοὺς αὐλοὺς σύ τε  
αὕτη τε λήψετ', εἴθ' ἃ μὲν σὺ τυγχάνεις<sup>6</sup>  
αὐλῶν πέραινε. δέξεται δὲ τᾶλλα σοι  
ἡδ'. οὐ τι<sup>7</sup> κοινόν ἐστιν, οὐ<sup>8</sup> χωρὶς πάλιν,

<sup>1</sup> Dobree· ὦ μεираκίον ἣν τοῖσιν A, συμφωνεῖ, γὰρ εὖ, μεираκίον,  
| ἐν τοῖσιν Kock

<sup>2</sup> CE συναρμόσωσι A after erasure.

<sup>3</sup> λόγου deleted by Kaibel, perhaps rightly Clearer sense  
ould be got by reading ῥυθμοῦ χορείας, which last might  
asily be lost before χωρὶς.

<sup>4</sup> ἡδετὴν A, ἡδέτην Petit

<sup>5</sup> Emperius, Gulick γὰρ ἀλλ' ἡῦλον ἔτι μαθόντες A.

<sup>6</sup> Meineke, Dindorf αὐτητελετηψεθειθαμεν συντυγχάνεισ A.

<sup>7</sup> ἡδ' οὐ τι Gulick, ἡδ' εἰ τι Meineke, Kaibel: ἡδύτι A.

<sup>8</sup> ου A, εἰ Kaibel.



lyre (since the concerted music of the two had of itself often beguiled <sup>a</sup> us) Ephippus says in *Merchandise* <sup>b</sup> : " Yes, my laddie, the music of the flutes and the lyre is a joint partner in our stage-plays ; for when one adapts his mood skilfully to that of his associates, then, and then only, do we get the greatest delight." What " concerted music " (*synaulia*) means is explained by Semus of Delos in the fifth book of his *History of Delos*, writing as follows <sup>c</sup> . " Since the term ' concerted music ' is unknown to many persons, I must tell its meaning It was a kind of contest in harmony, flute-music and dance-rhythm exactly corresponding, with no singer adding words to the performance " Antiphanes wittily makes its nature clear when in *The Flute-player* he says <sup>d</sup> " A Tell me, what is the ' concert ' he was dinning in our ears ? B They know how to play it still, they've learned it, one from the other Wherefore you and this girl here shall take the flutes, while you shall go on with the piece you are playing She will take up the rest after you. Where you are to play together, or

<sup>a</sup> The words ἡ συναυλία ἔθελγεν seem to come from Ephippus, αὐτῇ appears to mean " alone," as often, here opposed to singing, Plato, *Legg* 765 μονωδιῶν τε καὶ συναυλιῶν. But the succeeding quotations from Semus and Antiphanes mention only the flute, so that συναυλία here simply means music rendered on two or more flutes. So Boeckh, *Pindar* i 258.

<sup>b</sup> Kock ii 254

<sup>c</sup> *F H G* iv 494 *Luc Salt* 16 says that all sacrifices at Delos were accompanied with dancing to flute and lyre, but he does not use the word συναυλία.

<sup>d</sup> Kock ii 29 The quotation is far from clear. There is no mention of the lyre, although concerted music was common, Pind *Ol.* iii. 8, Hor. *Epod.* ix 5 sonante mixtum tibus carmen lyra See *Classical Studies presented to Edward Capps*, p. 180.

συννεύματ', οὐ προβλήμαθ', οἷς<sup>1</sup> σημαίνεται<sup>2</sup>  
ἕκαστα

“ Λίβυν δὲ τὸν αὐλὸν προσαγορεύουσιν οἱ ποιη-  
ταί,” φησὶ Δοῦρις ἐν β' τῶν περὶ Ἀγαθοκλέα,  
“ ἐπειδὴ Σειρίτης<sup>3</sup> δοκεῖ πρῶτος<sup>4</sup> εὑρεῖν τὴν αὐλη-  
τικὴν· Λίβυς ἦν τῶν Νομάδων, ὃς καὶ κατηύλησεν  
τὰ μητρῶα πρῶτος ” “ αὐλήσεων δ' εἰσὶν ὀνο-  
μασίαι, ὥς φησι Τρύφων ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὀνομασιῶν,  
αἶδε κῶμος, βουκολισμός,<sup>5</sup> γίγγρας, τετράκωμος,  
ἐπίφαλλος, χορεῖος, καλλίνικος, πολεμικόν, ἡδύ-  
κωμος, Σικινοτύρβη,<sup>6</sup> θυροκοπικόν (τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ  
κρουσίθυρον), κνισμός, μόθων. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα  
μετ' ὀρχήσεως ἠϋλεῖτο ” καὶ ὥδῃς δὲ ὀνομασίας  
1 καταλέγει ὁ Τρύφων τάσδε “ ἱμαῖος ἢ ἐπιμύλιος  
καλουμένη,<sup>7</sup> ἦν παρὰ τοὺς ἀλέτους ἦδον, ἴσως ἀπὸ τῆς  
ἱμαλίδος ἱμαλὶς δ' ἐστὶν παρὰ Δωριεῦσιν ὁ νόστος  
καὶ τὰ ἐπίμετρα τῶν ἀλεύρων.<sup>8</sup> ἡ δὲ τῶν ἱστουρ-  
γούντων<sup>9</sup> ὥδῃ αἴλινος,<sup>10</sup> ὥς Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἀτα-  
λάνταις ἱστορεῖ. ἡ δὲ τῶν<sup>11</sup> ταλασιουργῶν ἱουλος.”

<sup>1</sup> Casaubon · προβλημαθοῖς A

<sup>2</sup> σημαίνετε Memekē.

<sup>3</sup> σειριτησ ησ A

<sup>4</sup> CE: πρῶτον A.

<sup>5</sup> sic ACE, cf below, 619 b.

<sup>6</sup> σικινοτύρβη AE, σιλιννοτύρβη C.

<sup>7</sup> ACE: placed before ἴσως by Kaibel.

<sup>8</sup> Hesychius: ἀλετων A (sic) CE

<sup>9</sup> CE · ἱστορούντων A.

<sup>10</sup> CE ἔλινος A.

<sup>11</sup> CE · om A.

<sup>a</sup> F.H.G. II 478, J 2 A 143. Cf Eur Alc 345 οὐτ' ἂν  
φρέν' ἐξαίρομι πρὸς Λίβυν λακεῖν αὐλόν, Her 684, Pollux iv.  
174, Plut 1132 r, Howard in H.S.C.P. iv 1-60

<sup>b</sup> Frag 109 Velsen

<sup>c</sup> Athen 174 f (vol II p. 292), Diels, P.P.F. III. 1. 47.

<sup>d</sup> Below, 630 b, 20 e (vol. I. p. 88).

where again you play separately, there'll be nods together—no riddles—to make each part clear ”

“ The poets,” says <sup>a</sup> Duris in the second book of his *Agathocles and his Times*, “ call the flute Libyan, because it appears that Senites was the first to discover the art of flute-playing, he being a Libyan of the Numidian tribe, and the first to accompany the rites of the Mother of the gods with the flute ” “ Terms applied to flute-playing,” as Tryphon says <sup>b</sup> in the second book *On the Use of Terms*, “ are the following . comus, pastoral, gongras,<sup>c</sup> tetracomus, epiphallus, choir-dance, triumph-song, battle-song, gentle comus, Satyr's whirl,<sup>d</sup> door-knock (the same as thump-door), tickle-tune, Helot-lad.”<sup>e</sup> All these were played on the flute to accompanying dancing. Tryphon also enumerates the following varieties of song <sup>f</sup> . “ *Himarios*,<sup>g</sup> the mill-song as it is called, which they sang while grinding, perhaps from *himalis*. Now *himalis* among the Dorians means the product or measures of wheat-flour left after the grinding The song of people working at the loom is called *ailnos*,<sup>h</sup> as Epicharmus records <sup>i</sup> in *The Atalantas* The song of the wool-spinners is called *ioulos* ” Now Semus of

<sup>e</sup> Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 279 explains the *μόθων* as *εἶδος αἰσχροῦ καὶ δουλοπρεποῦς ὀρχήσεως* For the Helot children called *μόθακες* see Athen. 271 e (vol. iii p. 220).

<sup>f</sup> Frag. 113 Velsen, Athen. 109 a, 416 b (vol. ii. p. 12, vol. iv p. 385 note c), Usener, *Gotternamen*, p. 257.

<sup>g</sup> Properly “ rope-song,” sung at the well; Call. *Hec.* 1, 4. 12 (L.C.L. 252)=Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* 1297 (1332). Yet Suid s. *ἱμαῖον ἄσμα* and Hesych s. *ἱμαῖος* vouch for both meanings. *ὥδῃ ἐπιμύλιος, καὶ ἐπαντλαῖος, καὶ ἐπίνοστος.*

<sup>h</sup> Generally understood as meaning “ alas for Linos,” cf. *Il.* xviii 570, Pind frag. 135 5 (L.C.L. 594) But *λίνον* also means linen thread or cloth.

<sup>i</sup> Kaibel 93

Σῆμος δ' ὁ Δήλιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Παιάνων<sup>1</sup> φησί “ τὰ δράγματα τῶν κριθῶν αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ προσηγόρευον ἀμάλας<sup>2</sup>· συναθροισθέντα δὲ καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν μίαν γενόμενα δέσμην οὐλους καὶ ἰούλους· καὶ τὴν Δήμητρα ὅτε μὲν Χλόην,<sup>3</sup> ὅτε δὲ Ἰουλῶ.<sup>4</sup> ἀπὸ τῶν οὖν τῆς Δήμητρος εὐρημάτων τοὺς τε καρποὺς καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους τοὺς εἰς τὴν θεὸν οὐλους καλοῦσι καὶ ἰούλους.” Δημήτρουλοι καὶ καλλίουλοι. καὶ

πλείστον οὐλον οὐλον ἔει, ἰουλον ἔει.

ἄλλοι δὲ φασιν ἐριουργῶν εἶναι τὴν ὥδην. αἱ δὲ τῶν τιτθεουσῶν<sup>5</sup> ὥδαί καταβαυκαλήσεις<sup>6</sup> ὀνομάζονται. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐώραις τις ἐπ' Ἡριγόνῃ, ἦν καὶ ἀλῆτιν λέγουσιν, ὥδῃ<sup>7</sup> Ἀριστοτέλης γοῦν ἐν τῇ Κολοφωνίων Πολιτείᾳ φησίν· “ ἀπέθανεν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεόδωρος ὕστερον βιαίῳ θανάτῳ. λέγεται δὲ γενέσθαι τρυφῶν τις, ὥς ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως δῆλόν ἐστιν ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν αἱ γυναῖκες ἄδουσιν αὐτοῦ μέλη περὶ τὰς ἐώρας.” ἡ δὲ τῶν θεριστῶν ὥδῃ Λιτυέρσης καλεῖται. καὶ τῶν μισθωτῶν δὲ τις ἦν ὥδῃ τῶν ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς φοιτῶν-

<sup>1</sup> 622 a· παιώνων A

<sup>2</sup> ἀμάλας edd . ἀμάλας AC (ἀμάλαι)

<sup>3</sup> Musurus· χλόη A <sup>4</sup> ἰούλω A, Οὐλώ Didymus.

<sup>5</sup> τιτθεουσων A (sic)· τιτθῶν CE

<sup>6</sup> Musurus καταβλυκαλήσεις ACE.

<sup>7</sup> Leopaidi ὠιδῇν A.

<sup>a</sup> F H G iv. 495.

<sup>b</sup> Or *amallai*, Theocri x 40 ἀμαλλοδέται “ sheaf-binders ”

<sup>c</sup> The Verdant, for her sanctuary at Athens, see Paus. 1. 22. 3

<sup>a</sup> Goddess of the Sheaf, especially the last sheaf of the

Delos in his work *On Paeans* says <sup>a</sup> : " The handfuls of barley, taken separately, they called *amalai* <sup>b</sup> ; but when these are gathered together and many are made into a single bundle people called them *oulai* or *ioulai* ; hence also they called Demeter sometimes Chloe, <sup>c</sup> sometimes Ioulô <sup>d</sup> Hence from Demeter's gifts <sup>e</sup> they call not only the fruits, but also the hymns sung in honour of the goddess, *oulai* or *ioulai* There are also *Demetroulai* and *kalloulai*, and the refrain <sup>f</sup> . ' Send forth a sheaf, a plenteous sheaf, a sheaf send forth.' But others assert that this is a song of wool-carders The songs of nursing-women are called *katabaukaleses* " <sup>g</sup> There was also a song sung at the Swing-festival, in memory of Erigonê, which they call the wanderer's song Aristotle, for example, says in his *Constitution of Colophon* <sup>h</sup> . " Later Theodorus himself also died by a violent death. He is said to have been a luxurious person, as is evident from his poetry For he was a poet, and even to this day the women sing his lays at the Swing-festival." <sup>i</sup> The song of the reapers is called *Lityerses* <sup>j</sup> There was also a song of the hired men who work regularly in

harvest-field. Didymus ap. Schol. Apollon. Rh 1. 972 has Oulô, Usener, *Gotternamen*, pp. 257, 282, Hillel, *Eratosthenes* 21-25

<sup>a</sup> Lit " inventions," " products." Allen, Sikes, and Halliday, *Hom. Hymns* <sup>2</sup> 109

<sup>f</sup> *P.L.G.* <sup>4</sup> III. 654, Diehl II. 200, Edmonds III 532. Obviously from a hymn to Demeter or to the spirit of the sheaf, though other grammarians referred *ioulos* to wool

<sup>g</sup> Lullabies, from *βαυκαλῶ*, " lull to sleep." On the festival of the swing (*ἐώρα, αἰώρα*), in expiation for the hanging of Erigonê, see Nilsson, *Gr Feste* 232-237, P-W. I 1043

<sup>h</sup> Frag 515 Rose, Pollux IV 55.

<sup>i</sup> Or, " round the swings "

<sup>j</sup> Theocr x. 41-55, with Cholmeley's note

των, ὡς Τηλεκλείδης φησὶν ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσιν καὶ βαλανέων<sup>1</sup> ἄλλαι, ὡς Κράτης ἐν Τόλμαις· καὶ τῶν πτισσουσῶν ἄλλη τις, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις καὶ Νικοχάρης ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ Χορηγῶ. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις τῶν βοσκημάτων ὁ βουκολιασμός<sup>2</sup> καλούμενος. Δίομος δ' ἦν βουκόλος<sup>3</sup> Σικελιώτης ὁ πρῶτος εὐρὼν τὸ εἶδος· μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἀλκυνί<sup>4</sup> καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσεῖ Ναυαγῶ. ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς θανάτοις καὶ λύπαις ᾧδὴ ὀλοφυρμός καλεῖται. αἱ δὲ Ἴουλοι καλούμεναι ᾧδαι Δῆμητρι καὶ Φερσεφόνῃ<sup>5</sup> πρέπουσι. ἡ δὲ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ᾧδὴ φιληλιάς,<sup>6</sup> ὡς Τελέσιλλα παρίστησιν· οὐπιγγοὶ δὲ αἱ εἰς Ἀρτεμιν. ἤδοντο δὲ Ἀθήνησι καὶ οἱ Χαρώνδου νόμοι παρ' οἶνον, ὡς Ἑρμιππός φησιν ἐν ἔκτῳ περὶ Νομοθετῶν. Ἀριστοφάνης δ' ἐν Ἀττικάῃς φησιν Λέξεσιν<sup>7</sup> “ ἱμαῖος ᾧδὴ μυλωθρῶν ἐν δὲ γάμοις εὐμέναιος ἐν δὲ πένθεσιν ἰάλεμος λίνος δὲ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Dalechamps· βαλανείων ACE

<sup>2</sup> A βουκολισμός CE (cf 618 c)

<sup>3</sup> Kaibel ὁ βουκόλος A, βουκόλος ὁ CE

<sup>4</sup> ἀλκυνί A, Ἀλκυονεῖ Jahn, Kaibel, Pickard-Cambridge

<sup>5</sup> φερσεφόνῃ A, περσεφόνῃ C.

<sup>6</sup> Musurus. φιλικίας A

<sup>7</sup> φησὶν λέξεσιν A λέξεσι φησὶν C

<sup>a</sup> Kock 1. 212.

<sup>b</sup> Kock 1 141.

<sup>c</sup> Kock 1 481; the play is the second with this title, now lost.

<sup>d</sup> Kock 1 771

<sup>e</sup> The pastoral, or herdsman's song.

<sup>f</sup> Or *Halcyoneus*, Kaibel 91, Olivieri 10.

<sup>g</sup> Kaibel 110, Olivieri 35.

the fields, as Telecleides says in *The Amphictyons* <sup>a</sup>; also songs of bath-tenders besides, as Ciates testifies in *Deeds of Daring* <sup>b</sup>; and another, of women at the winnowing, according to Aristophanes in *Thesmophorizusae* <sup>c</sup> and Nicochares in *Heracles the Choregus* <sup>d</sup>. There was also, for those who tended their flocks, the *boukoliasmos*,<sup>e</sup> as it is called. There was a cowherd named Diomus, a Sicilian Greek, who first introduced this type; he is mentioned by Epicharmus in *Alcyon* <sup>f</sup> and in *The Shipwrecked Odysseus* <sup>g</sup>. The song sung at death and on occasions of grief is called *olophyrmos*.<sup>h</sup> The songs called *ioulai* <sup>i</sup> are appropriate to Demeter and Persephone. The song to Apollo is the *phalhelias*, as Telesilla testifies <sup>j</sup>; but those to Artemis are *oupingoi* <sup>k</sup>. At Athens even the laws of Charondas were sung at wine-parties, as Hermippus declares <sup>l</sup> in the sixth book of his work *On Lawgivers*. Aristophanes <sup>m</sup> in his *Attic Glossary* says. "*Himaios*, a millers' song; *hymenaios* is sung at weddings; *ialemos*, on occasions of mourning. But *linos* and

<sup>a</sup> "Lamentation"

<sup>b</sup> Above, 618 d-e.

<sup>c</sup> *P L G* <sup>4</sup> iii 380, Edmonds ii. 242; the word, if right, means "loving the sun-god Helios. Cf. the children's refrain  $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\epsilon\chi' \delta\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda' \text{ } \text{H}\lambda\iota\epsilon$ "

<sup>d</sup> So Pollux i. 38. Didymus ap Schol. Apollon Rh. i. 972 says this hymn was sung at Troezen.

<sup>e</sup> *F H. G.* iii 37, Bentley, *de legg. Char* 361. Aristot. *Probl.* xix. 28, ventures the theory that sung nomes took their name from νόμοι (laws) before letters were understood; "they had to be sung to be remembered, as among the Agathyrsi." Some read here Κατάνησι, "at Catana" (the modern Catania) for Ἀθήνησι, but Steph. Byz s Κατάνη speaks of Charondas as ὁ διάσημος τῶν Ἀθήνησι νομοθετῶν, *P - W.* iii. 2180-2182 Cf. Mart Capella ix 926, Graecarum urbium multae ad lyram leges decretaeque publica recitabant.

<sup>m</sup> Of Byzantium, Nauck p 184.

αἴλιος οὐ μόνον ἐν πένθεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ' ἐπ' εὐτυχεῖ  
μολπᾷ' κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην "

Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Ἑρωτικῶν νόμιον  
καλεῖσθαι τινὰ φησιν ὡδὴν ἀπ' Ἑριφανίδος,  
γράφων οὕτως· " Ἑριφανὶς ἡ μελοποιὸς Μενάλκου  
κυνηγετοῦντος ἐρασθεῖσα ἐθήρευεν μεταθέουσα  
ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις φοιτῶσα γὰρ καὶ πλανωμένη  
πάντας τοὺς ὀρείους<sup>1</sup> ἐπεξήει δρυμοὺς, ὡς μῦθον  
εἶναι<sup>2</sup> τοὺς λεγομένους Ἰοῦς<sup>3</sup> δρόμους ὥστε μὴ  
μόνον τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἀστοργίᾳ διαφέροντας,  
d ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν θηρῶν<sup>4</sup> τοὺς ἀνημερωτάτους συν-  
δακρῦσαι τῷ πάθει, λαβόντας αἰσθησιν ἐρωτικῆς  
ἐλπίδος.<sup>5</sup> ὅθεν ἐποίησέ τε καὶ ποιήσασα περιήει  
κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν, ὥς φασιν, ἀναβοῶσα καὶ  
ἄδουσα τὸ καλούμενον νόμιον, ἐν ᾧ ἔστιν ' μακρὰ  
δρῦες, ᾧ Μένάλκα.' " Ἀριστόξενος δὲ ἐν τετάρτῳ  
περὶ Μουσικῆς " ἦδον, φησίν, αἱ ἀρχαῖαι γυναῖκες  
Καλύκην τινὰ ὡδὴν. Στησιχόρου δ' ἦν ποίημα,  
ἐν ᾧ Καλύκη τις ὄνομα ἐρῶσα Εὐάθλου νεανίσκου  
σωφρόνως<sup>6</sup> εὐχεται τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ γαμηθῆναι αὐτῷ.  
e ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερεῖδεν ὁ νεανίσκος, κατεκρήμνισεν  
ἑαυτήν. ἐγένετο δὲ τὸ πάθος περὶ Λευκάδα

<sup>1</sup> CE ὀρίους A

<sup>2</sup> ἀποφαίνειν Peppink (below, 620 b)

<sup>3</sup> Casaubon ἰνοῦς ACE

<sup>4</sup> CE. θηριων A

<sup>5</sup> ἀκίδος, "sting," Lumb, om C

<sup>6</sup> σωφρόνως CE. om A

<sup>a</sup> Eur *Heiacles* 348

αἶ Λίον μὲν ἐπ' εὐτυχεῖ  
μολπᾷ Φοῖβος ἰαχεῖ  
τὸν κάλλει φθιτόν, κιθάραν  
ἐλαύνων πλήκτρῳ χρυσέῳ

<sup>b</sup> F H G 11 315, P.-W. s. *Menalkas* xv. 703, Allen, *Hom Hymns*<sup>2</sup> 133



*airnos* are sung not merely on occasions of mourning, but also 'at the happy dance,' as Euripides has it."<sup>a</sup>

Clearchus, in the first book of his *Love Stories*, says that there was a pastoral song named after Eriphanis, he writes as follows <sup>b</sup> "Eriphanis, the lyric poetess, fell in love with Menalcas when he was hunting and hunted him herself, seeking to attain her desires.<sup>c</sup> For she would haunt him, wandering about and traversing all the copses of the mountains, so that, by comparison, Io's famed courses are mere myth<sup>d</sup>; wherefore not only human beings most conspicuous for their lack of affection, but even the most savage beasts wept in sympathy for her suffering, touched by the perception of her amorous boding<sup>e</sup> Hence she composed the so-called *nomion* (pastoral) and when she finished it she went up and down the wilderness, as they say, calling aloud and singing it; in it are the words, 'Tall are the oaks, oh Menalcas' "<sup>f</sup> Aristoxenus, in the fourth book of his work *On Music*, says <sup>g</sup> "The women of old sang a song called *Calycê*. It was composed by Stesichorus,<sup>h</sup> and in it a maiden named Calycê, in love with a young man, Euathlus, modestly prays to Aphrodite that she may be married to him. But when the young man treated her with despise, she flung herself over a cliff. The tragedy occurred

<sup>c</sup> So Schweighauser: *sua persequens desideria*. But L & S (1925 ed) "by working on *his* desires."

<sup>d</sup> Clearchus adds to the list of his stylistic sins a weak pun on *δρόμους* and *δρυμούς*, courses and copses.

<sup>e</sup> The word *ἐλπίδος* may seem peculiar here, but is not out of line with Clearchus's unusual diction. For the poet's "pathetic fallacy" cf Theocr. i 64-83, Rohde, *Roman*<sup>3</sup> 61, 83.

<sup>f</sup> *P.L.G.*<sup>4</sup> iii 663, Diehl ii. 203, Edmonds iii. 498, 544.

<sup>g</sup> *F.H.G.* ii. 287, Eustath. II 1236 62, Rohde, *Roman*<sup>3</sup> 30.

<sup>h</sup> *P.L.G.*<sup>4</sup> iii. 222.

τωφρονικὸν δὲ πάνυ κατεσκεύασεν ὁ ποιητῆς τὸ  
 τῆς παρθένου ἦθος, οὐκ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου θελούσης  
 συγγενέσθαι τῷ νεανίσκῳ, ἀλλ' εὐχομένης εἰ  
 δύναιτο γυνὴ τοῦ Εὐάθλου γενέσθαι κουριδίᾳ ἢ  
 εἰ τοῦτο μὴ δυνατόν, ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ βίου." ἐν  
 δὲ τοῖς κατὰ βραχὺ Ὑπομνήμασιν ὁ Ἀριστόξενος  
 "Ἰφικλος, φησὶν, Ἀρπαλύκην ἐρασθεῖσαν ὑπερ-  
 εἶδεν. ἢ δὲ ἀπέθανεν καὶ γίνεται ἐπ' αὐτῇ παρθένοις  
 ἄγων ὠδῆς, ἣτις Ἀρπαλύκη, φησί, καλεῖται." *Νύμφις* δ' ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Ἡρακλείας περὶ Μαρι-  
 ανδυνῶν διηγούμενός φησιν "ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν  
 ὠδῶν ἐνίας κατανοήσειεν ἂν τις ἄς ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ  
 τινα ἐπιχωριαζομένην παρ' αὐτοῖς ἑορτὴν<sup>1</sup> ἄδοντες  
 ἀνακαλοῦνται τινα τῶν ἀρχαίων, προσαγορεύοντες  
 Βῶρμον.<sup>2</sup> τοῦτον δὲ λέγουσιν υἱὸν γενέσθαι ἀνδρός  
 ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ πλουσίου, τῷ δὲ κάλλει καὶ τῇ  
 κατὰ τὴν ἀκμὴν ὥρα πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων διενεγκεῖν·  
 ὃν ἐφεστῶτα ἔργοις ἰδίοις καὶ βουλόμενον τοῖς  
 θερίζουσιν δοῦναι πιεῖν βαδίζοντα ἐφ' ὕδωρ  
 ἀφανισθῆναι. ζητεῖν οὖν αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς  
 χώρας μετὰ τινος μεμελωδημένου θρήνου καὶ  
 ἀνακλήσεως, ᾧ καὶ νῦν ἔτι πάντες χρώμενοι  
 διατελοῦσι. τοιοῦτος δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ παρ' Αἰγυ-  
 πτίοις καλούμενος Μάνερος"

Οὐκ ἀπελείποντο<sup>3</sup> δὲ ἡμῶν τῶν συμποσίων οὐδὲ  
 ῥαψωδοί· ἔχαιρε γὰρ τοῖς Ὀμήρου ὁ Λαρήνσιος  
 ὡς ἄλλος οὐδὲ εἰς, ὡς λῆρον ἀποφαίνειν Κάσανδρον

<sup>1</sup> ἑορτὴν added by Wilamowitz, *συνήθειαν* Schweighauser

<sup>2</sup> Casaubon (*cf.* Hesychius s v) βωρβον A, βόρβον CE.

<sup>3</sup> Kaibel ἀπελείποντο A

at Leucas. The poet has represented the maiden's character as altogether chaste, for she is unwilling to consort with the young man at all costs, but prays that she may, if she can, become the lawful wife of Euathlus, or, if that be not possible, that she may be released from life." Again, in his *Brief Notes*, Aristoxenus says <sup>a</sup> · " Iphiclus treated with despite Harpalycê, who had fallen in love with him. So she died, and there exists a song-contest among the maidens in her honour, which, he says, is called *Harpalycê*" And Nymphis, in his first book *On Heracleia*, discoursing on the Mariandynians, says <sup>b</sup> " Similarly, one may note some of the songs which they sing during a certain festival that is held in their country, in which they repeatedly invoke one of their ancient heroes, addressing him as Bormus <sup>c</sup> They say that he was the son of an eminent rich man, and that in beauty and perfection of loveliness he far surpassed all others ; he, when superintending work in his own fields, desiring to supply drink for the reapers, went to get water and disappeared.<sup>d</sup> And so the people of the countryside sought for him to the strains of a dirge with repeated invocation, which they all continue to use to this very day. A similar hero is the one called among the Egyptians Manerôs."

Rhapsodists were not missing from our drinking parties either For Larensis enjoyed the poems of Homer as no one else ever has ; so much so as to make

<sup>b</sup> *F.H.G.* III 13, Schol. Apollon Rh II. 780

<sup>c</sup> Bormus was the name of the song or dirge in his honour, Hesychius s.v. Poll. IV 54 gives the form Borimus, Schol. Apollon Rh II. 780, Barynus. Cf Aesch *Pers* 937 *κακομέλετον ἰὰν Μαρνανδυνοῦ θρηνητῆρος πέμψω* See P-W III 733.

<sup>d</sup> This is a replica of the story of Hylas, for which cf. Theocritus XIII.

ὃν Μακεδονίας βασιλεύσαντα, περὶ οὗ φησι  
 ἱερύστιος ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν ὅτι οὕτως  
 ν φιλόμηρος ὡς διὰ στόματος ἔχειν τῶν ἐπῶν τὰ  
 ὁλλὰ καὶ Ἰλιάς ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ Ὀδυσσεΐα ἰδίως  
 ἔγγραμμένοι. ὅτι δ' ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ ῥαψῳδοὶ καὶ  
 Ὀμηρισταὶ Ἀριστοκλῆς εἴρηκεν ἐν τῷ περὶ  
 Ἰορῶν τοὺς δὲ νῦν Ὀμηριστὰς ὀνομαζομένους  
 τρῶτος εἰς τὰ θέατρα παρήγαγε Δημήτριος ὁ  
 Βαλληρεύς. Χαμαιλέων δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Στησιχόρου  
 καὶ μελωδηθῆναί φησιν οὐ μόνον τὰ Ὀμήρου, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τὰ Ἡσιόδου καὶ Ἀρχιλόχου, ἔτι δὲ Μιμνέρμου  
 καὶ Φωκυλίδου. Κλέαρχος δ' ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ περὶ  
 Γρίφων<sup>1</sup> “ τὰ Ἀρχιλόχου, φησὶν, Σιμωνίδης<sup>2</sup> ὁ  
 Ζακύνθιος ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπὶ δῖφρου καθήμενος  
 ἔρραιψώδει.”<sup>3</sup> Λυσανίας δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ  
 Ἰαμβοποιῶν Μνασίωνα τὸν ῥαψῳδὸν λέγει ἐν ταῖς  
 δείξεσι τῶν Σιμωνίδου τινὰς ἰάμβων ὑποκρίνεσθαι  
 τοὺς δ' Ἐμπεδοκλέους Καθαροὺς ἔρραιψώδησεν<sup>4</sup>  
 Ὀλυμπίασι Κλεομένης ὁ ῥαψῳδός, ὡς φησιν  
 Δικαίαρχος ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπικῷ Ἰάσων δ' ἐν  
 τρίτῳ περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἱερῶν ἐν Ἀλεξ-  
 ανδρεία φησὶν ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ θεάτρῳ ὑποκρίνασθαι  
 Ἠγησίαν τὸν κωμῳδὸν τὰ Ἡσιόδου,<sup>5</sup> Ἐρμόφαν-  
 τον δὲ τὰ Ὀμήρου.

Καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι δὲ ἱλαρωδοί, οὓς νῦν τινες

<sup>1</sup> Casaubon. γραφῶν A (so at 275 c)

<sup>2</sup> C ὁ σιμωνίδης A <sup>3</sup> CE ἔρραιψώδει A

<sup>4</sup> CE ἔρραιψώδησεν A

<sup>5</sup> Valckenaei · ἡροδότου ACE, Ἡρώνδου or Ἡρώνδα Ciusus

<sup>a</sup> F.H.G. iv. 358

<sup>b</sup> F.H.G. iv. 331.

<sup>c</sup> Frag. 9, p. 18 Koepke.

Cassander, who once ruled Macedonia, look ridiculous. For of him Carystius says <sup>a</sup> in *Historical Notes* that he was so fond of Homer that he had the greater part of the epics at his tongue's end. He had even made copies of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* with his own hand. That the rhapsodists were also called Homeists is stated <sup>b</sup> by Aristocles in his work *On Choruses*. The persons who are called Homeists to-day were first introduced into the theatres by Demetrius of Phalerum. Chamaeleon, in his treatise *On Stesichorus*, says, <sup>c</sup> too, that not merely the poems of Homer were chanted but also those of Hesiod and Archilochus, and even those of Mimnermus and Phocylides. Clearchus, in the first of his two books *On Riddles*, says <sup>d</sup> "Simonides of Zacynthus, seated on a stool, used to rhapsodize the poems of Archilochus in the theatres." Again, Lysanias, in the first book of his work *On the Iambic Poets*, says that the rhapsodist Mnasion used at public performances to act some of the iambic poems of Simonides <sup>e</sup>. And the rhapsodist Cleomenes recited at Olympia the *Rites of Purification* by Empedocles, as Dicaearchus says <sup>f</sup> in his *Olympic Festival*. Jason, too, says <sup>g</sup> in the third book of his work *On the Divine Honours to Alexander* that the comedian Hegesias acted the poems of Hesiod <sup>h</sup> in the great theatre at Alexandria, while Hermophantus acted those of Homer.

Again, there were the hilarodists, joy-singers,

<sup>a</sup> *F.H.G.* ii. 321.

<sup>e</sup> Semonides of Amorgos.

<sup>f</sup> *F.H.G.* ii. 249, Diels, *Vorsokr.* <sup>2</sup> i. 155.

<sup>g</sup> *Scr. Alex.* 160 frag. 3. The meaning of the title is very uncertain. cf. above, 603 a-b (p. 251), Dicaearchus's *περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰλίῳ θυσίας*, of Alexander.

<sup>h</sup> Herodas? See critical note 5.

σιμωδούς<sup>1</sup> καλοῦσιν, ὡς Ἀριστοκλῆς φησιν ἐν α' τερὶ Χορῶν, τῷ τὸν Μάγνητα Σῆμον<sup>2</sup> διαπρέψαι μᾶλλον τῶν διὰ τοῦ ἱλαρωδεῖν ποιητῶν,<sup>3</sup> συνεχῶς ἡμῖν ἐπεφαίνοντο.<sup>4</sup> καταλέγει δ' ὁ Ἀριστοκλῆς καὶ τούσδε ἐν τῷ περὶ Μουσικῆς γράφων ὧδε· 'μαγῳδός· οὗτος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ αὐτὸς τῷ λυσιῳδῷ.' Ἀριστόξενος δέ φησι τὸν μὲν ἀνδρεῖα καὶ γυναικεῖα τρόσῳπα ὑποκρινόμενον μαγῳδὸν καλεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ γυναικεῖα ἀνδρεῖοις λυσιῳδὸν τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ μέλη ἔδουσιν, καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα δ' ἐστὶν ὅμοια. ὁ δὲ Ἰωνικολόγος<sup>5</sup> τὰ Σωτάδου καὶ τῶν<sup>6</sup> πρὸ τούτου Ἰωνικὰ καλούμενα ποιήματα Ἀλεξάνδρου τε τοῦ Αἰτωλοῦ καὶ Πύρρητος τοῦ Μιλησίου καὶ Ἀλέξου καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων ποιητῶν προφέρεται. κα-

<sup>1</sup> σιμωδοῦς A σημωδοῦς CE.

<sup>2</sup> Σῆμος Strabo. σῆμον ACE.

<sup>3</sup> διὰ τὸ τὸν μάγνητα σῆμον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις διαπρέψαι CE.

<sup>4</sup> Kaibel ἐπιφαίνονται A

<sup>5</sup> Dubree ἰωνικὸς λόγος A, -κῶ λόγῳ C

<sup>6</sup> τῶν Kaibel τὰ A

<sup>a</sup> F H G iv 331, cf Strabo 648. Semus (Σῆμος with η) is the form best attested in the mss, but Dieterich's conjecture that σιμός refers to the snub-nosed satyrs is attractive (Σιμος, Σιμα on vases, *Nich Anz* 1898, p 132, Roulez, *Vases de Leide* plate v) The terms here cited (unfortunately with too little definition), semodia, hilarodia, magodia, belong to the mime in its most extravagant forms Dio Chrys *Or.* xxxii assails the Alexandrians of his time (first century) for their overweening devotion to this kind of entertainment. For this Aristocles, who based his facts concerning music on Aristoxenus, see *W.* ii 936; cf Athen 174 c (vol. ii. p. 290), below, 630 b. Something has been lost, but the meaning is clear Eust. 941. 54 says of Semus μελωδίαις βιβλιακαῖς ἐνδιέπρεψεν, "he won distinction for song-themes derived from books",

whom some to-day call *simodists* because, as Aristocles declares<sup>a</sup> in the first book of his work *On Choruses*, the Magnesian Simus was more eminent than all the other poets who wrote joy-songs, and they continually appeared for our benefit. Aristocles includes also in his work *On Music* the following artists, defining them thus<sup>b</sup>. "Magodist: this singer is the same as the lysiodist"<sup>c</sup>. But Aristoxenus says<sup>d</sup> that the performer who acts male and female rôles is called a magodist, whereas the actor of female rôles in male costume is called a lysiodist<sup>e</sup>: they sing the same tunes and all the other things they do are alike. Again, the *Ionico-logos* is one who recites the poems, called Ionic,<sup>f</sup> of Sotades and his predecessors, Alexander of Aetolia, Pyrês<sup>g</sup> of Miletus, Alexis,<sup>h</sup> and other poets of that

see critical note 3. For a discussion of the terms cited here, 620 d-622 d, see A. Dieterich, *Pulcinella* 29, Reich, *Mimus* 1 230-237, Maas in P-W 2 Ser v 159.

<sup>b</sup> *F.H.G.* iv 331; the two titles *περὶ Χορῶν* and *περὶ Μουσικῆς* refer to one treatise.

<sup>c</sup> Athen 211 b (vol. II p 454), 252 e (vol III p. 138), the accompanying music was played on the flute. The statement that *μαγῳδία* and *λυσιωδία* were the same may have been true for the time of Aristocles, but hardly so in that of Aristoxenus.

<sup>d</sup> *F.H.G.* II. 285, Eustath. *Od.* 1941. 54.

<sup>e</sup> Eust. is somewhat clearer, *ἐν ἀνδρείοις προσώποις γυναικεῖα ὑποκρινάμενος*, "acting female rôles with male masks."

<sup>f</sup> i.e. licentious. The Ionians were notorious for luxury and vice, Athen 524 f-526 d and note f (vol. v pp 366-375). On Sotades see Escher, *de Sotadis Maronitae reliquis*, 1913.

<sup>g</sup> Suid s *Σωτάδης* has Pyrrhus for Pyrês.

<sup>h</sup> Since this poet is otherwise not known, and since the name may be a short form of Alexander, just mentioned, it is probably to be expunged from the text here, see Crusius, *J f Phil.* cxliii 387. Suidas omits it, but adds Theodoridas, Timocharidas, and Xenarchus.

λείται δ' οὗτος καὶ κιναιδολόγος. ἤκμασεν δ' ἐν τῷ εἶδει τούτῳ Σωτάδης ὁ Μαρωνεΐτης,<sup>1</sup> ὥς φησι Καρύστιος ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ<sup>2</sup> συγγράμματι καὶ ὁ τοῦ Σωτάδου υἱὸς Ἀπολλώνιος. ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ οὗτος περὶ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ποιημάτων σύγγραμμα· ἐξ οὗ ἔστι κατιδεῖν τὴν ἄκαιρον παρρησίαν τοῦ Σωτάδου, κακῶς μὲν εἰπόντος Λυσίμαχον τὸν βασιλέα ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, Πτολεμαῖον δὲ τὸν Φιλάδελφον παρὰ Λυσιμάχῳ, καὶ ἄλλους τῶν βασιλέων ἐν ἄλλαις τῶν πόλεων διόπερ τῆς δεούσης ἔτυχε τιμωρίας. ἐκπλεύσαντα γὰρ αὐτὸν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, ὥς φησιν Ἡγήσανδρος ἐν τοῖς Ὑπομνήμασιν, καὶ δοκοῦντα διαπεφευγῆναι τὸν κίνδυνον—εἰρήκει γὰρ εἰς τὸν βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα<sup>3</sup> δεινά, ἀτὰρ καὶ τόδε, ὅτε<sup>4</sup> τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἀρσινόην ἐγεγαμήκει·

εἰς οὐχ ὁσίην τρυμαλιὴν τὸ κέντρον ὠθεῖς—<sup>5</sup>

Πάτροκλος οὖν ὁ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου στρατηγὸς ἐν Καύνῳ τῇ νήσῳ λαβὼν αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς μολυβῆν<sup>6</sup> κεραμίδα ἐμβαλὼν καὶ ἀναγαγὼν<sup>7</sup> εἰς τὸ πέλαγος κατεπόντωσε τοιαύτη δ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ ἡ ποίησις Θεοδώρου τοῦ αὐλητοῦ Φιλῖνος<sup>8</sup> ἦν πατήρ, εἰς ὃν ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν·

ὁ δ' ἀποστεγάσας τὸ τρῆμα τῆς ὀπισθε λαύρης,

<sup>1</sup> CE μαρωνίτης A

<sup>2</sup> Σωτάδου after αὐτοῦ deleted by Cobet.

<sup>3</sup> μὲν καὶ ἄλλα added by Kaibel

<sup>4</sup> CE ὅτι A

<sup>5</sup> Plut. ὠθεῖ C, ὠθει A

<sup>6</sup> A: μολιβῆν C, μολυβδίνην Eustath

<sup>7</sup> A· ἀπαγαγὼν CE

<sup>8</sup> CE φιληνος A

<sup>a</sup> κίναιδος means sodomite, often mentioned in Plautus and Juvenal.



sort This reciter is called also *kinaidologos*.<sup>a</sup> Sotades of Maroneia excelled in this variety, as Carystius of Pergamum says <sup>b</sup> in the treatise on him; also Sotades' son Apollonius The latter also wrote a treatise on his father's poems; in it one may discern the tactless frankness of Sotades, who abused first King Lysimachus while he was in Alexandria, then Ptolemy Philadelphus, in the presence of Lysimachus, and in fact all the other princes in other cities; hence he met with merited vengeance. For he had taken ship to sail from Alexandria, as Hegesander says <sup>c</sup> in his *Commentaries*, and thought he had quite escaped from danger; for among many other outrageous things he had said against King Ptolemy was in particular the following, on the occasion when Ptolemy had married his sister Arsinoe <sup>d</sup> "You are thrusting the prick into a hole <sup>e</sup> unholy." So Patroclus, Ptolemy's general, arrested him on the island of Caunus,<sup>f</sup> and thrusting him into a leaden jar he carried him out to sea and sank him in the deep Here is a specimen of the kind of thing he wrote, Philinus, to whom he addressed these verses, was the father of Theodorus the flute-player <sup>g</sup> "And he, uncovering the hole of the back-privy, sent forth

<sup>b</sup> *F.H.G.* iv 359

<sup>c</sup> *F.H.G.* iv 415, cf. Plut. 11 A.

<sup>d</sup> Powell 238, Diehl ii. 286.

<sup>e</sup> For the sense of *τρυμαλή* cf. Hesychius s v. *Τρυμαλίτις* Ἀφροδίτη, and for *τρήμα* Aristoph. *Ecccl* 624, 906

<sup>f</sup> Patroclus commanded a fleet which guarded the islands in Ptolemy's empire, Athen. 334 a (vol iv. p. 16), he was *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν νήσων*. Since no island by the name of Caunus is mentioned elsewhere except perhaps in Dionys. Perieg. 533, the statement in Athenaeus is thought by Wilamowitz to rest on some misunderstanding

<sup>g</sup> Powell 238, Diehl ii. 287.

διὰ δενδροφόρου φάραγγος ἐξέωσε βροντὴν  
ἡλέματον, ὁκοίην ἀροτὴρ γέρων χαλᾶ βοῦς.

Σεμνότερος δὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἐστὶ ποιητῶν ὁ  
ἱλαρωδὸς καλούμενος· οὐδὲ<sup>1</sup> γὰρ σχινίζεται.<sup>2</sup>  
χρήται δ' ἐσθῆτι λευκῇ ἀνδρεία καὶ στεφανοῦται  
χρυσοῦν στέφανον, καὶ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑποδήμασιν  
ἐχρήτο, ὥς φησιν ὁ Ἀριστοκλῆς, νῦν δὲ κρηπίσιν.  
ψάλλει δ' αὐτῷ ἢ<sup>3</sup> ἄρρην ἢ θήλειαν, ὥς καὶ τῷ  
αὐλωδῷ. δίδεται δὲ ὁ στέφανος τῷ ἱλαρωδῷ καὶ  
τῷ αὐλωδῷ, οὐ τῷ ψάλτῃ οὐδὲ τῷ αὐλητῇ. ὁ δὲ  
μαγῶδὸς καλούμενος τύμπανα ἔχει καὶ κύμβαλα  
καὶ πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδύματα γυναικεῖα·  
σχινίζεται τε<sup>4</sup> καὶ πάντα ποιεῖ τὰ ἔξω κόσμου,  
ὑποκρινόμενος ποτὲ μὲν γυναῖκας<sup>5</sup> καὶ μοιχοὺς καὶ  
μαστροπούς, ποτὲ δὲ ἄνδρα μεθύοντα καὶ ἐπὶ κῶμον  
παραγινόμενον<sup>6</sup> πρὸς τὴν ἐρωμένην. φησὶ δὲ ὁ  
Ἀριστόξενος τὴν μὲν ἱλαρωδίαν σεμνὴν οὔσαν  
παρὰ τὴν τραγωδίαν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ μαγῶδιαν παρὰ  
τὴν κωμωδίαν. πολλάκις δὲ οἱ μαγῶδοι καὶ κω-  
μικὰς ὑποθέσεις λαβόντες ὑπεκρίθησαν κατὰ τὴν  
ἰδίαν ἀγωγὴν καὶ διάθεσιν. ἔσχεν δὲ τοῦνομα ἡ

<sup>1</sup> AC· οὐδὲν E<sup>2</sup> ACE σχινίζεται older edd.<sup>3</sup> ἢ CE om. A<sup>4</sup> ACE: σχινίζεται δὲ Wilamowitz.

through the wooded chasm a clap of thunder impotent, such as an old ox lets loose when ploughing."

More serious than such poets is the so-called *hilarodist*, for he does not make indecent gestures <sup>a</sup> He adopts a man's white clothing and is crowned with a golden crown In ancient times he wore shoes, but to-day boots, as Aristocles declares <sup>b</sup> Either a male or a female plays the harp for him, as they do for a singer to the flute <sup>c</sup> The crown is permitted for the hilarodist and the aulodist, but not for the player on the lyre or the flute The magodist, as he is called, has tambourines and cymbals, and all his garments are feminine; he not only makes indecent gestures, he does everything that is shameless, at one time acting the part of women as adulteresses or pimps, at another, a drunken man going to meet his mistress in a revel rout And Aristoxenus says <sup>d</sup> that *hilarodia*, being serious, parodies tragedy, whereas *magodia* parodies comedy But often the magodists, though they took over their plots <sup>e</sup> from comedy, acted them according to their own style <sup>f</sup> and disposition. *Magodia* acquired its name from

<sup>a</sup> The exact meaning of *σχινίζεσθαι* is unknown, but it is partially explained below in 621 c, where any allusion to the phallus (*σχινοῖον*, Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1342) is excluded

<sup>b</sup> *F.H.G.* iv 331.

<sup>c</sup> i.e. the flute-player may be either male or female.

<sup>d</sup> *F.H.G.* ii. 285.

<sup>e</sup> The word *ὑπόθεσις*, "argumentum," corresponds to the modern scenario

<sup>f</sup> i.e. they improvised to suit the occasion or their own mood. Aristoxenus, the source of this passage (see Bapp, *Leip. Stud.* viii. (1885) 87-157) and of Strabo 648, uses *ἀγωγή* in the sense of "style."

<sup>5</sup> CE: *γυναικα* A

<sup>6</sup> Meineke · παραγενόμενον ACE.

μαγῳδία ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴονεἰ μαγικὰ προσφέρεσθαι<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
φαρμάκων ἐμφανίζειν δυνάμεις.

Παρὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις κωμικῆς παιδιᾶς ἦν τις  
τρόπος παλαιός, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος, οὐκ ἄγαν  
σπουδαῖος, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τούτοις τὸ λιτὸν τῆς  
Σπάρτης μεταδιωκούσης. ἐμιμείτο γάρ τις ἐν  
εὐτελεῖ τῇ λέξει κλέπτοντάς τινας ὁπώραν ἢ ξε-  
e νικὸν ἱατρὸν τοιαυτὶ λέγοντα, ὥς Ἀλεξίς ἐν Μαν-  
δραγοριζομένη δια τούτων παρίστησιν

ἐὰν ἐπιχώριος

ἱατρὸς εἶπη “ τρύβλιον τούτῳ δότε  
πτισάνης ἔωθεν,” καταφρονοῦμεν εὐθέως  
ἂν<sup>2</sup> δὲ πτισάνας<sup>3</sup> καὶ τρουβλίον,<sup>4</sup> θαυμάζομεν  
καὶ πάλιν ἐὰν μὲν τευτλίον,<sup>5</sup> παρείδομεν.  
ἐὰν δὲ σεῦτλον, ἀσμένως ἠκούσαμεν,  
ὥς οὐ τὸ σεῦτλον<sup>6</sup> ταῦτόν ὃν τῷ τευτλίῳ

ἐκαλοῦντο δ’ οἱ μετιόντες τὴν τοιαύτην παιδιάν<sup>7</sup>  
παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσι δεικηλισταί,<sup>8</sup> ὥς ἂν τις σκευο-  
f ποιὸς εἶπη καὶ μιμητάς τοῦ δὲ εἵδους τῶν

<sup>1</sup> μαγικὰ τινὰ προσφέρεσθαι CE

<sup>2</sup> ἐὰν ACE

<sup>3</sup> CE πτισάναν A

<sup>4</sup> Herwerden · τρύβλιον ACE

<sup>5</sup> Meineke σευτλίον ACE

<sup>6</sup> Meineke τευτλίον ACE

<sup>7</sup> ταύτην τὴν τέχνην C

<sup>8</sup> CE Plut δεικηλισταί A

<sup>a</sup> They cast a kind of spell over the audience. Dieterich, *Pulcinella* 30-32, accepts this etymology, Crusius in *Philol.* lxx 543 and Prof H J. Rose independently derive the word from μάγadis (below, 634 c), μαγῳδός for μαγαδῳδός. But all the other words in this category of the mime suggest the nature and content of the song, not the instrument played; αὐλωδός and κιθαρωδός are much older formations. The Alexandrian Erotic Fragment (Grenfell 1896, Powell 177-180) is by some thought to be a hilarodia; it has the sober diction and dochmiac metre of tragedy.

the fact that they recited, as it were, "magical" <sup>a</sup> verses and exhibited powers like those of enchantment.

Among the Lacedaemonians there was an ancient variety of comic pastime, as Sosibius says, <sup>b</sup> not taken very seriously, because in such matters also Sparta follows simplicity. In simple language one would imitate persons stealing fruit, <sup>c</sup> or a foreign doctor talking in the manner portrayed by Alexis in *The Woman who drank Belladonna*, as follows <sup>d</sup>: "If a doctor of our own country says, 'Give a bowl of barley-gruel to the patient here in the morning,' we straightway proceed to neglect his advice; but if it's pronounced bar-r-i-lay grool and a bowle, we look up to him with admiration. And again, if he prescribes a *teutlion* (beet), we disregard him; but if he calls it *seutlon*, we gladly heed, as if the *seutlon* were not the same as a *teutlion*!" Those who pursued this kind of pastime among the Laconians were called *deikelistai*, or, as one may say in other words, maskers and mummers <sup>e</sup>. But there are many local

<sup>b</sup> *F.H.G.* II 627.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. the stealing of fruit at Christmas as noted in *J.H.S.* II. 314; Pollux IV. 105 μιμητικὴν (μιμηλικὴν?) δὲ δι' ἧς ἐμιμοῦντο τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ κλοπῇ τῶν ἐώλων κρεῶν ἀλισκομένους Aristoph. *Pac.* 739-760 criticizes this kind of horse-play in the comedies of his day, cf. *Nub.* 553-560, *Eq.* 417-420, Frankel in *Rh. Mus.* 1912, 105.

<sup>d</sup> Kock II 348; the foreign doctor speaks Doric, cf. 503 a (vol. V. p. 252), 371 a (vol. IV. p. 180).

<sup>e</sup> The text appears to be defective, Thiele in *N. Jahrb.* IX. 411 note 2. For masks dedicated to Artemis at Sparta which may have belonged to these shows, see *Brit. School Annual* XII 338 and Plates X.-XII. Plut. *Ages.* 21 (=212 F) of the *deikelistai*: οὕτω δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς μίμους καλοῦσιν. For ritual exhibitions in Egypt called τὰ δείκῃλα see Herod. II. 171.

δεικηλιστῶν<sup>1</sup> πολλαὶ κατὰ τόπους εἰσὶ προσηγορίαι. Σικυώνιοι μὲν γὰρ φαλλοφόρους αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν, ἄλλοι δ' αὐτοκαβδάλους, οἱ δὲ φλύακας, ὡς Ἱταλοί, σοφιστὰς δὲ οἱ πολλοί. Θηβαῖοι δὲ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἰδίως ὀνομάζειν εἰωθότες ἔβελοντάς. ὅτι δὲ καινουργοῦσιν κατὰ τὰς φωνὰς οἱ Θηβαῖοι Στράττις ἐπιδείκνυσιν ἐν Φοινίσσαις διὰ τούτων·

2 ξυνίετ' οὐδέν, πᾶσα Θηβαίων πόλις,  
οὐδέν ποτ' ἄλλ'. οἱ<sup>2</sup> πρῶτα μὲν τὴν σηπίαν  
ὀπιτθοτίλαν, ὡς λέγουσ', ὀνομάζετε·  
τὸν ἀλεκτρύονα δ' ὀρτάλιχα,<sup>3</sup> τὸν δ' ἱατρὸν αὐ<sup>4</sup>  
σάκταν, βέφυραν<sup>5</sup> τὴν γέφυραν, τῦκα δὲ  
τὰ σῦκα, κωτιλάδας δὲ τὰς χελιδόνας,  
τὴν ἔνθεσιν δ' ἄκολον, τὸ γελᾶν δὲ κριδδέμεν,<sup>6</sup>  
νεασπάτωτον δ', ἣν τι νεοκάττυτον ἦ.<sup>7</sup>

Σῆμος δ' ὁ Δῆλιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Παιάνων “οἱ  
b αὐτοκάβδαλοι,<sup>8</sup> φησί, καλούμενοι ἑστεφανωμένοι

<sup>1</sup> δεικηλιστῶν A      <sup>2</sup> οἱ ACE. ἀλλ' ἢ Kaibel

<sup>3</sup> Meineke δὲ ὀρτάλιχον ACE

<sup>4</sup> Lobeck, Kaibel τὸν ἱατρὸν δὲ ACE

<sup>5</sup> Meineke· βλέφυραν δὲ ACE

<sup>6</sup> Valckenaer δ' εκκριδδαιωμεν A

<sup>7</sup> νεοκαττυτονη A

<sup>8</sup> αὐτοκάβαλοι Suid

<sup>a</sup> On a pole, as Aristoph. *Acharn* 243 indicates. On these performances in general see Reich, *Mimus* 1 277, Radermacher, *Wien Ak* 198 (1921), 12, Mazon, *Com d'Aristophane*, pp 178-179, Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy, Comedy*, pp 256 ff, Cornford, *Att. Com.*, pp 37, 41-45, Schmid-Stahlin, *Litt.-Gesch.* 1 635 ff

<sup>b</sup> Improvisers The word occurs first in the *Maieas* of Eupolis (Kock 1. 312), cf. Lucian, *Leiphr* 10 ἐγκαψικίδαλος (onion-gnawing) ἄνθρωπος τῶν αὐτοληκῦθων (parasites) καὶ αὐτοκαβδάλων, Hesych s. αὐτοκάβδαλα· αὐτοσχέδια (impromptu)

terms for the type known as *deikelistai*. The people of Sicyon, for example, call them phallus-bearers,<sup>a</sup> others, *autokabdaloi*,<sup>b</sup> still others, *phlyakes* <sup>c</sup> (so the Italians), while the majority call them sophists; but Thebans, who are in the habit of having special names of their own for most things, call them volunteers.<sup>d</sup> That the Thebans do make innovations in words is shown by Strattis in his *Phoenician Women* as follows <sup>e</sup> "You understand nothing, all you people of Thebes, nothing else whatever; for, in the first place, you call the cuttle-fish *opitthotila*,<sup>f</sup> as they tell me, the cock you call an *ortalix*,<sup>g</sup> the physician, again, a *saktas*,<sup>h</sup> the bridge *bephyra*, figs *tyka*, swallows *kotilades*,<sup>i</sup> a morsel *akolos*, laughing is *kriddemen*,<sup>j</sup> and if a thing is freshly patched, you call it *neaspaióton* " <sup>k</sup>

Semus of Delos in his work *On Paeans* says <sup>l</sup>. "The *autokabdaloi*, as they were called, recited their

ποιήματα εὐτελέη. The word is obviously a term of contempt.

<sup>c</sup> Portrayed on the well-known Phlyakes Vases of Southern Italy. The word either refers to their extravagantly stuffed-out costumes (so Dieterich) or to the nonsense (*cf.* *φλυαρία*) which they uttered

<sup>d</sup> Aristotle, *Poet.* 1449 b 2 (see Bywater's note), uses the word *ἐθελονταί*, "volunteers," in a general sense, without mentioning the Thebans. Hence Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 849, rightly remarks that the Thebans simply retained an old word commonly surviving in small villages.

<sup>e</sup> Kock 1 725, Eustath. 1818, 884 22.

<sup>f</sup> Squirting from behind.

<sup>g</sup> *Cf.* *ὀρτάλιχος* (which the mss. have here against metre), Aristoph. *Ach.* 871 and Schol.

<sup>h</sup> Carrying a bag, or medicine-chest.

<sup>i</sup> Twitterers

<sup>j</sup> Screeching, *cf.* Att. *κεκρυγότες* Aristoph. *Av.* 1521.

<sup>k</sup> Newly drawn together. <sup>l</sup> *F.H.G.* iv. 496.

κιττῷ σχέδην ἐπέβαινον<sup>1</sup> ῥήσεις ὕστερον δὲ ἱαμβοὶ  
ὠνομάσθησαν αὐτοὶ τε καὶ τὰ ποιήματα αὐτῶν οἱ  
δὲ ἰθύφαλλοι, φησί, καλούμενοι προσωπεῖον<sup>2</sup> με-  
θυόντων ἔχουσιν καὶ ἐστεφάνωνται, χειρῖδας ἀν-  
θινὰς ἔχοντες χιτῶσι δὲ<sup>3</sup> χρῶνται μεσολεύκοις καὶ  
περιέζωνται ταραντῖνον καλύπτον αὐτοὺς μέχρι τῶν  
σφυρῶν σιγῇ δὲ διὰ τοῦ πυλῶνος εἰσελθόντες,  
ὅταν κατὰ μέσσην τὴν ὀρχήστραν γένωνται, ἐπι-  
στρέφουσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον λέγοντες

ἀνάγετ', ἀνάγετ',<sup>4</sup>  
εὐρυχωρίαν ποιεῖτε  
τῷ θεῷ θέλει<sup>5</sup> γὰρ ὁ θεὸς  
ὀρθὸς ἐσφυδωμένος<sup>6</sup>  
διὰ μέσου βαδίζειν.

οἱ δὲ φαλλοφόροι, φησὶν, προσωπεῖον μὲν οὐ  
λαμβάνουσιν, προπόλιον<sup>7</sup> δ' ἐξ ἐρπύλλου περι-  
τιθέμενοι καὶ παιδέρωτος<sup>8</sup> ἐπάνω τούτου ἐπιτίθεν-  
ται στέφανον<sup>9</sup> δασὺν ἴων καὶ κιττοῦ· καυνάκας<sup>10</sup>  
τε περιβεβλημένοι παρέρχονται οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρόδου,  
οἱ δὲ κατὰ μέσας τὰς θύρας, βαίνοντες ἐν ῥυθμῷ  
καὶ λέγοντες·

<sup>1</sup> CE (in a different constr.) ἐπέβαινον A

<sup>2</sup> ACE προσωπεῖα Suid, Kaibel

<sup>3</sup> χιτῶσι τε ACE <sup>4</sup> ἀνάγετ' added by Meineke

<sup>5</sup> Meineke ἐθέλει ACE

<sup>6</sup> Meineke, Bergk. ἐσφυρωμένος ACE

<sup>7</sup> προπόλιον ACE προκόμιον Valckenaer, προσκόπιον Kaibel

<sup>8</sup> Suid παιδέρωτας ACE.

<sup>9</sup> Meineke· στέφανόν τε ACE.

<sup>10</sup> Scaliger. αυνάκας A.

<sup>a</sup> The meaning of σχέδην is uncertain, "gently" (L. & S.)  
or "slowly" seems inappropriate, unless we add a parti-



pieces slowly,<sup>a</sup> wearing wreaths of ivy. Later they were named *iambor*, as were also their poems. The so-called *ithyphallos*, he says, have a mask representing drunken men, and wear wreaths and coloured sleeves; their tunics have white stripes<sup>b</sup> and are belted with a fancy apron<sup>c</sup> which covers them down to the ankles. After entering the portal in silence, when they reach the centre of the *orchestra* they turn toward the audience and recite<sup>d</sup>: 'Give way, give way! Make room for the god! For the god wishes to march through your midst, uplifted to the point of bursting'<sup>e</sup>. But the *phallophoroi*,<sup>f</sup> he says, do not use a mask, but binding on their heads a bonnet<sup>g</sup> of tufted thyme and holly, they place on top of this a thick wreath of violets and ivy; wrapped in thick mantles they come in, some by the side-entrance, others by the middle doors, marching in step and

ciple *εἰσελθόντες*, "entering slowly", so, apparently, Schweighauser. Casaubon proposed *αὐτοσχεδὴν* (= *αὐτοσχεδόν*), "off-hand," "impromptu."

<sup>b</sup> Since Athen elsewhere (215 c, 537 e) uses *μεσόλευκος* with some colour, perhaps we should read *πορφυροῖς* (purple) or *φοινικοῖς* (red) with *χιτῶσι*.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "a Tarentine."

<sup>d</sup> *P.L.G.*<sup>4</sup> iii. 657, Diehl ii. 206, Edmonds iii. 514; see Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* i. 1062-1063.

<sup>e</sup> For *ἐσφυδωμένος* cf. Athen 246 f (vol. iii. p. 110) οἱ *δειπνοῦσι ἐσφυδωμένοι*.

<sup>f</sup> For the description of Antheas of Lindus and his phallus-bearers see Athen 445 a-b (vol. iv p. 516).

<sup>g</sup> See critical note 7 and cf. Suid s. *Σῆμος* οὐ (Τοῦρ προσωπίου) χωρὶς (?) ἐξ ἐρπύλλου καὶ παιδέρωτος ἔσκεπον τὰς ὄψεις, *κιττῶ* καὶ ἴοις στεφανούμενοι. *προπόλιον* does not occur elsewhere, but cf. the Byzantine *προπόλωμα*, Constant Porph. *Cer.* 500 13, of some kind of head-dress worn by the Emperor. Kaibel's alteration to *προσκόπιον* (cf. 176 b, vol. ii. p. 300) is unwarranted.

d σοί, Βάκχε, τάνδε μοῦσαν ἀγλαΐζομεν,  
ἀπλοῦν ῥυθμὸν χέοντες αἰόλῳ μέλει,  
καινάν,<sup>1</sup> ἀπαρθέεντον, οὗ τι ταῖς πάρος  
κεχρημέναν<sup>2</sup> ὠδαῖσιν, ἀλλ' ἀκήρατον  
κατάρχομεν τὸν ὕμνον.

εἶτα προτρέχοντες<sup>3</sup> ἐτώθαζον οὓς<sup>4</sup> προέλοιτο, στά-  
δην δὲ ἔπραττον. ὁ δὲ φαλλοφόρος ἰθὺ βαδίζων  
καταπασθεῖς<sup>5</sup> αἰθάλῳ.”

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου ἐσμέν, οὐκ ἄξιον  
ἡγοῦμαι παραλιπεῖν τὰ περὶ Ἀμοιβέως τοῦ καθ'  
ἡμᾶς κιθαρωδοῦ,

ἀνδρὸς τεχνίτου κατὰ νόμους τοὺς μουσικούς.<sup>6</sup>

e οὗτός ποτε βράδιον ἦκων ἐπὶ τὸ συμπόσιον ἡμῶν  
ὥς ἔμαθεν παρά τινος τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀποδειπνή-  
σαντας, ἐβουλεύετο τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἕως παρελθὼν  
ὁ Σόφων αὐτῷ μάγειρος (γεγωνότερον δ' ἐφθέγγ-  
γετο ὥς πάντας ἀκούειν) τὰ ἐξ Αὔγης εἶπεν  
Εὐβούλου

τί, ὦ πόνηρ', ἔστηκας ἐν πύλαις ἔτι,  
ἀλλ' οὐ βαδίζεις; τοῖσδε γενναίως πάλαι  
διεσπάρακται θερμὰ χηνίσκων μέλη,  
διερράχισται σεμνὰ δελφάκων κρέα,  
κατηλόγηται<sup>7</sup> γαστρὸς οὖν<sup>8</sup> μέσῳ κύκλος,  
κατησίμωται πάντα τὰ κροκώλια,

<sup>1</sup> Hemsterhuys. καὶ μὲν Α

<sup>2</sup> Porson. κεχρημεῖαν Α

<sup>3</sup> CE προστρέχοντες Α. <sup>4</sup> Kaibel: οὓς ἂν ACE.

<sup>5</sup> Kaibel. καταπλησθεῖς Α

<sup>6</sup> Kaibel μουσικῆς Α, τῆς μουσικῆς Musurus.

reciting <sup>a</sup> · ‘ To thee, Bacchus, we raise this glorifying song, pouring forth a simple measure in varied melody—a song new and virginal,<sup>b</sup> in no wise used in earlier lays ; no, undefiled is the hymn we consecrate.’ They would then run forward and jeer at any one they picked out ; they did this standing still But the man who carried the phallus-pole kept marching straight on, smeared with soot.” <sup>c</sup>

Since we are on the subject I think it not right to omit the story of Amoebeus, a harp-singer of our time, “ a man highly skilled in the rules of music.” <sup>d</sup> He arrived rather late at our symposium, and when he learned from one of the servants that we had finished dinner, he was debating what he had better do, when Sophôn <sup>e</sup> the cook came up to him and recited, in a voice loud enough for all to hear, the lines from the *Augê* of Eubulus <sup>f</sup> “ Why, you poor fool, do you keep standing at the gate instead of going on inside ? The people here in lavish style have long since pulled to pieces the hot limbs of goslings, have carved from the chine portentous pieces of sucking-pig, have punched to a pulp the round middle of a belly, have demolished

<sup>a</sup> *P L G.* <sup>4</sup> iii 657, Diehl ii. 206, Edmonds iii. 514. Porson ascribed the verses to Pratinas.

<sup>b</sup> M. Navarre, *Rev. des ét. anc* 13 (1911) 249, renders ἀπαρθέεντρον “ qui n’est fait pour des jeunes filles,” I cannot believe rightly.

<sup>c</sup> Nilsson, *Gri Feste* 215 The Greek is incomplete and the meaning uncertain See critical note 5.

<sup>d</sup> Porson noted in these words an anonymous iambic verse.

<sup>e</sup> This name, meaning Wise One, is here assumed, but actually occurs of a cook at 403 e (Anaxippus, vol. iv. p. 328) and at 662 c.

<sup>f</sup> Kock ii. 170. For the scene cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 503-520.

<sup>7</sup> CE κατηλόισται A, κατηλόκισται Meineke (cf Hesych s v ) <sup>8</sup> οὖν Kaibel: ἐν ACE.

νεωγάλισται<sup>1</sup> σεμνὸς ἀλλᾶντος τόμος,  
 παρεντέτρωκται τευθὶς ἐξωπτημένη,  
 παρεγκέκαπται<sup>2</sup> κρανί<sup>3</sup> ἑνέ<sup>4</sup> ἢ δέκα.  
 ὥστ' εἴ τι<sup>4</sup> βούλει τῶν λελειμένων φαγεῖν,  
 ἔπειγ' ἔπειγε, μή ποθ' ὥς<sup>5</sup> λύκος χανῶν  
 καὶ τῶνδ' ἀμαρτῶν<sup>6</sup> ὕστερον σαυτὸν δάκνης<sup>7</sup>.

Πάντ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν

κατὰ τὸν ἡδιστον Ἀντιφάνην, ὃς ἐν τῷ Φιλο-  
 θηβαίῳ φησίν—

ἣ τε γὰρ συνώνυμος  
 τῆς ἔνδον οὔσης ἔγχελυς Βοιωτία  
 τμηθείσα<sup>8</sup> κοίλοις ἐν βυθοῖσι κακκάβης<sup>9</sup>  
 χλιαίνεται, αἶρεθ', ἔψεται,<sup>10</sup> παφλάζεται,  
 προσκάεθ', ὥστε μηδ' ἂν εἰ χαλκοῦς<sup>11</sup> ἔχων  
 μυκτῆρας εἰσέλθοι τις, ἐξελθεῖν πάλιν  
 εἰκῇ· τοσαύτην ἐξακοντίζει πνοήν  
 Β. λέγεις μάγειρον ζῶντα. Α πλησίον δέ γε  
 ταύτης ἄσιτος ἡμέραν καὶ νύχθ' ὅλην

<sup>1</sup> Meineke ενωγαλισται A, ἐνωγάλισται CE

<sup>2</sup> παρεγκέκαπται Valckenaer: παρεκκέκαπται A, παρεκλέ-  
 λαπται Kaibel

<sup>3</sup> Meineke στερανι A, σταμνί Valckenaer, Kaibel

<sup>4</sup> Valckenaer: ὥστε ἐπεὶ A, ὥστ' ἐπεὶ CE

<sup>5</sup> CE ἐπεὶ γ' ἐπεγ' μή ποτ' ὥς A (sic)

<sup>6</sup> ἀμάρτης C

<sup>7</sup> σαυτὸν δάκνης Kock συχνωδραχμῆς A, δράμης Musurus

<sup>8</sup> ACE μυχθείσα 169 c <sup>9</sup> κακάβης C

<sup>10</sup> 169 d· αἰρεθεζεται A, χλιαίνεται ἐξαίρεται παμφλάζεται C

<sup>11</sup> Schweighauser χαλκεὺς ACE

<sup>a</sup> The verb is derived from νόγαλα, "sweetmeats," Athen.  
 29 d, 47 d (vol. 1. pp. 128, 204-206).

all the trotters, have munched with relish <sup>a</sup> a portentous slice of sausage, have chewed away a broiled squid, have gulped down the side-meat of nine or ten heads <sup>b</sup> So if you want to eat anything that's left over, hurry, hurry, lest like a wolf that gapes in vain <sup>c</sup> you miss that too, and later bite yourself " <sup>d</sup>

" We now have everything," to quote the highly delightful Antiphanes, who in his *Pro-Theban* says <sup>e</sup> : " A. For the creature which bears the same name as the lady <sup>f</sup> inside, Boeotian eel, has been sliced up in the hollow depths of the pot ; it's getting hot, it's rising high, stewing and spluttering, it's beginning to burn on, so that even if one had nostrils of bronze when he came in, he could not easily walk out again , so great is the fragrant breath it shoots forth " B You're telling me of a cook who leads a life ! <sup>g</sup> A Yes, and beside the eel is the mullet, which for whole days

<sup>b</sup> Or, adopting the reading παραλέλαπται σταμνία, " have guzzled nine or ten jars (of wine) " By " heads " are meant " lambs' heads," Modern Greek κεφαλάρια

<sup>c</sup> " Gaping wolf " was a proverb ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπράκτων, Suid. <sup>s</sup> λύκος χανών

<sup>d</sup> Kock's conjecture (see critical note 7) is here read with hesitation ; the reading in A (CE omit) is nonsense. Cf. Aristoph *Vesp.* 776 (Bdelycleon coaxing his father Philocleon)

ἦν δίκην  
λέγῃ μακράν τις, οὐχὶ πεινῶν ἀναμενεῖς  
δάκνων σεαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἀπολογούμενον,

" if anybody pleads his case too long you won't have to wait in hunger until he stops, biting yourself and the defendant too ! "

<sup>e</sup> Kock II 105, cf. 169 c (vol II p. 268)

<sup>f</sup> Enchelys " Eel "

<sup>g</sup> i.e. he lives high. Cf. Capps, *Menander*, Περικειρομένη 63 and note, Allinson (L C L) 211.

κεστρεὺς λοπισθεῖς,<sup>1</sup> ἄλσι<sup>2</sup> πασθεῖς,<sup>3</sup> ἐκστραφεῖς,<sup>4</sup>  
 χρωσθεῖς, ὁμοῦ τι πρὸς τέλος<sup>5</sup> δρόμου περῶν,  
 σίζει<sup>6</sup> κεκραγῶς, παῖς δ' ἐφέστηκε ρανῶν<sup>7</sup>  
 ὄξει, Λίβυς τε καυλὸς ἐξηρασμένος<sup>8</sup>  
 ἀκτῖσι θείαις σιλφίου παραστατεῖ<sup>9</sup>  
 Β εἴτ' οὐκ ἐπωδούς φασιν ἰσχύειν τινές,<sup>10</sup>  
 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη τρεῖς ὁρῶ μασωμένους,  
 σοῦ ταῦτα συστρέφοντος Α. ἣ τε σύννομον<sup>11</sup>  
 τῆς κυφονώτου<sup>12</sup> σῶμ' ἔχουσα σηπίας,<sup>13</sup>  
 ξιφηφόροισι χερσὶν ἐξωπλισμένη  
 τευθίς, μεταλλάξασα λευκανγῇ φύσιν  
 σαρκὸς πυρωτοῖς ἀνθράκων ράπισμασιν,<sup>14</sup>  
 ξανθαῖσιν αὔραις σῶμα πᾶν ἀγάλλεται,  
 δείπνου προφήτην λιμὸν ἐκκαλουμένη.  
 ὥστε γ' εἴσιθι,  
 μὴ μέλλε, χώρει. δεῖ γὰρ ἡρισθηκότας  
 πάσχειν, εἴαν τι καὶ παθεῖν ἡμᾶς δέη.

καὶ ὅς πάνυ ἐμμελέστατα ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ ἀν-  
 εφώνησε<sup>15</sup> τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Κλεάρχου Κιθαρωδοῦ τάδε

<sup>1</sup> λεπιοθεῖς ACE

<sup>3</sup> CE σπασθεῖς Α

<sup>5</sup> CE τελοσμέρος Α

<sup>7</sup> ρανῶν Α, ράινων C.

<sup>9</sup> CE παραστρατεῖ Α.

<sup>10</sup> Α τινὰς CE. Dalechamps rightly took this to be a question

<sup>11</sup> Herwerden · σύννομος ACE

<sup>12</sup> Toup κουφονώτου ACE, κουφονότου C

<sup>13</sup> CE σηπία Α

<sup>14</sup> AC ρίπισμασιν Abresch, Kaibel.

<sup>15</sup> Α ἀντεφώνησε Kaibel.

<sup>2</sup> ἄλσι added by Cobet

<sup>4</sup> Cobet στραφεῖς ACE

<sup>6</sup> CE ἥξει Α

<sup>8</sup> Α ἐξηραμμένος CE

<sup>a</sup> The entire quotation is in mockery of the tragic manner. On the "fasting" mullet see Athen 306 d-308 d (vol III pp. 376-386)

and nights eats not,<sup>a</sup> nicely scaled, sprinkled with salt, turned inside out, well blownd, close pressing to the end of his course, sizzles and shrieks, while a slave stands by to sprinkle him with vinegar, and the crushed stalk of silphium from Libya is at hand to aid with its beams <sup>b</sup> divine B After that, can there be any who say that enchanters have no power <sup>c</sup> Why ! I can already see three persons beginning to chew while you twirl <sup>d</sup> all these things together A. Yes, and she whose body is like that of the hunch-backed cuttle-fish, the squid, armed with dagger-bearing fingers, hath altered the white-rayed colour of her flesh because of the fiery lashing of the coals, and now rejoices with all her body in whiffs of brown fragrance,<sup>e</sup> evoking hunger, that harbinger of the feast Wherefore go in, dally not, move ! For we must suffer as they who have breakfasted well,<sup>f</sup> if so be that we must suffer at all " And Amoebeus, answering in perfect tune with him, recited in a loud voice these lines from *The Harp-Singer* of Clearchus <sup>g</sup> : " Clear your

<sup>b</sup> Silphium has folia aurei coloris, Pliny, *NH* xix. 3 45. The resinous juice, much esteemed as a seasoning, was crushed from the leaves ; Athen 28 d, 63 d (vol 1. pp. 122, 276).

<sup>c</sup> The cook's fluent description is compared to the words of an enchanter, cf Plato, *Charm.* 155 ε άνευ της έπωδής ουδέν όφελος εΐη του φύλλου, cited by Cobet, who read έπωδās for έπωδούς

<sup>d</sup> The cook is like the magician whirling a rhombus.

<sup>e</sup> For αὔραις, which Porson wished to amend to αὐγαῖς, cf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 204 discolor auri aura refulsit.

<sup>f</sup> A comic distortion of some exhortation like δεῖ γάρ ήριστευκότας πάσχειν, "we must suffer as those who have won the prize of valour." Cf. Sydney Smith's "Fate cannot harm me,—I have dined to-day "

<sup>g</sup> Kock II 409.

γόγγρων τε λευκῶν<sup>1</sup> πᾶσι<sup>2</sup> τοῖς κολλώδεσι  
βρόχθιζε τούτοις γὰρ τρέφεται τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ  
τὸ φωνάριον ἡμῶν περίσαρκον<sup>3</sup> γίνεται.

κρότου δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις γενομένου καὶ πάντων  
ὁμοθυμαδὸν αὐτὸν καλεσάντων εἰσελθὼν καὶ πινὼν  
ἀναλαβὼν τε τὴν κιθάραν εἰς τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς ἦσεν<sup>4</sup>  
ὥς πάντας θαυμάζειν τὴν τε κιθάρισιν μετὰ τῆς<sup>5</sup>  
τέχνης ταχίστην οὔσαν καὶ τῆς φωνῆς τὴν ἐμ-  
μέλειαν ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐλάττων εἶναι νομί-  
ζεται τοῦ παλαιοῦ Ἀμοιβέως, ὃν φησιν Ἀριστέας  
ἐν τῷ περὶ Κιθαρωδῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις κατοικοῦντα  
καὶ πλησίον τοῦ θεάτρου οἰκοῦντα, εἰ ἐξέλθοι  
ἁσόμενος, τάλαντον Ἀττικὸν τῆς ἡμέρας λαμ-  
βάνειν.

Ἡ Περὶ δὲ μουσικῆς τῶν μὲν τάδε λεγόντων, ἄλλων  
δ' ἄλλα γ' ὁσημέραι, πάντων δ' ἐπαινούντων τὴν  
παιδιὰν<sup>6</sup> ταύτην, Μασούριος ὁ πάντα ἄριστος καὶ  
σοφὸς (καὶ γὰρ νόμων ἐξηγητῆς οὐδενὸς δεύτερος  
καὶ περὶ μουσικὴν ἐνδιατρίβων αἰεὶ ἄπτεται γὰρ  
καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων) ἔφη “ ὁ μὲν κωμωδιοποιὸς  
Εὐπόλις, ἄνδρες φίλοι, φησί·

ἥ' μουσικὴ πρᾶγμ' ἐστὶ βαθύ<sup>8</sup> καὶ καμπύλον,

αἰεὶ τε καινὸν ἐξευρίσκει τι τοῖς ἐπινοεῖν δυνα-  
f μένοις. διόπερ καὶ Ἀναξίλας ἐν Ὑακίνθῳ φησίν·

<sup>1</sup> Emperius γόγγρωι τε λευκωι Α

<sup>2</sup> κρέασι Emperius

<sup>3</sup> Schweighauser· περίσαργον Α, περιλαμπρον Casaubon,  
περίτρανον Kaibel

<sup>4</sup> ἦσεν Α

<sup>5</sup> πάσης (?) Kaibel

<sup>6</sup> Α: παιδείαν Casaubon

<sup>7</sup> ἡ CE Eustath : καὶ Α, χῆ Kaibel.

<sup>8</sup> Grotius βαθύ τι ACE.



throat with all the glutinous parts of conger-eels. For by them the breath is fed, and our weak voices become full-fleshed " Loud applause followed this, and all the guests with one accord called him in ; so he entered, and after drinking he took up his lyre and delighted us to such an extent that all were amazed at his playing, fluency being combined with correct technique,<sup>a</sup> as well as at the tunefulness of his voice. In my judgement, in fact, he is not a whit inferior to the Amoebeus of ancient times, of whom Aristeas says, in his book *On Harp-Singers*, that he settled in Athens, residing near the theatre, and that whenever he came forward to sing he received an Attic talent for a day's performance.

On the subject of music there was daily conversation, some saying things recorded here, others saying other things, but all joining in praise of this kind of amusement<sup>b</sup> ; and Masurius, in all things excellent and wise (for he is a jurist<sup>c</sup> second to none, and he has always been devoted to music and has taken up the playing of musical instruments), said. The comic poet Eupolis, my friends, remarks<sup>d</sup>. " Music is a matter deep and intricate," and it is always supplying something new for those who can perceive. Hence Anaxilas, also, says in *Hyacinthus*<sup>e</sup>. " Music is like

<sup>a</sup> Lit. " his playing, being very swift, with art," or " with all art "

<sup>b</sup> Since various forms of amusement have been the topic of this book, it seems better to retain *παιδιάν* rather than read *παιδείαν*, " this kind of education " The educational advantages of music are to be developed presently. On Aristotle's views concerning music see Newman's remarks in his *Politics* iii. 548 and his Index iv. 630.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. " expounder of laws."

<sup>d</sup> Kock i. 347

<sup>e</sup> Kock ii. 272.

ἡ μουσικὴ δ' ὥσπερ Λιβύῃ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν  
αἰεὶ τι καινὸν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν θηρίον  
τίκτει <sup>1</sup>

μέγας γάρ, ὦ μακάριοι, κατὰ τὸν Θεοφίλου  
Κιθαρῳδόν,

θησαυρός ἐστὶν καὶ βέβαιος μουσικῇ<sup>2</sup>  
ἅπασιν τοῖς μαθοῦσι παιδευθεῖσί τε.

καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἥθη παιδεύει καὶ τοὺς θυμοειδεῖς καὶ  
τὰς γνώμας διαφόρους καταπραύνει Κλεινίας  
24 γοῦν ὁ Πυθαγόρειος,<sup>3</sup> ὡς Χαμαιλέων ὁ Ποντικὸς  
ἱστορεῖ, καὶ τῷ βίῳ<sup>4</sup> καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσιν διαφέρων,<sup>5</sup> εἴ  
ποτε συνέβαινεν χαλεπαίνειν αὐτὸν δι' ὀργήν, ἀνα-  
λαμβάνων τὴν λύραν ἐκισθάριζεν. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπι-  
ζητοῦντας τὴν αἰτίαν ἔλεγεν "πραῦνομαι." καὶ ὁ  
Ὅμηρικὸς δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς τῇ κιθάρᾳ κατεπραύνετο,  
ἦν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν Ἡετίωνος λαφύρων μόνην<sup>6</sup>  
Ὅμηρος χαρίζειται, καταστέλλειν τὸ πυρῶδες αὐτοῦ  
δυναμένην μόνος γοῦν ἐν Ἰλιάδι ταύτῃ χρῆται τῇ  
μουσικῇ ὅτι δὲ καὶ νόσους ἰᾶται μουσικῇ Θεό-

<sup>1</sup> θηρίον τίκτει Morell· τίκτει θηρίον ACE Jacobi, on account of πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, punctuated with a question mark here

<sup>2</sup> Memeke ἡ μουσικὴ ACE

<sup>3</sup> CE πυθαγόρειος A.

<sup>4</sup> τῇ γνώμῃ C.

<sup>5</sup> Casaubon διαφορῶν ACE.

<sup>6</sup> μόνην A πρώτην Aelian, ἡρημένην (?) Kaibel

<sup>a</sup> Or, reading as a question (see critical note 1) "Is music, in the name of the gods, like Libya?" etc Cf Aristot. *Hist. An.* viii. 28. 11 λέγεται δὲ τις παροιμία ὅτι αἰεὶ Λιβύῃ φέρει τι καινόν, Pliny, *N H.* viii. 42 *volgae Graeciae dictum semper aliquid novi Africam adferre* (both cited by Kock). It would seem that innovations in music and dancing have always aroused protests from the conservative, cf Aristoph. *Ran.* 93 *χελιδόνων μουσεῖα, λωβηταὶ τέχνης*, Plato, *Legg.* 660 *καὶ δὲ ἅττα αἰεὶ γιγνόμενα περὶ τε τὰς ὀρχήσεις καὶ περὶ τὴν* 362

Libya, which, I swear by the gods,<sup>a</sup> brings forth some new creature every year” To quote *The Harp-Singer* of Theophilus<sup>b</sup> “A mighty treasure, good sirs, and a constant one, is music for all who have learned it and are educated.” For indeed it tames character, and tames the hot-tempered and those whose opinions clash The Pythagorean Cleinias, for example, as Chamaeleon of Pontus records,<sup>c</sup> whose conduct and character were exemplary, would always take his lyre and play on it whenever it happened that he was exasperated to the point of anger.<sup>d</sup> And in answer to those who inquired the reason he would say, “I am calming myself down” So, too, the Homeric Achilles calmed himself with his lyre, which was the only thing Homer grants to him out of the booty taken from Eetion,<sup>e</sup> and which had the power of allaying his fiery nature<sup>f</sup> He, at least, is the only one in the *Iliad* who plays this kind of music<sup>g</sup> That music can also heal diseases Theophrastus has recorded in his *ἄλλην μουσικὴν σύμπασαν, οὐχ ὑπὸ νόμων μεταβαλλόμενα ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τινων ἀτάκτων ἡδονῶν* On the purpose and limitations of musical education see Aristot. *Pol.* 1341 a 1-17.

<sup>b</sup> Kock II 474.

<sup>c</sup> Koepke 38, Diels, *Vorsokr.*<sup>3</sup> I. 342, see Aelian, *VH* XIV. 23 “Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast”

<sup>d</sup> Lit. “was angry because of anger.” A similar tautology occurs in Plato, *Apol* 34 c *ὀργισθεὶς αὐτοῖς τούτοις θέϊτο ἂν μετ’ ὀργῆς τὴν ψῆφον*

<sup>e</sup> Ael. *loc. cit* puts this more accurately: *μουσικὸς ὦν τὴν κιθάραν πρώτην (not μόνην) ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων ἔλαβε* See also Schol. *Il* IX. 188.

<sup>f</sup> *Il* IX 186-188 τὸν δ’ (Achilles)

εὖρον φρένα τερπόμενον φόρμιγγι λιγείη,  
καλῇ δαιδαλέῃ, ἐπὶ δ’ ἀργύρεον ζυγὸν ἦεν,  
τὴν ἄρετ’ ἐξ ἐνάρων πόλιν Ἡετίωνος ὀλέσσας.

See below, 633 c (p 417).

<sup>g</sup> This, of course, is not true, see *Il*. III. 54, xviii. 570.

φραστος ιστόρησεν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἐνθουσιασμοῦ,  
b ἰσχυακοὺς φάσκων ἀπόνους<sup>1</sup> διατελεῖν εἰ καταυλήσοι  
τις τοῦ τόπου τῇ Φρυγιστὶ ἀρμονίᾳ ταύτην δὲ τὴν  
ἀρμονίαν Φρύγες πρῶτοι εὔρον καὶ μετεχειρίσαντο.  
διὸ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν αὐλητὰς Φρυγίους  
καὶ δουλοπρεπεῖς τὰς προσηγορίας ἔχειν· οἷός  
ἐστιν ὁ παρὰ Ἀλκμᾶνι Σάμβας καὶ Ἀδων καὶ  
Τῆλος,<sup>2</sup> παρὰ δὲ Ἰππώνακτι Κίων καὶ Κώδαλος  
καὶ Βάβυς, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν αἰεὶ πρὸς  
τὸ χεῖρον αὐλούντων "κάκιον<sup>3</sup> Βάβυς αὐλεῖ." ὁ  
δ' Ἀριστόξενος τὴν εὔρεσιν αὐτῆς Ὑάγνιδι τῷ  
Φρυγὶ ἀνατίθησιν

c Ἡρακλείδης δ' ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ Μου-  
σικῆς οὐδ' ἀρμονίαν φησὶ δεῖν καλεῖσθαι τὴν  
Φρύγιον, καθάπερ οὐδὲ τὴν Λύδιον ἀρμονίας γὰρ  
εἶναι τρεῖς· τρία γὰρ καὶ γενέσθαι Ἑλλήνων γένη,  
Δωριεῖς, Αἰολεῖς, Ἴωνας. οὐ μικρὰς οὖν οὔσης  
διαφορᾶς ἐν τοῖς τούτων ἦθεσιν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν  
μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων Δωριέων τὰ πάτρια διαφυλάτ-

<sup>1</sup> ἀπόνους Gulick ἀνόσουσ ACE

<sup>2</sup> Τύλος (?) Bergk

<sup>3</sup> Casaubon καὶ κίων ἢ Α ἢ deleted by Meursius, cf  
Zenob iv. 81.

<sup>a</sup> Frag 87 Wimmer, cf Eustath 1078 41-43, Apollon Hist.  
Mir 49. It does not appear that Theophrastus himself  
believed in this folk-lore, says Aul Gell iv 13 creditum  
hoc a plerisque esse et memoriae mandatum ischia cum  
maxime doleant tum, si modulis lenibus tibicen incinat, minui  
dolores, ego nuperrime in libro Theophrasti scriptum inveni.  
Cf. Plin NH xxviii 2 21 and Cael Aurelianus v. 1, Berne  
edition 361-362 (on the treatment of sciatica), alii cantilenas  
adhibendas probaverunt, ut etiam Philistionis frater idem  
memorat libro xxii de adiutoris, scribens quendam fistula-  
torem loca dolentia (= τοῦ τόπου above) decantasse, quae cum  
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work *On Inspiration* <sup>a</sup> · he says that persons subject to sciatica would always be free from its attacks if one played the flute in the Phrygian <sup>b</sup> mode over the part affected This mode was first discovered by the Phrygians and constantly used by them. For this reason, he says, flute-players among the Greeks have names which are Phrygian and appropriate to slaves ; such, for example, is Sambas, mentioned by Alcman, <sup>c</sup> also Adôn and Têlus, and in Hipponax, <sup>d</sup> Cion, Codalus, <sup>e</sup> and Babys, who occasioned the proverb said of those whose flute-playing grows ever worse and worse, " Babys is playing worse " <sup>f</sup> Aristoxenus attributes <sup>g</sup> the invention of the mode to the Phrygian Hyagnis <sup>h</sup>

Heracleides of Pontus, however, says <sup>i</sup> in the third book of his work *On Music* that the Phrygian should not be called a separate mode any more than the Lydian For there are only three modes, since there are also only three kinds of Greeks—Dorians, Aeolians, and Ionians There is no small difference in the characters of these three, for while the Lacedaemonians preserve better than all other Dorians saltum sumerent palpitando discusso dolore mitescerent See also Theophr. *H P* ix 13. 6, Galen viii 986 Kuhn

<sup>b</sup> On the various scales, modes, and keys see *Dict. Antiq.* ii. 195-198, and on the meaning of ἀρμονία, Macran, *Harmonics of Aristoxenus* 128, 224, Winnington-Ingram, *Mode in Anc Greek Music*, pp. 69-80.

<sup>c</sup> *P.L G* <sup>4</sup> iii. 69, Edmonds i. 106. For other names among the Phrygians which seemed strange to the Greeks cf Strabo 580. <sup>d</sup> *P.L G* <sup>4</sup> ii 492.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. Κώταλος Athen. 176 d (vol ii p. 300)

<sup>f</sup> Zenobius iv 81 τάρττουσι ταύτην (sc. τὴν παροιμίαν) ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ χεῖρον ἀσκούντων

<sup>g</sup> *F.H G* ii. 287.

<sup>h</sup> Father of Marsyas, Plut. 1132 f, Schol Aesch *Pers* 940, Suid s. Ὀλυμπος (b). <sup>i</sup> Voss 81.

τουςιν, Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ (οὔτοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους Αἰολεῦσιν μεταδόντες) παραπλήσιον δ αἰεὶ ποιοῦνται τοῦ βίου τὴν ἀγωγὴν Ἰώνων δὲ τὸ πολὺ πλήθος ἡλλοίωται διὰ τὸ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τοῖς αἰεὶ δυναστεύουσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν οὖν ἀγωγὴν τῆς μελωδίας ἣν οἱ Δωριεῖς ἐποιοῦντο Δώριον ἐκάλουν ἀρμονίαν· ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ Αἰολίδα ἀρμονίαν ἣν Αἰολεῖς ἤδον· Ἰαστὶ δὲ τὴν τρίτην ἔφασκον ἣν ἤκουον ἁδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων. ἡ μὲν οὖν Δώριος ἀρμονία τὸ ἀνδρῶδες ἐμφαίνει καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ οὐ διακεχυμένον οὐδ' ἰλαρόν, ἀλλὰ σκυθρωπὸν καὶ σφοδρόν, οὔτε δὲ ποικίλον e οὔτε πολύτροπον τὸ δὲ τῶν Αἰολέων ἦθος ἔχει τὸ γαῦρον καὶ ὀγκῶδες, ἔτι δὲ ὑπόχαυνον· ὁμολογεῖ δὲ ταῦτα ταῖς ἵπποτροφίαις αὐτῶν καὶ ξενοδοχίαις· οὐ πανοῦργον δέ, ἀλλὰ ἐξηρμένον<sup>2</sup> καὶ τεθαρρηκός· διὸ καὶ οἰκεῖόν ἐστ' αὐτοῖς ἡ φιλοποσία καὶ τὰ ἐρωτικὰ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἄνεσις· διόπερ ἔχουσι<sup>3</sup> τὸ τῆς ὑποδωρίου καλουμένης ἀρμονίας ἦθος· αὕτη γάρ ἐστι, φησὶν ὁ Ἑρακλείδης, ἣν ἐκάλουν Αἰολίδα, ὡς καὶ Λᾶσος<sup>4</sup> ὁ Ἑρμιονεὺς ἐν τῷ<sup>5</sup> εἰς τὴν ἐν Ἑρμιόνι<sup>6</sup> Δήμητρα Ὑμνω λέγων οὕτως·

Δάματρα μέλπω<sup>7</sup> Κόραν τε Κλυμένοι<sup>8</sup> ἄλοχον,

<sup>1</sup> οἱ added by Karbel.

<sup>2</sup> Dalechamps ἐξηρμένον ACE

<sup>3</sup> Cobet διὸ περιέχουσι ACE.

<sup>4</sup> Dindorf λάσος ACE.

<sup>5</sup> ἐν τῷ edd. ἐν τοῖς A

<sup>6</sup> ἐν ἐρμειονι A (sic), ἐν ἐρμιόνι 455 c

the customs of their fathers, and the Thessalians (these are they who conferred upon the Aeolians the origin of their race) have always maintained practically the same mode of life, the great majority <sup>a</sup> of the Ionians, on the other hand, have undergone changes due to barbarian rulers who have for the time being come in contact with them. Hence the melodic style <sup>b</sup> which the Dorians constructed they called the Dorian mode; Aeolian they called the mode which the Aeolians sang; Ionian, they said of the third mode, which they heard Ionians sing. Now the Dorian mode exhibits the quality of manly vigour, of magnificent bearing, not relaxed or merry, but sober and intense, neither varied nor complicated. But the Aeolian character contains the elements of ostentation and turgidity, and even conceit; these qualities are in keeping with their horse-breeding and their way of meeting strangers; yet this does not mean malice, but is, rather, lofty and confident. Hence also their fondness for drinking is something appropriate to them, also their love-affairs, and the entirely relaxed nature of their daily life. Wherefore they have the character of the Hypodorian mode, as it is called. This, Heracleides says, is in fact the one which they called Aeolian, as Lasus of Hermione does in the *Hymn to Demeter of Hermione* in the following words <sup>c</sup>: "I celebrate Demeter and Korê, wedded wife of

<sup>a</sup> The Milesians excepted, below, 625 b. By barbarians, of course, he means Asiatic peoples in general. Winnington-Ingram, *op. cit.* p. 28

<sup>b</sup> On the phrase τὴν ἀγωγὴν τῆς μελωδίας see Winnington-Ingram, p. 60

<sup>c</sup> *P.L.G.* <sup>4</sup> iii. 376, Diehl ii. 60, Edmonds ii. 228, *cf.* Athen. 455 c-d (vol. iv. p. 566 and note b), P.-W. iv. 2731

f μελιβόαν<sup>1</sup> ὕμνον ἀναγνέων<sup>2</sup>  
 Αἰολίδ' ἀνὰ<sup>3</sup> βαρύβρομον ἁρμονίαν.

ταῦτα δ' ἄδουσιν πάντες ὑποδώρια τὰ μέλη.<sup>4</sup> ἐπεὶ  
 οὖν τὸ μέλος ἐστὶν ὑποδώριον,<sup>5</sup> εἰκότως Αἰολίδα  
 φησὶν εἶναι τὴν ἁρμονίαν ὃ Λᾶσος. καὶ Πρατίνας  
 δέ πού φησι

μήτε σύντονον δῖωκε μήτε τὰν ἀνειμέναν Ἰαστὶ  
 μοῦσαν,<sup>6</sup>

ἀλλὰ τὰν μέσαν<sup>7</sup> νεῶν ἄρουραν αἰόλιζε τῷ μέλει.

ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐξῆς σαφέστερόν φησιν·

25 πρέπει τοι πᾶσιν αἰοιδὰ λαβράκταις<sup>8</sup> Αἰολὶς ἁρ-  
 μονία.

πρότερον μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔφην,<sup>9</sup> Αἰολίδα αὐτὴν<sup>10</sup> ἐκά-  
 λουν, ὕστερον δ' ὑποδώριον, ὥσπερ ἐνιοὶ φασιν, ἐν  
 τοῖς αὐλοῖς τετάχθαι νομίσαντες αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τὴν  
 Δώριον ἁρμονίαν ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ ὁρῶντας αὐτοὺς  
 τὸν ὄγκον καὶ τὸ προσποίημα τῆς καλοκάγαθίας ἐν  
 τοῖς τῆς ἁρμονίας ἤθεσιν Δώριον μὲν αὐτὴν οὐ  
 νομίζουσιν, προσεμφερῇ δέ πως ἐκείνη· διόπερ ὑπο-  
 δώριον ἐκάλεσαν, ὡς τὸ προσεμφερές τῷ λευκῷ  
 ὑπόλευκον καὶ τὸ μὴ γλυκὺ μὲν ἐγγὺς δὲ τούτου

<sup>1</sup> Hartung μελίβοιαν A

<sup>2</sup> ἀναγνέων Bergk (cf Hesych ἀγνεῖν ἄγειν Κρήτες).  
 ἀναγνῶν A

<sup>3</sup> Wilamowitz: ἄμα A

<sup>4</sup> τὰ μέλη deleted by Kaibel, perhaps rightly

<sup>5</sup> τὰ μέλη after ὑποδώριον deleted by Casaubon

<sup>6</sup> Toup ἰαστὶν οὖσαν A, ἰαστὶ οὖσαν CE

<sup>7</sup> CE· μέσαν A

<sup>8</sup> αἰοιδολαβράκταις (?) Bergk

<sup>9</sup> Musurus ἔφη A

<sup>10</sup> A ταύτην CE.



Pluto, raising unto them a sweet-voiced hymn in the deep-toned Aeolian mode " These lyrics are sung by all in the Hypodorian scale Since, then, the tune is Hypodorian, it naturally follows that Lasus calls the mode Aeolian Again, Pratinas says, I believe <sup>a</sup>. " Pursue neither the severe Muse <sup>b</sup> nor yet the relaxed Ionian, but ploughing rather the middle glebe play the Aeolian with your tune " And in what follows he says more plainly " Verily the Aeolian mode is the song that befits all the bold " <sup>c</sup> Formerly, then, as I <sup>d</sup> have said, they called it Aeolian, but later Hypodorian, as some assert, because they thought that in the flutes it had a range below the Dorian mode But I believe that people who observed the turgid quality and pretence of nobleness in the character of the Aeolian mode, regarded it not as Dorian at all, but something which somehow resembled the Dorian; hence they called it Hypodorian, <sup>e</sup> just as we say that what resembles white is rather (*hypo-*) white, or what is not sweet, yet nearly

<sup>a</sup> *PLG* <sup>4</sup> III. 560, Diehl II. 126, Edmonds III. 54 For the figurative language *cf* Pratinas again, Athen. 461 e (vol. v p. 12).

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* the Dorian mode, according to Jacobs, who read σύντονον Δωρίδα But Plato, *Rep* 398 e has συντονολυδιστί, explained as Hyperlydian, "high-pitched" (so Bergk), Poll. IV. 78 σύντονος λυδιστί, ἣν Ἀνθίππος ἐξέϋρεν This interpretation, however, while correctly placing *ιαστί* and *λυδιστί* in the same emotional class (Plato, *loc. cit.* *ιαστί* καὶ *λυδιστί* αὖ τινες χαλαραὶ καλοῦνται), fails to explain in what sense Aeolian occupies a middle position. The extremes are the sober Dorian and the effeminate Ionian See Westphal, *Metrik* II. 81, 351, and Jan in P.-W. IV. 2073-2074

<sup>c</sup> *Cf* the adjectives used above to describe the Aeolian character.

<sup>d</sup> The authority is still Heracleides.

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* somewhat or rather like the Dorian.

λέγομεν ὑπόγλυκυν· οὕτως καὶ ὑποδώριον τὸ μὴ  
πάνυ Δώριον

Ἡ Εξῆς ἐπισκεψώμεθα τὸ τῶν Μιλησίων ἦθος, ὃ  
διαφαίνουσιν οἱ Ἴωνες, ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων  
εὐεξίαις βρενθυόμενοι καὶ θυμοῦ πλήρεις, δυσκατά-  
λακτοι, φιλόνεικοι, οὐδὲν φιλάνθρωπον οὐδ' ἰλαρὸν  
ἐνδιδόντες, ἀστοργίαν καὶ σκληρότητα ἐν τοῖς  
ἡθεσιν ἐμφανίζοντες. διόπερ οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς Ἰαστὶ  
γένος ἁρμονίας οὐτ' ἀνθηρὸν οὔτε ἰλαρὸν ἐστίν,  
ἀλλὰ αὐστηρὸν καὶ σκληρόν, ὄγκον δ' ἔχον οὐκ  
ἀγεννή· διὸ καὶ τῇ τραγωδίᾳ προσφιλεῖς ἡ ἁρμονία  
τὰ δὲ τῶν νῦν Ἰώνων ἦθη τρυφερώτερα καὶ πολὺ  
παραλλάττον τὸ τῆς ἁρμονίας ἦθος φασὶ δὲ  
Πύθερμον τὸν Τήιον ἐν τῷ γένει τῆς ἁρμονίας<sup>1</sup>  
τούτῳ ποιῆσαι<sup>2</sup> σκολιὰ<sup>3</sup> μέλη, καὶ διὰ<sup>4</sup> τὸ εἶναι τὸν  
ποιητὴν Ἰωνικὸν Ἰαστὶ κληθῆναι τὴν ἁρμονίαν.  
οὗτός ἐστι Πύθερμος οὗ μνημονεύει Ἀνάσιος ἡ<sup>5</sup>  
Ἰππῶναξ ἐν τοῖς Ἰάμβοις . . . καὶ<sup>6</sup> ἐν ἄλλῳ  
οὕτως

χρυσὸν λέγει Πύθερμος ὡς οὐδὲν τᾶλλα.

λέγει δ' οὕτως ὁ Πύθερμος·

οὐδὲν<sup>7</sup> ἦν ἄρα<sup>8</sup> τᾶλλα πλὴν ὅ<sup>9</sup> χρυσός.

οὐκοῦν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον πιθανόν ἐστι τὸν

<sup>1</sup> CE τῆς ἁρμονίας αὐτοῦ A, αὐτῷ Bergk

<sup>2</sup> A· τούτῳ ἁρμόττοντα τοῖς ἡθεσιν τῶν Ἰώνων ποιῆσαι C

<sup>3</sup> Casaubon σκολιὰ AC.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ διὰ CE· διὰ A

<sup>5</sup> ἡ added by early edd

<sup>6</sup> Lacuna marked, καὶ added by Kaibel, who seems to have been the first to notice ἐν ἄλλῳ (sic) in A.

<sup>7</sup> οὐθὲν A

<sup>8</sup> παρὰ Suid

<sup>9</sup> ὁ added by Suid.

sweet, rather sweet <sup>a</sup> : in similar fashion they called Hypodorian that which was not quite Dorian

Next in order let us examine the Milesians' character, which the Ionians illustrate <sup>b</sup> Because of their excellent physical condition they bear themselves haughtily, they are full of irate spirit, hard to placate, fond of contention, never condescending to kindness nor cheerfulness, displaying a lack of affection and a hardness in their character Hence also the kind of music known as the Ionian mode is neither bright nor cheerful, <sup>c</sup> but austere and hard, having a seriousness which is not ignoble ; and so their mode is well-adapted to tragedy But the character of the Ionians to-day is more voluptuous, and the character of their mode is much altered They say that Pythermus of Teos composed lyric scolia <sup>d</sup> in this kind of mode, and since the poet was an Ionian the mode was called Ionian This is the Pytheimus mentioned by Ananius or Hipponax in their *Iambic Verses* <sup>e</sup>

And in another passage as follows <sup>f</sup> . " Pythermus speaks of gold as if other things were naught " In fact Pythermus does speak of it thus <sup>g</sup> . " Other things, after all, are naught compared with gold " And so, considering also this saying of his, it is to be

<sup>a</sup> Cf the curious adjective in Plato, *Rep* 548 E, ὑποαμουσότερος, "somewhat less cultivated "

<sup>b</sup> Sc in their music

<sup>c</sup> This doublet is used by Plut. 50 B of the flatterer, ἀεὶ παρέχειν ἱλαρὸν καὶ ἀνθηρόν.

<sup>d</sup> For these convivial songs see H. W. Smyth, *Melic Poets* xcν.-cνii

<sup>e</sup> The quotation is lost.

<sup>f</sup> *P L G.* <sup>4</sup> ii 501 (Ananius), Diehl i 286, from the same poem is Athen 78 f (vol. i. p. 340)

<sup>g</sup> *P L G.* <sup>4</sup> iii 643, Diehl ii 60, Plut *Prov* i 96, Diogenian. vi 94, Suid. s Οὐδὲν ἤν.

Πύθερμον ἐκείθεν ὄντα ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀγωγὴν τῶν μελῶν ἀρμόττουσαν τοῖς ἡθεσι τῶν Ἰώνων διόπερ ὑπολαμβάνω οὐχ ἀρμονίαν εἶναι τὴν Ἰαστί, τρόπον δέ τινα θαυμαστὸν σχήματος ἀρμονίας καταφρονητέον οὖν τῶν τὰς μὲν κατ' εἶδος διαφορὰς οὐ δυναμένων θεωρεῖν, ἐπακολουθούντων δὲ τῇ τῶν φθόγγων ὀξύτητι καὶ βαρύτητι καὶ τιθεμένων ὑπερμιξολύδιον ἀρμονίαν καὶ πάλιν ὑπὲρ ταύτης ἄλλην. οὐχ ὁρῶ γὰρ οὐδὲ<sup>1</sup> τὴν ὑπερφρύγιον ἴδιον ἔχουσιν ἡθος καίτοι τινὲς φασιν ἄλλην ἐξευρηκέναι καινὴν ἀρμονίαν ὑποφρύγιον<sup>2</sup> δεῖ δὲ τὴν ἀρμονίαν εἶδος ἔχειν ἡθους ἢ πάθους, καθάπερ ἡ Λοκριστί ταύτη γὰρ ἔνιοι τῶν γενομένων κατὰ Σιμωνίδην καὶ Πίνδαρον ἐχρήσαντό ποτε, καὶ πάλιν κατεφρονήθη

Τρεῖς οὖν αὗται, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἵπομεν εἶναι ἀρμονίας, ὅσα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὴν δὲ Φρυγιστὶ καὶ τὴν Λυδιστὶ παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων οὔσας γνωσθῆναι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀπὸ τῶν σὺν Πέλοπι κατελθόντων  
 f εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν Λυδοὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ συνηκολούθησαν διὰ τὸ τὴν Σίπυλον εἶναι τῆς Λυδίας· Φρύγες δὲ οὐχ ὅτι ὁμοτέρμονες τοῖς Λυδοῖς εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ αὐτῶν ἦρχεν ὁ Τάνταλος ἴδοις δ' ἂν καὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου πανταχοῦ, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι χώματα

<sup>1</sup> CE οὔτε A

<sup>2</sup> ἀρμονίαν ὑποφρύγιον A· ἀρμονίαν ὑπὸ τὴν ὑπερφρύγιον Wilamowitz

<sup>a</sup> Kaibel renders the curtailed sentence· non credo Pythermi harmoniam esse eam quae Ionica videtur, sed inde derivatum miro quodam modo σχῆμα ἀρμονίας

believed that Pythermus, being from Ionia, made the style of his lyrics fit the character of the Ionians. Hence I assume that it was not the Ionian mode in which Pytheimus composed, but a curious variation of modal figure <sup>a</sup>. So one should look with disdain on those who cannot see specific differences, but simply attend to the highness or lowness of tones, and assume a Hypermixolydian mode and again another higher than that. Nor can I see, in fact, that the Hyperphrygian has a special character of its own. And yet some persons assert that they have discovered another new, Hypophrygian, mode <sup>1 b</sup>. But a mode must have a specific character or feeling, like the Locrian <sup>c</sup>; this was once employed by some who flourished in the time of Simonides and Pindar, but it fell into disrepute again.

These modes, then, are three, as we said of them at the beginning, <sup>d</sup> being as many as there are tribes of Greeks. The Phrygian and the Lydian modes, originating with the barbarians, came to be known to the Greeks from the Phrygians and Lydians who emigrated to Peloponnesus with Pelops. The Lydians accompanied him because Sipylus <sup>e</sup> was a city of Lydia; the Phrygians came not only because they lived on the borders of Lydia but also because Tantalus ruled over them. You may see everywhere in Peloponnesus, but especially in Lacedaemon, large

<sup>b</sup> See the excellent discussion of this passage in Winnington-Ingram, *Mode in Anc. Greek Music*, pp 19-21.

<sup>c</sup> On this scale, or mode, see *Dict. Antiq.* II 197 b, and on the *ῥῆθος* of the modes, H. Abert, *Die Lehre v. Ethos in der griech. Musik*.

<sup>a</sup> Above, 624 c (p 365).

<sup>e</sup> Ruled by Tantalus, the father of Pelops, Pind. *Ol.* I 38 *φίλαν* (i.e. his own) *τε Σίπυλον*.

μεγάλα, ἃ καλοῦσι τάφους τῶν μετὰ Πέλοπος Φρυγῶν. μαθεῖν οὖν τὰς ἁρμονίας ταύτας τοὺς Ἑλλήνας παρὰ τούτων διὸ καὶ Τελέστης<sup>1</sup> ὁ Σελινούντιός φησιν·

πρῶτοι παρὰ κρατῆρας Ἑλλήνων<sup>2</sup> ἐν αὐλοῖς  
 συνοπαδοὶ Πέλοπος Ματρὸς ὀρεΐας  
 Φρύγιον ἄεισαν νόμον  
 τοῖς<sup>3</sup> δ' ὀξύφωνοις πηκτίδων<sup>4</sup> ψαλμοῖς<sup>5</sup> κρέκον  
 Λύδιον ὕμνον

“ Οὐ παραληπτέον δὲ<sup>6</sup> τὴν μουσικὴν,” φησὶν Πολύβιος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης, “ ὥς Ἐφορος ἱστορεῖ, ἐπὶ ἀπάτῃ καὶ γοητείᾳ παρειαῖσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὐδὲ τοὺς παλαιοὺς Κρητῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων αὐλὸν καὶ ῥυθμὸν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀντὶ σάλπιγγος εἰκῇ νομιστέον εἰσαγαγεῖν, οὐδὲ τοὺς πρώτους Ἀρκάδων εἰς τὴν ὅλην πολιτείαν τὴν μουσικὴν παραλαβεῖν, ὥστε<sup>7</sup> μὴ μόνον παισὶν<sup>8</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ νεανίσκοις<sup>9</sup> γενομένοις ἕως<sup>10</sup> λ' ἐτῶν κατ' ἀνάγκην σύντροφον ποιεῖν αὐτήν, τᾶλλα τοῖς βίοις<sup>11</sup> ὄντας αὐστηροτάτους. παρὰ γοῦν μόνοις Ἀρκάσιν<sup>12</sup> οἱ παῖδες ἐκ νηπίων ᾄδειν ἐθίζονται κατὰ νόμον τοὺς ὕμνους καὶ παιᾶνας, οἷς ἕκαστοι κατὰ τὰ πατρία τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας καὶ θεοὺς ὕμνοῦσι. μετὰ

<sup>1</sup> τελεστής A

<sup>2</sup> Ἑλλάνων Bergk rightly

<sup>3</sup> Musurus: τοῖς A

<sup>4</sup> πακτίδων Diehl.

<sup>5</sup> Musurus: ψαλμοὶ A

<sup>6</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἡγητέον Polybius.

<sup>7</sup> ὥστε A ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε Polybius.

<sup>8</sup> παισὶν Polybius· ἐμπεσεῖν A

<sup>9</sup> νεανίσκοις Polybius: ἐν νεανίσκοις A

<sup>10</sup> Polybius: ὥς A

<sup>11</sup> A τῷ βίῳ CE.

mounds, which they call the tombs of the Phrygians who came with Pelops. These musical modes, then, the Greeks learned from them. Hence also Telestes of Selinus says <sup>a</sup> "The first to sing the Phrygian strains in honour of the Mountain Mother, amid the flutes beside the mixing-bowls of the Greeks, were they who came in the company of Pelops; and the Greeks struck up the Lydian hymn with the high-pitched twanging of the lyre."

Polybius of Megalopolis says <sup>b</sup> "One must not accept it as fact that music was introduced among men for purposes of deceit and quackery, as Ephorus asserts <sup>c</sup> that it was; nor should one believe that the ancient Cretans and Lacedaemonians introduced the flute and a marching rhythm into battle, instead of the trumpet, without good reason; nor was it by chance that the earliest Arcadians carried the art of music into their entire social organization, so that they made it obligatory and habitual not only for boys but also for young men up to thirty years of age, although in all other respects they were most austere in their habits of life. It is only among the Arcadians, at any rate, that the boys, from infancy up, are by law practised in singing hymns and paeans, in which, according to ancestral custom, they celebrate their national heroes and gods. After

<sup>a</sup> *P. L. G.* <sup>4</sup> iii. 630, Diehl ii. 156, Edmonds iii. 278.

<sup>b</sup> iv. 20. 5-21. 9 (Paton, *L. C. L.* ii. 346-352). These *obiter dicta* of Polybius on music are inspired by the massacre (below, *σφαγή*) of the Cynaethians by the Aetolians, Polybius iv. 17-19.

<sup>c</sup> *F. H. G.* i. 234, J. 2. 45. Polybius adds that Ephorus was inconsistent with himself in making this rash statement: οὐδαμῶς ἀρμόττοντα λόγον αὐτῷ ῥύψας.

<sup>12</sup> Polybius, *παρ' οἷς μόνοις* CE: *παρὰ γ' οὖν μόνοις ἀρκάδων* A.

δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς Τιμοθέου καὶ Φιλοξένου νόμους  
 μαυθάνοντες χορεύουσι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοῖς Διο-  
 νυσιακοῖς αὐληταῖς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, οἱ μὲν<sup>1</sup>  
 παῖδες τοὺς παιδικοὺς ἀγῶνας, οἱ δὲ νεανίσκοι  
 τοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν. καὶ παρ' ὅλον δὲ τὸν βίον ἐν  
 ταῖς συνουσίαις ταῖς κοιναῖς οὐχ οὕτω ποιοῦνται  
 τὰς ἀγωγὰς<sup>2</sup> διὰ τῶν ἐπεισάκτων ἀκροαμάτων ὥς  
 δι' αὐτῶν,<sup>3</sup> ἀνὰ μέρος ἄδειν ἀλλήλοις προστάτ-  
 τοντες καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων μαθημάτων ἀρνηθῆναί  
 τι μὴ εἰδέναι οὐδὲν αἰσχρόν<sup>4</sup> ἔστιν, τὸ δὲ ἄδειν  
 ἀποτρίβεσθαι αἰσχρόν παρ' αὐτοῖς νομίζεται καὶ  
 μὴν ἐμβατήρια μετ' αὐλοῦ καὶ τάξεως ἀσκούντες,  
 ἔτι δὲ ὀρχήσεις ἐκπονοῦντες μετὰ κοινῆς ἐπιστροφῆς  
 καὶ δαπάνης κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπι-  
 δείκνυνται. ταῦτ' οὖν αὐτοὺς εἴθισαν οἱ παλαιοὶ<sup>5</sup>  
 οὐ τρυφῆς καὶ περιουσίας χάριν, ἀλλὰ θεωροῦντες  
 τὴν ἐκάστου κατὰ τὸν βίον σκληρότητα καὶ τὴν  
 τῶν ἡθῶν αὐστηρίαν, ἣτις αὐτοῖς παρέπεται διὰ  
 τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος ψυχρότητα καὶ στυγνότητα  
 τὴν κατὰ τὸ<sup>6</sup> πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς τόποις ὑπάρχουσαν,  
 οἷς καὶ συνεξομοιοῦσθαι πεφύκαμεν πάντες ἄν-  
 θρωποι διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐθνικὰς διαστάσεις  
 πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρομεν ἥθεσι<sup>7</sup> καὶ μορφαῖς  
 καὶ χρώμασιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις συνόδους κοινὰς

<sup>1</sup> μὲν Polybius μὲν οὖν A.

<sup>2</sup> οὐχ τὰς ἀγωγὰς added by Kaibel after Cobet, cf. Polyb iv 21.10 οὐ διὰ τῶν A

<sup>3</sup> δι' αὐτῶν Polybius διὰ τῶν A

<sup>4</sup> οὐδὲν αἰσχρόν C, Polybius: οὐδὲν αὐτὸν αἰσχρόν A, οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν αἰσχρόν Kaibel

<sup>5</sup> ACE οἱ πάλοι Polybius.

<sup>6</sup> τὸ added from Polybius

<sup>7</sup> Polybius· ἥθει ACE.



these they learn the tunes <sup>a</sup> of Timotheus and Philoxenus and dance <sup>b</sup> them annually in the theatres with Dionysiac <sup>c</sup> flute-players, the boys competing in the boys' contests, the young men in the contests of adult males <sup>d</sup>. And throughout their whole lives, in their social gatherings they do not pursue methods and practices so much with the aid of imported entertainments as with their own talents, requiring one another to sing each in his turn. As for other branches of training, it is no disgrace to confess that one knows nothing, but it is deemed a disgrace among them to decline to sing. What is more, they practise marching-songs with flute-accompaniment in regular order, and further, they drill themselves in dances and display them annually <sup>e</sup> in the theatres with elaborate care and at public expense. All this, therefore, the men of old taught them, not to gratify luxury and wealth, but because they observed the hardness in every one's life and the austerity of their character, which are the natural accompaniment of the coldness of their environment and the gloominess prevailing for the most part in their abodes; for all of us human beings naturally become assimilated to the character of our abode; hence it is also differences in our national position that cause us to differ very greatly from one another in character, in build, and in complexion. In addition to the training just

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "the nomes," for which see Smyth, *Melic Poets* lvm.-lxviii. Timotheus and Philoxenus are mentioned together as composers of nomes, Aristot. *Poet.* 1448 a 15.

<sup>b</sup> Polybius adds πολλῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ, "in eager rivalry."

<sup>c</sup> i e. professional (Paton).

<sup>d</sup> In athletics there were usually three classes of entrants, boys, beardless (ἀγένειοι), and adults.

<sup>e</sup> Polybius adds "to their own fellow-citizens."

καὶ θυσίας ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ κατείθισαν, ἔτι δὲ χοροὺς παρθένων ὁμοῦ καὶ παίδων, σπεύδοντες τὸ τῆς φύσεως<sup>1</sup> ἀτέραμνον διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐθισμῶν κατασκευῆς ἐξημεροῦν καὶ πρᾶννειν ὧν Κυ-  
ναιθεῖς ὀλιγωρήσαντες εἰς τέλος,<sup>2</sup> καίτοι σκληρό-  
τατον παρὰ πολὺ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ὁμοῦ τῷ τόπῳ  
καὶ τὸν αἶρα ἔχοντες, πρὸς αὐτὰς τὰς<sup>3</sup> ἐν ἀλλήλοις  
παρατριβὰς καὶ φιλοτιμίας ὀρμήσαντες τέλος  
ἀπεθηριώθησαν οὕτως ὥς<sup>4</sup> μέγιστα ἀσεβήματα  
παρὰ μόνοις αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι. καθ' οὓς δὲ καιροὺς  
f τὴν μεγάλην σφαγὴν ἐποιήσαντο, εἰς ἃς ποτε  
πόλεις Ἀρκαδικὰς κατὰ τὴν δίοδον<sup>5</sup> εἰσῆλθον, οἱ  
μὲν ἄλλοι παραχρῆμα πάντες αὐτοὺς<sup>6</sup> ἐξεκήρυξαν,  
Μαντινεῖς δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτῶν  
καθαρμὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐποιήσαντο σφάγια περι-  
αγαγόντες<sup>7</sup> κύκλῳ τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης."

Ἀγίας δ' ὁ μουσικὸς ἔφη τὸν στύρακα τὸν ἐν  
ταῖς ὀρχήστραις θυμιώμενον τοῖς Διονυσίοις φρύ-  
γιον ποιεῖν ὁδμὴν τοῖς αἰσθανομένοις.

Τὸ δ' ἀρχαῖον ἢ μουσικὴ ἐπ' ἀνδρείαν προτροπὴ

<sup>1</sup> ψυχῆς Polybius <sup>2</sup> εἰς τέλος AC τέλος (om εἰς) E

<sup>3</sup> Schweighauser πρὸς μὲν αὐτὰς τὰς A, πρὸς αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς Polybius <sup>4</sup> AC ὥστε Polybius

<sup>5</sup> AC ὁδὸν Polybius <sup>6</sup> CE ἐαυτοὺς A.

<sup>7</sup> περιάγοντες (?) Kaibel · περιήνεγκαν Polybius.

<sup>a</sup> After the parenthetical comment on the influence of physical environment the original subject, οἱ παλαιοί, is resumed.

<sup>b</sup> Or, "their souls", see critical note 1

<sup>c</sup> In the most northerly part of Arcadia, where the mountains are highest, near the modern Kalavryta.

<sup>d</sup> So that they needed civilizing influences most, as Polyb. iv. 21 5 points out, in a clause omitted by Athenaeus. The events here recorded occurred *circa* 220 B.C.

described, their ancestors <sup>a</sup> taught the Arcadian men and women the practice of public assembly and sacrifice, also at the same time choruses of girls and boys, eager as they were to civilize and soften the toughness of their natures <sup>b</sup> by customs regularly organized. But the people of Cynaetha <sup>c</sup> came at the end to neglect these customs, although they occupied by far the rudest part of Arcadia in point of topography as well as climate <sup>d</sup>, when they plunged right into friction and rivalry with one another they finally became so brutalized that among them alone occurred the gravest acts of sacrilege. At the time when they brought upon themselves the great massacre, into whatever Arcadian cities they <sup>e</sup> went on their way through, all the others immediately barred them out by public proclamation, but the Mantinaeans, after their withdrawal, instituted a purification of their city, carrying the blood of slain animals round about their entire territory."

Agias, the writer on music, has said <sup>f</sup> that storax,<sup>g</sup> which is burned as incense in the orchestras at the festival of Dionysus, produces a "Phrygian" <sup>h</sup> odour to those who smell it.

In ancient times music was an incitement to

<sup>a</sup> Their ambassadors, that is, who were dispatched to Sparta with invitations to the sacrifice, they had to pass through many Arcadian towns.

<sup>f</sup> *F.H.G.* IV 293, where he is wrongly identified with the Argive historian Agias or Hagias, *Athen.* 86 f (vol. I. p. 372), *P.-W.* VII 2205.

<sup>g</sup> A fragrant gum said to have the odour of vanilla.

<sup>h</sup> Either "Phrygian" in the sense of strong and pungent, having the same stimulating effect as the Phrygian mode in music, or more likely, "phrygian" (from *φρυγία*), referring to a fern of the maidenhair or spleenwort variety, *Dioscor.* I. 70, III. 151.

ἦν.<sup>1</sup> Ἀλκαῖος γοῦν ὁ ποιητής, εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος  
μουσικώτατος γενόμενος, πρότερα τῶν κατὰ ποιη-  
τικὴν τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν<sup>2</sup> τίθεται, μᾶλλον τοῦ  
δέοντος πολεμικὸς γενόμενος. διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς  
τοιούτοις σεμνυνόμενός φησιν

μαρμαίρει δὲ μέγας δόμος χαλκῷ πᾶσα δ' Ἄρη  
κεκόσμηται στέγη

λαμπραῖσιν<sup>3</sup> κυνίαισι, κατ' τῶν<sup>4</sup> λευκοὶ καθύπερθεν  
ἵππιοι λόφοι

b νεύουσιν, κεφαλαῖσιν ἀνδρῶν ἀγάλματα· χάλκiai  
δὲ πασσάλοις<sup>5</sup>

κρύπτουσιν<sup>6</sup> περικείμεναι λαμπραὶ κναμίδες,<sup>7</sup> ἄρκος  
ἰσχυρῷ βέλεις

θόρρακές τε νέω<sup>8</sup> λίνω, κοίλαι<sup>9</sup> τε κατ' ἀσπίδες  
βεβλημέναι,

παρ δὲ Χαλκιδικαὶ σπάθαι, παρ δὲ ζώματα πολλὰ  
καὶ κυπάσσιδες.<sup>10</sup>

τῶν οὐκ ἔστι λαθέσθ',<sup>11</sup> ἐπειδὴ πρώτισθ' ὑπὸ ἔργον  
ἔσταμεν<sup>12</sup> τόδε.

καίτοι μᾶλλον ἴσως ἤρμοττε τὴν οἰκίαν πλήρη  
εἶναι μουσικῶν ὀργάνων. ἀλλ' οἱ παλαιοὶ τὴν

c ἀνδρείαν ὑπελάμβανον εἶναι μεγίστην τῶν πολιτι-  
κῶν ἀρετῶν, καὶ ταύτῃ τὰ πολλὰ<sup>13</sup> προσνέμειν . . .  
οὐ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀρχίλοχος γοῦν<sup>14</sup> ἀγαθὸς ὢν

<sup>1</sup> προτροπὴ ἦν ἐπ' ἀνδρείαν CE ἐπ' ἀνδρείαν προτροπὴν A

<sup>2</sup> τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα C τὰ κατ' ἀνδρείαν (?) Kaibel

<sup>3</sup> λαμπραῖσι A

<sup>4</sup> κατταν A.

<sup>5</sup> πασσάλιοις A

<sup>6</sup> κρυπτοῖσιν A

<sup>7</sup> κναμίδες A

<sup>8</sup> νεωι A

<sup>9</sup> κοίλαι A

<sup>10</sup> κυππατιδες (sic) A

<sup>11</sup> λαθέσθαι A

<sup>12</sup> εσταμεν A

bravery.<sup>a</sup> At any rate the poet Alcaeus, who certainly was very musical, if any one ever was, places deeds of bravery higher than the achievements of poetry, since he was more than ordinarily warlike.<sup>b</sup> Wherefore, pluming himself on these activities, he says<sup>c</sup> : "The great hall glistens with bronze; the whole roof is adorned by the War-god with shining helmets, and over them wave white plumes of horse-hair, adornments for the heads of heroes; shining greaves of bronze, defence against the cruel missiles, hide the pegs on which they hang; corslets of new linen and hollow shields lie scattered on the ground, and beside them are Chalcidian swords, beside them, too, many sashes and tunics.<sup>d</sup> These we must not forget, now that before all else we have set ourselves to this task." And yet it doubtless would have been more fitting for his house to be full of musical instruments. However, the men of old assumed that bravery is the highest of civic virtues, and to this they thought it right to allot most honours. not to other men. Archilochus, at any rate, who was an

<sup>a</sup> Muller (*F.H.G.* iv. 293) attributes this remark to Agias.

<sup>b</sup> Alcaeus took an active part in the struggles against the tyrants of Lesbos.

<sup>c</sup> *P.L.G.*<sup>4</sup> iii. 153, Diehl i. 413, Edmonds i. 332. For the proper Lesbian forms, with psilosis and barytonesis, see these editors.

<sup>d</sup> The word here rendered "tunic" seems to have referred to the skirt or fustanella hanging below the corslet. Hesych *s* κύπασσις περίζωμα καὶ χιτῶνος εἶδος Harpocr. οἱ γλωσσό-γράφοι χιτῶνος εἶδος φασιν εἶναι οἱ μὲν γυναικείου, οἱ δὲ ἀνδρείου μέμνηται δ' αὐτοῦ Ἰππῶνάξ τε καὶ Ἑκαταῖος καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης. The last probably had the form κύπαττις, which is not impossible for the Lesbian, cf. ὅττις = ὅστις.

<sup>13</sup> πολιτικά CE. Lacuna marked by Schweighauser.

<sup>14</sup> Schweighauser: τοῦ A, οὖν CE

ποιητῆς πρῶτον ἐκαυχῆσατο τῷ<sup>1</sup> δύνασθαι μετέχειν τῶν πολιτικῶν<sup>2</sup> ἀγώνων, δεύτερον δὲ ἐμνήσθη τῶν περὶ τὴν ποιητικὴν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ, λέγων·

εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ θεράπων μὲν Ἐνναλίοιο ἀνακτος,  
καὶ Μουσέων<sup>3</sup> ἐρατὸν<sup>4</sup> δῶρον ἐπιστάμενος.

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλος τηλικαύτην δόξαν ἔχων διὰ τὴν ποιητικὴν οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου ἐπι-  
d γραφῆναι ἠξίωσεν μᾶλλον τὴν ἀνδρείαν, ποιήσας

ἄλκην δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθώνιον ἄλσος ἂν εἴποι<sup>5</sup>  
καὶ βαθυχαῖταί κεν<sup>6</sup> Μῆδοι ἐπιστάμενοι

Διόπερ καὶ οἱ ἀνδρειότατοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετ' αὐλῶν στρατεύονται, Κρήτες δὲ μετὰ λύρας, μετὰ δὲ συρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν Λυδοί, ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς ἐπικηρυκείας ποιοῦνται μετ' αὐλῶν καὶ κιθάρας, καταπραΰνοντες τῶν ἐναντίων τὰς ψυχὰς Θεόπομπος δ' ἐν τεσσαρακοστῇ ἔκτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν  
e “ Γέται, φησί, κιθάρας ἔχοντες καὶ καθαρίζοντες

<sup>1</sup> τῷ om CE

<sup>2</sup> ACE πολεμικῶν Piccolomini

<sup>3</sup> A μουσάων CE

<sup>4</sup> ἐρατᾶν, ἐρατῶν, Plut mss

<sup>5</sup> ἀνειποι A

<sup>6</sup> βαθυχεταί κεν A βαθυχαιτηεῖς Μῆδος ἐπιστάμενος Vit Aesch

excellent poet, made it his first boast that he was able to take part in these civic rivalries, and only secondarily mentioned his poetic talents, saying <sup>a</sup>: "I am the squire of the lord Enyalios, and I am versed, too, in the lovely gift of the Muses" Similarly Aeschylus also, for all the great repute which he enjoys because of his poetry, none the less thought it right to have his bravery recorded by preference on his tomb, having composed this inscription <sup>b</sup>: "Of his glorious might the grove at Marathon <sup>c</sup> could tell, and the long-haired Medes—for they know <sup>1</sup>"

Hence it is <sup>d</sup> that the brave Lacedaemonians march to battle with the music of flutes, the Cretans with the lyre, the Lydians with Pan's-pipes and flutes, as Herodotus records.<sup>e</sup> Many of the barbarians also conduct diplomatic negotiations to the accompaniment of flutes and cithara to soften the hearts of their opponents Theopompus, in the forty-sixth book of his *Histories*, says <sup>f</sup>: "The Getae conduct negotiations holding citharas in their hands and

<sup>b</sup> *P.L.G.* 4 ii. 241, Diehl i. 66, Edmonds (L.C.L.) i. 240, *Vit Aesch.* 120 Westermann: ἀποθανόντα δὲ Γελῶσι ἐτίμησαν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπιγράψαντες οὕτω

Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κεύθει  
μνημα καταθήμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλας

"This monument shelters Aeschylus of Athens, son of Euphorion, who died in wheat-bearing Gela." Plut 604 F, Voss, *Heraclid Pont* 75.

<sup>c</sup> His brother Cynegirus lost his life in the battle, Hdt. vi. 114, Aeschylus himself was represented, it would seem, in the Painted Porch, Paus. i. 21. 2. See the newly-found lines written by him for the men who fell at Marathon, J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia* ii. 480-494, v. 225-234.

<sup>d</sup> Reverting to the theme that music inspires virtue, above, 626 a For the examples given cf. 517 b (vol. v. p. 326)

<sup>e</sup> i. 17, of the Lydians.

<sup>f</sup> *F.H.G.* i. 319, J 2 B 581, G. and H. 209.

τὰς ἐπικηρυκείας ποιοῦνται'' ὅθεν ἔοικεν καὶ Ὅμηρος διατηρῶν τὴν ἀρχαίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατάστασιν λέγειν<sup>1</sup>

φόρμιγγός θ', ἣν δαιτὶ θεοὶ ποίησαν ἑταίρην,  
ὥς καὶ τοῖς εὐωχουμένοις χρησίμης οὔσης τῆς τέχνης. ἦν δ' ὥς ἔοικε τοῦτο νενομισμένον, πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως ἕκαστος τῶν εἰς μέθην καὶ πλήρῳσιν ὠρμημένων ἱατρὸν λαμβάνη τῆς ὕβρεως καὶ τῆς ἀκοσμίας τὴν μουσικὴν, εἰθ' ὅτι τὴν αὐθάδειανπραύνει<sup>2</sup>. περιαιρουμένη γὰρ τὴν στυγνότητα  
f ποιεῖ πραότητα καὶ χαρὰν ἐλευθέριον, ὅθεν καὶ Ὅμηρος εἰσήγαγε τοὺς θεοὺς χρωμένους ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς Ἰλιάδος τῇ μουσικῇ. μετὰ γὰρ<sup>3</sup> τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα φιλοτιμίαν διετέλουν<sup>4</sup> ἀκροώμενοι

φόρμιγγος περικαλλέος, ἣν ἔχ' Ἀπόλλων,  
Μουσάων θ',<sup>5</sup> αἱ ᾄδον ἀμειβόμεναι ὀπὶ καλῇ.

παύσασθαι γὰρ ἔδει τὰ νείκη καὶ τὴν στάσιν, καθάπερ ἐλέγομεν<sup>6</sup> εἰκόασιν οὖν οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀποδιδόναι ταῖς συνουσίαις ἐπανορθώσεως χάριν καὶ ὠφελείας ἀλλὰ μὴν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ  
28 περιέλαβον ἔθεσι καὶ νόμοις τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὕμνους ᾄδειν ἅπαντας ἐν ταῖς ἐστιάσεσιν, ὅπως καὶ διὰ τούτων τηρῆται τὸ καλὸν καὶ σωφρονικὸν ἡμῶν. ἐναρμονίων γὰρ ὄντων τῶν ᾄσμάτων προσγενόμενος ὁ τῶν θεῶν λόγος ἀποσεμνύνει τὸν ἐκάστων τρόπον.

<sup>1</sup> Musurus λέγει A

<sup>2</sup> A. παύει CE

<sup>3</sup> Kaibel δὲ A

<sup>4</sup> γὰρ after διετέλουν deleted by Kaibel.

<sup>5</sup> θ' added from Homei.

<sup>6</sup> Schweighauser. λέγομεν A



playing on them " Whence it is plain that Homer observes the ancient Greek system when he says <sup>a</sup> : " (We have satisfied our souls with the equal feast) and with the lyre, which the gods have made the companion of the feast," evidently because the art is beneficial also to those who feast And this was the accepted custom, it is plain, first in order that every one who felt impelled to get drunk and stuff himself might have music to cure his violence and intemperance, and secondly, because music appeases surliness ; for, by stripping off a man's gloominess, it produces good-temper and gladness becoming to a gentleman, wherefore Homer introduced the gods, in the first part of the *Iliad*, making use of music For after their quarrel over Achilles <sup>b</sup> they spent the time continually listening " to the beautiful lyre that Apollo held, and to the Muses who sang responsively with beautiful voice " <sup>c</sup> For that was bound to stop their bickerings and faction, as we were saying. It is plain, therefore, that while most persons devote this art to social gatherings for the sake of correcting conduct and of general usefulness, the ancients went further and included in their customs and laws the singing of praises to the gods by all who attended feasts, in order that our dignity and sobriety might be retained through their help. For, since the songs are sung in concert,<sup>d</sup> if discourse on the gods has been added it dignifies the mood of every one. Philo-

<sup>a</sup> *Od.* viii. 99 : φόρμιγγός θ', ἣ δαιτὶ συνήγορός ἐστι θαλεῖη, xvii 270-271 : φόρμιγξ ἠπύει, ἣν ἄρα δαιτὶ θεοὶ ποίησαν ἐταίρην

<sup>b</sup> *Il.* i. 493-594.

<sup>c</sup> *Il.* i. 603-604.

<sup>d</sup> *i. e.* in chorus, which implies a certain degree of order and discipline, *Aristot. Probl.* λιν 15, 918 b 18 πολλοὺς οὖν ἀγωνιστικῶς ᾄδειν χαλεπὸν ἦν, ὥστε ἐναρμόνια μέλη ἐνῆδον.

Φιλόχορος δέ φησιν ὡς οἱ παλαιοὶ σπένδοντες<sup>1</sup> οὐκ αἰεὶ διθυραμβοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὅταν σπένδωσι, τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ μέθῃ, τὸν δ' Ἀπόλλωνα μεθ' ἡσυχίας καὶ τάξεως μέλποντες Ἀρχιλόχος γοῦν φησιν·

ὡς Διωνύσοι<sup>2</sup> ἀνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος  
οἶδα διθύραμβον, οἴνῳ συγκεραυνωθείς φρένας  
καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος δ' ἐν Φιλοκτήτῃ ἔφη·

οὐκ ἔστι διθύραμβος ὄκχ'<sup>3</sup> ὕδωρ πίης

ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἡδονῆς χάριν ἐπιπολαίου καὶ δημοτικῆς<sup>4</sup> ἡ μουσικὴ προῆλθεν κατ' ἀρχὰς εἰς τὰς ἐστιάσεις, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν, φανερόν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' εἰ μὲν ἐμάνθανον τὴν μουσικὴν, οὐδὲν λέγουσιν, ὅτι δὲ κρίνειν δύνανται καλῶς τὴν τέχνην ὁμολογεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν, καὶ φασιν τρεῖς ἤδη σεσωκέναι διαφθειρομένην αὐτήν

Καὶ πρὸς γυμνασίαν δὲ καὶ ὀξύτητα διανοίας  
συμβάλλεται ἡ μουσικὴ διὸ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων

<sup>1</sup> σπένδοντες deleted by Wilamowitz CE more teisely οἱ παλαιοὶ ἔσπενδον Δ μὲν ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ μέθῃ διθυραμβοῦντες, Ἀ. δὲ μέλποντες

<sup>2</sup> Διωνύσοι<sup>2</sup> Bergk διονύσιοιο A

<sup>3</sup> Casaubon οὐχ A

<sup>4</sup> ὠφέλειās δημοτικῆς (?) Kaibel, cf. above, 627 f

<sup>a</sup> F.H.G. i 387.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. noisily and orgiastically

<sup>c</sup> P L G.<sup>4</sup> ii 404, Diehl i 233 Cf Callim. frag. 223 (L C.L. 328) τοῦ τε μεθυπλήγος φροίμιον Ἀρχιλόχου (so Ruhnken for Ἀντιλόχου).

<sup>d</sup> Kaibel 115

<sup>e</sup> οἱ πολλοί mentioned above, 627 f.

chorus says <sup>a</sup> that the ancients, in pouring libations, do not always sing dithyrambs, <sup>b</sup> but when they pour libations, they celebrate Dionysus with wine and drunkenness, but Apollo, in quiet and good order. Archilochus, at any rate, says <sup>c</sup> "For I know how to lead off, in the lovely song of lord Dionysus, the dithyramb, when my wits have been stricken with the thunder-bolt of wine" And Epicharmus, also, said in *Philoctetes* <sup>d</sup>. "There can be no dithyramb when you drink water" It is plain, therefore, in the light of what we have said, that music did not, at the beginning, make its way into feasts merely for the sake of shallow and ordinary pleasure, as some persons think <sup>e</sup> As for the Lacedaemonians, if they studied <sup>f</sup> the art of music, they say nothing of it, but that they are able to judge the art well is admitted by them, and in fact they assert that they have saved the art three times when it was threatened with debasement <sup>g</sup>

Music contributes also to the exercise and the sharpening of the mind; hence all Greeks as well as

<sup>f</sup> *Foi μανθάνω* referring to systematic and professional study see Plato, *Rep* 488 b μήτε ἔχοντα ἀποδείξαι διδάσκαλον ἑαυτοῦ μηδὲ χρόνον ἐν ᾧ ἐμάνθανεν Knowledge of flute-playing is ascribed to the Lacedaemonians 184 d (vol. II p 314) on the authority of Chamaeleon The statement above is based apparently on Aristot. *Pol.* 1339 b 2 ἐκείνοι γὰρ (= οἱ Λάκωνες) οὐ μανθάνοντες ὁμῶς δύνανται κρίνειν ὀρθῶς, ὥς φασι, τὰ χρηστὰ καὶ τὰ μὴ χρηστὰ τῶν μελῶν Spartan neglect of poetry is alleged by Paus. III 8. 2 δοκοῦσι δὲ οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται μοι ποίησιν καὶ ἔπαινον τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἥκιστα ἀνθρώπων θαυμάσαι

<sup>g</sup> According to Casaubon this alludes to the three poets Terpander (below, 635 f), Timotheus (636 e), and Phrynis (638 c). Cf. Clem. Al. *Strom* 1. 308 μέλος τε αὐτῷ πρῶτος περιέθηκε τοῖς ποιήμασι, καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους νόμους ἐμελοποίησε Τέρπανδρος ὁ Ἀντισσαῖος; above, 619 b.

καστοι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ γνωσκόμενοι τυγ-  
 γάνουσιν χρώμενοι. οὐ κακῶς δὲ λέγουσιν<sup>1</sup> οἱ περὶ  
 Λάμωνα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ὅτι καὶ τὰς ᾠδὰς καὶ τὰς  
 ὀρχήσεις ἀνάγκη γίνεσθαι κινουμένης πως τῆς  
 βυχῆς· καὶ αἱ μὲν ἐλευθέριοι καὶ καλάι ποιοῦσι  
 τοιαύτας, αἱ δ' ἐναντίαι τὰς ἐναντίας. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ  
 Κλεοσθένους τοῦ Σικυωνίων τυράννου χάριεν καὶ  
 σημεῖον διανοίας πεπαιδευμένης. ἰδὼν γάρ, ὥς  
 φασι, φορτικῶς ὀρχησάμενον ἓνα τῶν τῆς θυγατρὸς  
 μνηστήρων (Ἰπποκλείδης δ' ἦν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος) ἀπ-  
 ωρχῆσθαι τὸν γάμον αὐτὸν ἔφησεν, νομίζων ὥς  
 ἔοικεν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τάνδρὸς εἶναι τοιαύτην. καὶ  
 γὰρ ἐν ὀρχήσει καὶ πορεία καλὸν μὲν εὐσχημοσύνη  
 καὶ κόσμος, αἰσχροὺν δὲ ἀταξία καὶ τὸ φορτικόν.  
 διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνέταπτον οἱ ποιηταὶ  
 τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τὰς ὀρχήσεις καὶ ἐχρῶντο τοῖς  
 σχήμασι σημείοις μόνον τῶν ἀδομένων, τηροῦν-  
 τες αἰεὶ τὸ εὐγενὲς καὶ ἀνδρώδες ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ὅθεν  
 καὶ ὑπορχήματα τὰ τοιαῦτα προσηγόρευον. εἰ δέ  
 τις ἀμέτρως διαθείη τὴν σχηματοποιίαν καὶ ταῖς  
 ᾠδαῖς ἐπιτυγχάνων μηδὲν λέγοι κατὰ τὴν ὀρχησιν,  
 οὗτος δ' ἦν ἀδόκιμος. διὸ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἢ

<sup>1</sup> Musuius λέγομεν A, φασὶ CE

<sup>a</sup> See Diog. Laert. ii. 5 19, who says that Damon was a teacher of Socrates. Certainly he influenced Plato, *Lach* 180 D, cf *Alc I* 118 c, especially *Rep* 400-402. Cf. Aristid. Quintil ii. 14 εἰκόμασι γὰρ αἱ μὲν ἀρμονίαι τοῖς πλεονάζουσι διαστήμασιν ἢ τοῖς περιέχουσιν φθόγγοις, οὗτοι δὲ τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς κινήμασι τε καὶ παθήμασιν. ὅτι γὰρ δι' ὁμοιότητος οἱ φθόγγοι συνεχῶς μελωδίας πλάττουσιν τε οὐκ ὄν ἦθος ἐν τε παισὶ καὶ τοῖς

those barbarians with whom we are acquainted make use of it. With good reason Damon of Athens and his school say that songs and dances are the result of the soul's being in a kind of motion; those songs which are noble and beautiful produce noble and beautiful souls, whereas the contrary kind produce the contrary.<sup>a</sup> Whence also came that witty remark of Cleosthenes,<sup>b</sup> the ruler of Sicyon, which reveals his cultivated mind. For, as they say, after seeing one of his daughter's suitors (he was Hippocleides of Athens) dancing in vulgar posture he declared that Hippocleides had "danced away" his marriage, because he believed that the young man's soul was also vulgar. For, whether in dancing or in walking, decency and dignity of bearing are beautiful, whereas immodesty and vulgarity are ugly. For this reason, in fact, from the very beginning, the poets<sup>c</sup> arranged dances for freemen, and they used the dance-figures only to illustrate the theme of the songs, always preserving nobility and manliness in them; hence they termed such performances hyporchemes.<sup>d</sup> But if any one arranged his figures with undue exaggeration,<sup>e</sup> or when he came to his songs said anything that did not correspond to the dance, he was discredited. Hence Aristophanes—or was it Plato?—has phrased

ἦδη προβεβηκόσι καὶ ἐνδομυχοῦν ἐξάγουσιν ἐδήλουν καὶ οἱ περὶ  
Δάμωνα

<sup>b</sup> i.e. Cleisthenes; Herod. vi. 129. Learned attempts to find ritualistic significance in Hippocleides' behaviour have not spoiled this story. See Luria in *Philol.* 85 (1930) 16-18.

<sup>c</sup> Who were also composers of the tunes and the dance-figures.

## ATHENAEUS

[λάτων ἐν ταῖς Σκευαῖς, ὡς Χαμαιλέων φησίν,  
ἔρηκεν οὕτως

ὥστ' εἴ τις ὀρχοῖτ'<sup>1</sup> εὖ, θέαμ' ἦν νῦν δὲ δρῶσιν  
οὐδέν,<sup>2</sup>

ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀπόπληκτοι στάδην ἐστῶτες ὠρύνονται.

ν γὰρ τὸ τῆς ὀρχήσεως γένος τῆς ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς  
ὑσχημον τότε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ ὥσανεὶ τὰς  
ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις κινήσεις ἀπομιμούμενον<sup>3</sup> ὅθεν  
καὶ Σωκράτης ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν τοὺς κάλλιστα  
χορεύοντας ἀρίστους φησὶν εἶναι τὰ πολέμια λέγων  
οὕτως

οἱ δὲ χοροῖς κάλλιστα θεοὺς τιμῶσιν, ἄριστοι  
ἐν πολέμῳ.

σχεδὸν γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐξοπλισία τις ἦν ἡ χορεία καὶ  
ἐπιδείξεις οὐ μόνον τῆς λοιπῆς εὐταξίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
τῆς τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιμελείας

Ἀμφίων δ' ὁ Θεσπιεὺς ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ τοῦ ἐν  
Ἑλικῶνι Μουσείου ἄγεσθαί φησιν ἐν Ἑλικῶνι  
παίδων ὀρχήσεις μετὰ σπουδῆς, παρατιθέμενος  
ἀρχαῖον Ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·

ἁμφότερ', ὠρχεύμην τε καὶ ἐν Μώσαις ἐδίδασκον  
ἄνδρας ὁ δ' αὐλητὰς ἦν Ἄνακος Φιαλεύς.  
εἰμὶ δὲ Βακχιάδας<sup>4</sup> Σικυώνιος. ἡ ῥα θεοῖσι  
ταῖς<sup>5</sup> Σικυῶνι καλὸν τοῦτ' ἀπέκειτο γέρας.

<sup>1</sup> Musurus: ὀρχοῖτ' A

<sup>2</sup> CE οὐθὲν A

<sup>3</sup> CE ἀπομιμουμένων A

<sup>4</sup> Meineke δ' βακχίδα A

<sup>5</sup> Kaibel ται A, τῇ Schweighauser, τοῖς Porson, Meineke.

it thus in *Goods and Chattels*,<sup>a</sup> according to Chamaeleon<sup>b</sup>. "Wherefore, if one danced nicely, it was a real show; nowadays, however, they have no action, but standing stock still as if they were paralysed, they howl"<sup>c</sup> For the kind of dancing practised in those days by the choruses was decent, of great dignity, and as though it represented the evolutions of men under arms. And therefore Socrates in his verses declares that those who dance best are best in military matters; he says<sup>d</sup> "Whoso honour the gods best with dances are the best in war" For the art of dancing was virtually like armed manoeuvres, and a display, not merely of discipline in general, but also of care taken for the body.

Amphion of Thespieae, in the second book of his work *On the Temple of the Muses on Helicon*,<sup>e</sup> says that dances of boys are enthusiastically held on Mount Helicon, citing this ancient *Epigram*. "Both things I did—I danced, and I taught the dance to men at the Muses' shrine; the flute-player was Anacus of Phigaleia. I am Bacchiadas of Sicyon. Of a truth this is a beautiful guerdon dedicated to the goddesses at Sicyon."

<sup>a</sup> Kock 1. 636 (Plato Comicus). The meaning of the title cannot be discovered from the few fragments, of which this is the only one quoted by Athen. Kock thinks it refers to tragic costumes.

<sup>b</sup> Frag. 28 Koepke.

<sup>c</sup> The paralysis and the howling allude to the sudden meeting with a ghost (*heros*), cf. Aristoph. *Av.* 1490-1493, Theocrit. 11. 35.

<sup>d</sup> *P.L.G.*<sup>4</sup> 11. 287, Diehl 1. 86. On Socrates writing verses in prison see Plato, *Phaedo* 60 c-d.

<sup>e</sup> See Couat-Loeb, *Alex. Poetry* 12. Nicocrates also wrote a treatise on the contest on Helicon, Schol. Townl. *Il.* 211. 21, cf. Paus. ix. 29-31. 3, Plut. 748 F, Strabo, 410, 471. Preger, *I. G. Metrical* 112.

ὁ κακῶς δὲ καὶ Καφισίας<sup>1</sup> ὁ αὐλητῆς, ἐπιβαλομένου τινὸς τῶν μαθητῶν αὐλεῖν μέγα καὶ τοῦτο ἐλετῶντος, πατάξας εἶπεν οὐκ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τὸ ὅ κείμενον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ εὖ τὸ μέγα ἐστὶ δὲ αἱ τὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων δημιουργῶν ἀγάλματα τῆς αλαιᾶς ὀρχήσεως λείψανα· διὸ καὶ συνέστη τὰ αὐτὰ τὴν χειρονομίαν ἐπιμελεστέρας διὰ ταύτην ἣν αἰτίαν.<sup>2</sup> ἐζήτουν γὰρ καὶ ταύτῃ κινήσεις καλὰς αἱ ἐλευθερίους, ἐν τῷ εὖ τὸ μέγα περιλαμβάνοντες· καὶ τὰ σχήματα μετέφερον ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τοὺς χοροὺς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν χορῶν εἰς τὰς παλαιίστρας. καὶ ἄρ ἐν τῇ μουσικῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιμελείᾳ περιποιοῦντο τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὕπλοις κινήσεις ἐγυμνάζοντο μετὰ ᾠδῆς<sup>3</sup> ὅθεν ἐκινήθησαν αἱ καλούμεναι πυρρίχαι καὶ πᾶς ὁ τοιοῦτος τρόπος τῆς ὀρχήσεως πολλαὶ γὰρ αἱ ὀνομασίαι<sup>4</sup> αὐτῶν, ὡς παρὰ Κρησὶν ὀρσίτης καὶ ἐπικρήδιος τὴν δ' ἀπόκινον καλουμένην ὀρχησιν, ἧς<sup>5</sup> μνημονεύει Κρατῖνος ἐν Νεμέσει καὶ Κηφισόδωρος ἐν Ἀμαζόσιν Ἀριστοφάνης τ' ἐν Κεν-

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf καφισίας ACE

<sup>2</sup> A: οὐ μάτην δὲ οὐδὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χειρονομίαν συνέστη ἐπιμελεστέρας C

<sup>3</sup> CE: τῆς ᾠδῆς A.

<sup>4</sup> Kaibel: αἱ πολλαὶ παρὰ ὀνομασίαι A, καὶ αἱ πολλαὶ παρὰ ὀνομασίαι Casaubon But we are dealing with many kinds of dance, not many by-names for the same kind.

<sup>5</sup> Casaubon ὡς A

<sup>a</sup> One of Alexander's artists, Athen 538 f (vol v p 436).

<sup>b</sup> μέγα means both "loud" and "big." The same story is told by Diog. Laert. vii 19. 21. Cf Aristot Met N 1092 b 8 on the mistake of confusing number with substance.



Not bad was the remark of the flute-player Caphisias<sup>a</sup>, one of his pupils started to play with a big blow,<sup>b</sup> and practised that constantly; but Caphisias whacked him and said, "Good playing consists not in bigness, but bigness depends upon good playing." Further, the statues made by the artists of old are relics of the ancient mode of dancing. For this reason, therefore, movements of the arms were shaped with greater care<sup>c</sup>. For even in this they sought movements which were beautiful and becoming to decent people, achieving bigness by excellence; and they carried over the postures from there into their choral dances, and from the dances again into the wrestling-schools. What is more, by means of music and the care of their bodies they acquired courage, and to master movements under arms they exercised to the accompaniment of songs; thus there came into practice the so-called *pyrrichês*<sup>d</sup> and all that kind of dancing, the names for them, in fact, are numerous, as for instance *orsitês*<sup>e</sup> and *epikredios*<sup>f</sup> in Crete. Then there is the *apokinós*, as it is called, which is mentioned by Cratinus<sup>g</sup> in *Nemesis*, Cephisodorus<sup>h</sup> in *Amazons*,

<sup>c</sup> The sense, here too much compressed, seems to be this: The old statues reveal the nature of the older dancing, in which much stress was laid upon graceful movement of the arms (*χειρονομία* below, 631 c); see vol. 1. pp. 88-96, Ovid, *A. A.* 1. 595 *si mollia brachia, salta*, and ironically *Rem. Am.* 334 *fac saltet, nescit si qua movere manum*. Yet see below, 630 c.

<sup>d</sup> War-dances, or dances with helmet, shield, and spear or sword. Plato, *Legg.* 815 A, Apul. *Met.* x. 29-31.

<sup>e</sup> If from *ὄρνυμι*, "stir up," it may be rendered "the shake-a-leg."

<sup>f</sup> Meaning unknown; possibly connected with *κάρα* or *κράς*, "head," and referring to the "cart-wheel", cf. the dance of Hippocleides.

<sup>g</sup> Kock 1. 51.

<sup>h</sup> Kock 1. 800.

ταύρω καὶ ἄλλοι πλείονες, ὕστερον μακτριισμόν  
ὠνόμασαν ἣν καὶ πολλαὶ γυναῖκες ὠρχοῦντο, ἃς  
καὶ μακτριστρίας<sup>1</sup> ὀνομαζομένας οἶδα.

Τὰ δὲ στασιμώτερα καὶ πυκνότερα<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὴν  
ὄρχησιν ἀπλουστέραν ἔχοντα καλεῖται δάκτυλοι,  
ιαμβική, Μολοσσική ἐμμέλεια, κόρδαξ, σίκιννις,  
Περσική, Φρύγιος νιβατισμός,<sup>3</sup> Θράκιος κολα-  
βρισμός,<sup>4</sup> τελεσιὰς<sup>5</sup>. Μακεδονική δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη  
ὄρχησις, ἣ χρησάμενοι οἱ περὶ Πτολεμαῖον Ἀλέξ-  
ανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου ἀδελφὸν ἀνεῖλον, ὥς ἱστορεῖ  
Μαρσύας ἐν τρίτῳ Μακεδονικῶν. μανιώδεις δ'  
εἰσὶν ὀρχήσεις κερνοφόρος καὶ μογγὰς<sup>6</sup> καὶ θερμ-  
αυστρίς.<sup>7</sup> ἣν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἡ καλου-

<sup>1</sup> Coraes · μαρκτυπιας A, μακτιστρίας Kaiibel

<sup>2</sup> Kaiibel · ποικιλώτερα ACE, ἀποικιλώτερα early edd.

<sup>3</sup> A: νικτισμός CE.

<sup>4</sup> Poll iv 100 · καλαβρισμοσ A, -μός CE

<sup>5</sup> CE τελεσειας A, τελεσίας Poll., τελεσία Hesych cod

<sup>6</sup> μογγας A · μυγγὰς CE, γίγγρας Schweighauser

<sup>7</sup> θερμαυστρίς or θερμανστρίς Poll, Eustath θερμανστρισ  
ACE

<sup>a</sup> Kock i 463, cf Aristoph *Eq.* 20, where it is a slang  
term for moving off or escaping in a hurry, εὐρέ τιν' ἀπόκινον  
ἀπὸ τοῦ δεσπότη, Schol. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ εἶδος ὀρχήσεως φορτικῆς  
See also Poll iv 101, Luc. *Salt* 33

<sup>b</sup> Οἱ *maktistriaí* The form is uncertain and the meaning  
unknown, βακτριασμός, βαυκισμός seem to be equivalent  
terms for μακτρισμός

<sup>c</sup> Schultz, *Rutsel* i 82, thinks the term has reference to the  
Idaeon Dactyls

<sup>d</sup> The punctuation above is that of ACE, but *emmeleia* is  
described as a tragic dance at 20 e (vol i. p 88), below, 630 e,  
without the adjective Molossian (possibly ironical here), so  
Luc *Salt*. 26 Aristoph *Vesp.* 1530 uses ἐμμέλεια ironically  
ἀπολῶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐμμέλεια κονδύλου, "I'll knock him out with a  
tuneful dance—of the knuckles!" Schol. Aristoph *Νυδ.*  
540 τρία εἶδη ὀρχήσεως ἐμμέλεια μὲν τραγική, σίκιννις σατυρική,  
394

Aristophanes <sup>a</sup> in *The Centaur*, and several other writers, and which was later called *maktrismos*; even women danced it in many instances, and they were called *maktristriaí*,<sup>b</sup> as I know.

The less violent kinds, performed in closer order and with simpler dance-movement, have these names: *daktyloi*,<sup>c</sup> *iambiké*, Molossian *emmeleia*,<sup>d</sup> *lordax*,<sup>e</sup> *Satyr's whirl*,<sup>f</sup> *Persian*, the Phrygian *nibatismos*, the Thracian *pig-dance*, the *telesiad*<sup>g</sup>; this last is a Macedonian dance. during a performance of which Ptolemy's men slew Alexander, Philip's brother, as recorded<sup>h</sup> by Marsyas in the third book of his *Macedonian History*. Dances as furious as those of madmen are the *kernophoros*,<sup>i</sup> the *mongas*,<sup>j</sup> and the *thermaustris*<sup>k</sup>. There was also among the common

κόρδαξ κωμική, ἥτις αἰσχροῦς κινεῖ τὴν ὁσφύν Haigh, *Trag. Drama*, p 356 note 3.

<sup>e</sup> Vol. 1. p 88.

<sup>f</sup> *Ibid*, and above, 618 c (p 331)

<sup>g</sup> Said to be named after a certain Telesias, 630 a. All the dances mentioned after the *emmeleia* seem to have been lively, but the descriptions are vague. Hesych *s* νιβατισμός· εἶδος ὀρχήσεως βαρβαρικῆς (Asiatic). Poll iv, 100 κολαβρισμός· Θράκιον ὀρχήμα καὶ Καρικόν. κόλαβρος means a young pig.

<sup>h</sup> *Script Alex* 42, J 2 B 739. Alexander II, son of Amyntas III, reigned over Macedonia from 370 to 368, when he was overthrown by his brother-in-law Ptolemy of Alorus; Diod xv 71, Plut. *Pelop* 27.

<sup>i</sup> For the kernos, a vessel or tray holding many cups, see 476 e-f (vol. v. p 108 and note b). Poll iv. 103 τὸ γὰρ κερνοφόρον ὀρχήμα οἶδ' ὅτι (ὠρχοῦντο) λίκνα ἢ ἐσχαρίδας φέροντες κέρνα δὲ ταῦτα ἐκαλεῖτο.

<sup>j</sup> Found only here, perhaps a dance accompanied by wild cries, cf *μογγός*.

<sup>k</sup> Described by Eustath. *Od.* 1601. 28 as a wild and strenuous dance in which the performers leapt high in the air, crossing their legs many times before coming down; Poll. iv 102.

μένη ἄνθεμα. ταύτην δὲ ὠρχοῦντο μετὰ λέξεως  
τοιαύτης μιμούμενοι καὶ λέγοντες·

ποῦ μοι τὰ ῥόδα, ποῦ μοι τὰ ἴα, ποῦ μοι τὰ καλὰ  
σέλινα;

ταδὶ τὰ ῥόδα,<sup>1</sup> ταδὶ τὰ ἴα, ταδὶ τὰ καλὰ σέλινα.

παρὰ δὲ Συρακοσίοις καὶ Χιτωνέας Ἀρτέμιδος  
ὄρχησῖς τίς ἐστὶν ἴδιος καὶ αὐλησις. ἦν δέ τις καὶ  
Ἰωνικὴ ὄρχησις παροίνιος. καὶ τὴν ἀγγελικὴν δὲ  
πάροιονον ἠκρίβουν ὄρχησιν. καλεῖται δέ τις καὶ  
ἄλλη ὄρχησις κόσμου ἐκπύρωσις,<sup>2</sup> ἧς μνημονεύει  
Μένιππος ὁ κυνικὸς ἐν τῷ Συμποσίῳ. καὶ γελοῖαι  
δ' εἰσὶν ὀρχήσεις ἴγδεις καὶ μακτρισμὸς ἀπόκινός  
τε καὶ σοβάς, ἔτι δὲ μορφασμὸς καὶ γλαυξ καὶ  
λέων ἀλφίτων τε ἔκχυσις<sup>3</sup> καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπή<sup>4</sup>  
καὶ στοιχεῖα καὶ πυρρίχη. μετ' αὐλῶν δ' ὠρχοῦντο  
τὴν τοῦ κελευστοῦ καὶ τὴν καλουμένην πινακίδα

<sup>1</sup> Jena reviewer (anon) ποῦ μοι ταδὶ τὰ ῥόδα ACE

<sup>2</sup> ἐμπύρωσις Hesych

<sup>3</sup> Bapp ἐκχύσεις ACE

<sup>4</sup> κρεῶν ἀποκλοπή Cobet

<sup>a</sup> In private life, not a professional or public performance, probably a child's game.

<sup>b</sup> P.L.G.<sup>4</sup> iii 662, Diehl ii 203, Edmonds iii 536

<sup>c</sup> Often explained as meaning Artemis the huntress clad in the short tunic (χιτών) The forms Χιτώνη and Χιτωνία also occur. See Epicharmus, Kaibel 114. But the epithet more probably refers to the garments dedicated to her by women, CIA i. 273, ii. 646, Eur. *I.T.* 1464 πέπλων ἄγαλμά σοι θήσουσιν εὐπήνους ὑφάς, as ἂν γυναῖκες ἐν τόκοις ψυχορραγεῖς λείπωσ' ἐν οἴκοις Schol. Call. h. Zeus 77 τικτομένων τῶν βρεφῶν ἀνετίθεσαν τὰ ἱμάτια τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι

<sup>d</sup> Cf Epicharm frag 127 (Kaibel) τὸ τᾶς Χιτωνέας αὐλησάτω τίς μοι μέλος.

<sup>e</sup> Possibly meaning, as often, "licentious" Poll. iv. 103

people<sup>a</sup> the dance called *Flowers*. This they danced with the following recital, making imitative gestures and saying<sup>b</sup>. "A Where are my roses, where are my violets, where my beautiful parsley? B. Here are thy roses, here are thy violets, here thy beautiful parsley." Among the Syracusans there was a dance peculiar to the worship of Artemis Chitonea,<sup>c</sup> also a flute-melody<sup>d</sup> There was also a drunken dance called *Ionic*<sup>e</sup> Another dance which they perfected, also in their cups, was the *Messenger*.<sup>f</sup> Still another dance is called *World-conflagration*, mentioned by the Cynic Menippus in his *Symposium*. There were also ludicrous dances—the *mortar-pounding*,<sup>g</sup> *maktismos* and *apokimos*,<sup>h</sup> *sobas*<sup>i</sup>; also *morphasmos*,<sup>j</sup> *owl*, *lion*, *spilling the barley*, *debt-cancelling*,<sup>k</sup> *alphabet*, and *pyrrichê*<sup>l</sup> To the accompaniment of flutes they danced the *boatswain's jig*, and the so-called *platter-dance*.<sup>m</sup>

says it was danced chiefly by Sicilian Greeks, but Luc Salt 34 calls the "drunken dance" (τὸ παροίνιον) Phrygian.

<sup>f</sup> Hesych. s. ἄγγελος says this was a Syracusan title of Artemis, Preller, *Griech. Myth* 4 i 324 identifies her with Hecate ἐνοδία, "wandering in the streets," and associated with Hermes, the messenger-god Nilsson, *Gr. Feste* 187

<sup>g</sup> Cf. ἰγδισμα *Etym Magn* 464. 51, Suid s.v

<sup>h</sup> Above, 629 c.

<sup>i</sup> Cf Suid s σοβάδες διώκουσαι, πόρναι<sup>1</sup>

<sup>j</sup> Poll. iv. 103 ὁ δὲ μορφασμός παντοδαπῶν ζώων ἦν μίμησις, hence perhaps a generic term for the animal dances next mentioned.

<sup>k</sup> Or, following Cobet's and Bapp's conjecture, "meat theft," cf. Poll. iv. 105 μιμητικὴν δὲ (? μιμηλικήν) δι' ἧς ἐμμοῦντο τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ κλοπῇ τῶν ἐώλων κρεῶν ἀλισκομένους. See above, p 349, note c, Aristoph *Eq.* 418-420

<sup>l</sup> Hardly to be included in this list, since the pyrrichê was a war-dance, above, 629 c.

<sup>m</sup> Poll. iv 103 τὰς δὲ πινακίδας ὠρχοῦντο οὐκ οἶδα εἴτ' ἐπὶ πινάκων εἴτε πίνακας φέροντες He then compares it with the kernophoros, 629 d

σχήματα δέ ἐστιν ὀρχήσεως ξιφισμός, καλαθίσκος,<sup>1</sup>  
καλλαβίδες,<sup>2</sup> σκώψ, σκώπευμα ἣν δὲ ὁ σκώψ τῶν  
ἀποσκοπούντων τι σχῆμα ἄκραν τὴν χεῖρα ὑπὲρ  
τοῦ μετώπου κεκυρτωκότων. μνημονεύει Αἰσχύλος  
ἐν Θεωροῖς·

καὶ μὴν παλαιῶν τῶνδ' εἰ σοὶ σκωπευμάτων.

30 καλλαβίδων δ' Εὐπολὶς ἐν Κόλαξιν·

καλλαβίδας δὲ βαίνει,  
σησαμίδας δὲ χέζει.

θερμανστρίς,<sup>3</sup> ἑκατερίδες, σκοπός, χεῖρ κατα-  
πρηγής, χεῖρ σιμή,<sup>4</sup> διποδισμός, ξύλου παράληψις,<sup>5</sup>  
ἐπαγκωνισμός, καλαθίσκος, στρόβιλος. καὶ τε-  
λεσιὰς δ' ἐστὶν ὀρχησις καλουμένη· στρατιωτικὴ  
δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη ἀπὸ τινος ἀνδρὸς Τελεσίου λαβοῦσα  
τοῦνομα, μεθ' ὅπλων τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὴν ἐκείνου  
ὀρχησαμένου, ὥς φησιν Ἰππαγόρας ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ  
περὶ τῆς Καρχηδονίων<sup>6</sup> Πολιτείας.

<sup>1</sup> Meursius καλαθισμός ACE

<sup>2</sup> A <sup>a</sup> κολλαβίδες C, καλλαβίς Hesych

<sup>3</sup> Casaubon θαυμαστρεῖς A

<sup>4</sup> Meursius. χερσὶ μη A

<sup>5</sup> πρόληψις ?

<sup>6</sup> Μακεδόνων (?) Muller (cf 629 d)

<sup>a</sup> Athen 467 f (vol v p 62), below, 630 a

<sup>b</sup> A kind of hootchy-kootchy, like the kordax (p 395 note e); Hesychius s. καλλαβίς τὸ περισπᾶν τὰ ἰσχία ἢ γένος ὀρχήσεως ἀσχημόνως τῶν ἰσχύων κυρτουμένων

<sup>c</sup> Athen. 391 a (vol iv. p. 266 and note b), cf 518 f (vol. v. p. 334 note d), Suid. s αἶθ' ὄφελος θανέειν, Callim. (L C L.) 254.

<sup>d</sup> The account in Poll. iv. 103 differs materially σκώψ (owl), εἶδος ὀρχήσεως ἔχον τινὰ τοῦ τραχήλου περιφορὰν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὄρνιθος μίμησιν, ὃς ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως πρὸς τὴν ὀρχησιν ἀλίσκεται, that is, the dancers twist and wriggle then necks

Other dance-figures are the *sword-dance*, *basket-dance*,<sup>a</sup> *hip-dance*,<sup>b</sup> *horned owl* or *owling* <sup>c</sup> Now the *horned-owl* (*skôps*) was a figure of dancers who gazed (*skopô*) into the distance with their hands curved high above their foreheads.<sup>d</sup> Aeschylus mentions it in *The Envoys* <sup>e</sup> : " And look you, all these antique owlings ! " *Kallabides* are mentioned by Eupolis in *Flatterers* <sup>f</sup> " His walk is a hip-dance, his excrement is sesame-cake. " <sup>g</sup> Then there are the *thermaustris*,<sup>h</sup> *hekaterides*,<sup>i</sup> *look-out*,<sup>j</sup> *flat-hand-down*, *hand-slanting*, *two-step*, *grabbing-the-front-seat*,<sup>k</sup> *cushion-dance*, *basket-dance*, *spinning-top*. There is also the *telesiad*, so-called <sup>l</sup>; this is a wai-dance which got its name from one Telesias, who danced it for the first time under arms, according to Hippagoras in the first book of his work *On the Constitution of Carthage*.<sup>m</sup>

like owls, which dance when caught This agrees with Athen. 391 a (vol. iv pp 266-268), which in turn agrees with Ael. *N A.* xv. 28. Hesych. *s* ὑπόσκοπον χέρα gives the name σκοπός to the dance described above Obviously the ancient etymologists had several explanations of the word σκῶψ, whether it meant owl or dance See also Hesych *s*. σκαπνευμάτων, Phot *Lex* 527 γ

<sup>a</sup> T.G F<sup>2</sup> 26.

<sup>f</sup> Kock i 304, below, 646 f, Hesych *s* καλλαβίς, Nilsson, *Gr Feste*, p 185.

<sup>g</sup> σσηαμίδες were a mixture of honey and sesame-seeds

<sup>h</sup> Page 395 note k

<sup>i</sup> " Now one hand, now the other, " slapping the rump. Cf Hesych. *s v* , who, however, says the feet, not the hands, were used.

<sup>j</sup> Probably the dance just described as σκῶψ, but derived in name from σκοπός

<sup>k</sup> Quite unknown; for ξύλον in this sense (to be sure with πρῶτον) cf Aristoph *Ach* 25, *Vesp* 90 An alternative rendering would be " Handing-on-the-stick. "

<sup>l</sup> Above, p 395, where it is said to be Macedonian

<sup>m</sup> F.II G. iv. 430.

b Καλεῖται δ' ἡ μὲν σατυρικὴ ὄρχησις, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοκλῆς ἐν πρώτῳ<sup>1</sup> περὶ Χορῶν, σίκιννις καὶ οἱ σάτυροι σικιννισταί. τινὲς δέ φασιν Σίκιννόν τινα βάρβαρον εὐρετὴν αὐτῆς γενέσθαι, ἄλλοι δὲ Κρήτα λέγουσι τὸ γένος εἶναι τὸν Σίκιννον ὀρχησθαι δ' οἱ Κρήτες, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστόξενος. Σκάμων δ' ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Εὐρημάτων σίκιννιν αὐτὴν εἰρησθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ σείεσθαι, καὶ πρῶτον c ὀρχήσασθαι τὴν σίκιννιν Θέρσιππον. προτέρα<sup>2</sup> δ' εὐρηται ἡ περὶ τοὺς πόδας κίνησις τῆς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν οἱ γὰρ παλαιοὶ τοὺς πόδας μᾶλλον ἐγυμνάζοντο ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις. οἱ δὲ Κρήτες κυνηγετικοί, διὸ καὶ ποδώκεις εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἳ φασι τὴν σίκιννιν ποιητικῶς ὠνομάσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς κινήσεως, ἣν καὶ οἱ σάτυροι ὀρχοῦνται ταχυτάτην οὖσαν. οὐ γὰρ ἔχει πάθος<sup>3</sup> αὕτη ἡ ὄρχησις, διὸ οὐδὲ βραδύνει. συνέστηκεν δὲ καὶ σατυρικῇ<sup>4</sup> πᾶσα ποιήσις τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκ χορῶν, ὥς καὶ ἡ τότε τραγωδία· διόπερ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτὰς εἶχον. τρεῖς δ' εἰσὶ τῆς σκηνικῆς ποιήσεως ὀρχήσεις, d τραγική, κωμική, σατυρική. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς λυρικῆς ποιήσεως τρεῖς, πυρρίχη, γυμνοπαιδική, ὑπορχηματική καὶ ἐστὶν ὁμοία ἡ μὲν πυρρίχη τῇ σατυρικῇ· ἀμφότεραι γὰρ διὰ τάχους. πολεμικὴ δὲ δοκεῖ εἶναι ἡ πυρρίχη ἔνοπλοι γὰρ αὐτὴν παῖδες ὀρχοῦνται. τάχους δὲ δεῖ τῷ πολέμῳ εἰς

<sup>1</sup> Schweighäuser · ἐν | τω τω A, ἐν ὀγδόῳ Muller

<sup>2</sup> Meineke · πρώτη ACE

<sup>3</sup> ACE · ἡθος Meineke, Kaibel

<sup>4</sup> A ἡ σατυρική CE

<sup>a</sup> F H G iv 331, see p 343 note a

<sup>b</sup> Satyr-whirl, above, 618 c, 629 d, and vol 1 p 88.



Now the satyr dance, as Aristocles says <sup>a</sup> in the first book of his treatise *On Choruses*, is called *sikinnis* <sup>b</sup> and the satyrs, *sikinnistai*. Some say that a barbarian named Sicinnus was its inventor, others assert that Sicinnus was a Cretan by birth. The Cretans are given to dancing, as Aristoxenus says <sup>c</sup>. But Scammon, in the first book of his work *On Inventions*, says <sup>d</sup> that the dance is called *sikinnis* from the verb *seirō* (shake), and that the first to dance the *sikinnis* was Thersippus. Movements of the feet were invented before those of the hands. For the men of old used to exercise their feet more in the public games and in hunting. Now the Cretans are given to hunting, hence they are swift of foot. Yet again there are some who say that *sikinnis* is a name made imitatively from *kinesis* (movement), <sup>e</sup> for the satyrs' dance is a movement very swift. For this dance has no depth of feeling, <sup>f</sup> for which reason it never slows up. All satyric poetry in ancient times consisted in choruses, like the tragedy of those days; hence it had no actors either. There are three kinds of dancing in poetry for the stage—tragic, comic, and satyric. Similarly there are three in lyric poetry, the war-dance, naked-boy-dance, and hyporchematic <sup>g</sup>. To be sure, the war-dance (*pyrrichē*) bears a similarity to the satyric, since both are characterized by speed. Yet the *pyrrichē*, it is agreed, is warlike; it is danced by boys in armour. War needs speed for the pursuit, and also, in the case

<sup>c</sup> *F.H.G.* II. 284

<sup>d</sup> *F.H.G.* IV. 489

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* *sikinnis* is an anagram for *kinesis*.

<sup>f</sup> Or "pain," as in Aristot. *Poet.* 1453 b 18. The conjecture *ἥθος* "character" gives no clearer meaning than the MSS. *πάθος*.

<sup>g</sup> Below, 631 c, and 628 d (p. 389 note d)

τὸ διώκειν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἡττωμένους “φεύγειν μὴδὲ μένειν μὴδ’ αἰδεῖσθαι<sup>1</sup> κακοὺς εἶναι.” ἡ δὲ γυμνοπαιδικὴ παρεμφερὴς ἐστὶ τῇ τραγικῇ ὀρχήσει ἥτις ἐμμέλεια καλεῖται· ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ δὲ ὁράται τὸ βαρὺ καὶ σεμνόν. ἡ δ’ ὑπορχηματικὴ τῇ κωμικῇ οἰκειοῦται ἥτις καλεῖται κόρδαξ· παιγνιώδεις δ’ εἰσὶν ἀμφοτέραι.

Ἀριστόξενος δὲ φησι τὴν πυρρίχην ἀπὸ Πυρρίχου Λάκωνος τὸ γένος τὴν προσηγορίαν λαβεῖν· Λακωνικὸν δ’ εἶναι μέχρι καὶ νῦν ὄνομα τὸν Πύρριχον. ἐμφανίζει δ’ ἡ ὀρχησις πολεμικὴ οὖσα ὥς Λακεδαιμονίων<sup>2</sup> τὸ εὖρημα· πολεμικοὶ δ’ εἰσὶν οἱ Λάκωνες, ὧν καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ<sup>3</sup> τὰ ἐμβατήρια μέλη ἀναλαμβάνουσιν ἅπερ καὶ ἐνόπλια καλεῖται καὶ αὐτοὶ δ’ οἱ Λάκωνες ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τὰ Τυρταίου ποιήματα ἀπομνημονεύοντες ἐνρhythμον<sup>4</sup> κίνησιν ποιοῦνται. Φιλόχορος δὲ φησιν κρατήσαντας Λακεδαιμονίους Μεσσηνίων διὰ τὴν Τυρταίου στρατηγίαν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἔθος ποιήσασθαι, ἃν<sup>5</sup> δειπνοποιήσωνται καὶ παιωνίσωσιν, ἃ δειν καθ’ ἓνα τι<sup>6</sup> Τυρταίου κρίνειν δὲ τὸν πολέμαρχον καὶ ἄθλον δίδόναι τῷ νικῶντι κρέας. ἡ δὲ πυρρίχη παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν οὐκ ἔτι παραμένει, καὶ ἐκλιπούσης δὲ αὐτῆς συμβέβηκε τοὺς πολέμους

<sup>1</sup> CE: μὴ δὲ δεῖσθαι A.

<sup>2</sup> CE: λακεδαιμονίου A.

<sup>3</sup> οἱ υἱοὶ CE: υἱοὶ A.

<sup>4</sup> ἐνρhythμον A. εὖρhythμον CE, ἔρρυθμον Meineke, Kaibel.

<sup>5</sup> ἐπὶ τὴν Coraes, δειπνοποιουμένοις καὶ παιωνίζουσι CE (παιαν- C).

<sup>6</sup> τι added by Gulick (τὰ Kaibel).

<sup>a</sup> Adapted from the oracle given to Croesus, Hdt. 1.55, humorously quoted by Plato, *Rep.* 566 c.

of the vanquished, "that they may fly, and stay not, nor feel shame at being cowards" <sup>a</sup> The naked-boy-dance resembles the tragic dance called *emmeleia* <sup>b</sup>; in both may be seen the grave and solemn quality. But the hyporchematic is closely related to the comic dance called *lordax*, both of them are full of fun.

Aristoxenus says <sup>c</sup> that the *pyrrichê* received its name from Pyrrichus, a Spartan by birth; in fact Pyrrichus is a Spartan name even to-day <sup>d</sup> The dance by its warlike character reveals its Spartan origin For the Spartans are given to war, and their sons adopt the marching songs which are called *enoplia* <sup>e</sup> The Spartans themselves in their wars recite from memory the poems of Tyrtaeus as they march forward in time to the music Philochorus says <sup>f</sup> that after the Spartans had overcome the Messenians through Tyrtaeus's leadership, <sup>g</sup> they instituted the custom in their military campaigns, when they have finished their dinner and sung the hymn of thanksgiving, of having each one in turn sing something by Tyrtaeus; their commander-in-chief acts as judge and awards a prize of meat to the victor. The *pyrrichê*, however, no longer <sup>h</sup> survives among other Greeks, and coincidentally with its decline the

<sup>b</sup> Above, 629 d (p. 394 and note d)

<sup>c</sup> *F H G.* II 284.

<sup>d</sup> Strabo 467 and Poll IV 99 make Pyrrichus and Telesias (630 a) Cretans. See Paus. III. 25. Theocr IV. 20, in an idyl the scene of which is laid in Southern Italy, and of which the language is Dorian, uses *πυρρίχος* "red" of a bull.

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* "under arms," with a well-known rhythm — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪.

<sup>f</sup> *F H G.* I. 393.

<sup>g</sup> Cf. Tyrtaeus frag 1. 15 Diehl I 5 and note, Grote, *Hist. Greece*, Part II chap. VII.

<sup>h</sup> *i.e.* in the time of Aristocles (above, 630 b), about 110 B.C.

καταλυθῆναι παρὰ μόνοις δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις δια-  
μένει προγύμνασμα οὔσα τοῦ πολέμου· ἔκμαν-  
θάνουσί τε πάντες ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ πέντε ἐτῶν  
πυρριχίζειν ἢ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς πυρρίχη Διονυσιακή  
τις εἶναι δοκεῖ, ἐπικεκστέρα οὔσα τῆς ἀρχαίας  
ἔχουσι γὰρ οἱ ὀρχούμενοι θύρσους ἀντὶ δοράτων,  
προίενται δὲ ἐπ' ἀλλήλους καὶ νάρθηκας, καὶ λαμ-  
πάδας φέρουσιν ὀρχοῦνταί τε τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον  
καὶ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς<sup>1</sup> ἔτι τε τὰ περὶ τὸν Πενθέα.  
τακτέον δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πυρρίχης τὰ κάλλιστα μέλη καὶ  
τοὺς ὀρθίους<sup>2</sup> ῥυθμούς

Ἔοικεν δὲ ἡ γυμνοπαιδικὴ τῇ καλουμένη ἀνα-  
πάλῃ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς. γυμνοὶ γὰρ ὀρχοῦνται  
οἱ παῖδες πάντες, ἐνρύθμους<sup>3</sup> φοράς τινας ἀπο-  
τελοῦντες<sup>4</sup> καὶ σχήματά τινα τῶν χειρῶν κατὰ τὸ  
ἀπαλόν,<sup>5</sup> ὥστ' ἐμφαίνειν θεωρήματά τινα<sup>6</sup> τῆς  
παλαιστρας<sup>7</sup> καὶ τοῦ παγκρατίου, κινοῦντες ἐν-  
ρύθμως<sup>8</sup> τοὺς πόδας. τρόποι δ' αὐτῆς οἱ τε ὠσχο-  
φορικοὶ<sup>9</sup> καὶ οἱ βακχικοί, ὥστε καὶ τὴν ὀρχησιν  
ταύτην εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον ἀναφέρεσθαι. Ἀριστό-  
ξενος δὲ φησιν ὡς οἱ παλαιοὶ γυμναζόμενοι πρῶτον

<sup>1</sup> Kaibel καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς A, καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ πενθέα CE

<sup>2</sup> Musurus ὀρθρίουσ A.

<sup>3</sup> A εὐρύθμους CE

<sup>4</sup> ἀποτελοῦντες CE (after εἰσαιε) ἀποτέμνοντες A and (originally) CE

<sup>5</sup> ACE· ἀνάπαλον Kaibel, ἀπαλον (?) Schweighauser.

<sup>6</sup> τινα om CE

<sup>7</sup> A· πάλης CE, perhaps rightly

<sup>8</sup> Dindorf (ἐρρ-) εὐρύθμωσ ACE.

<sup>9</sup> Schweighauser ὠσχοφορικοὶ A, ὠσχοφόροι CE

<sup>a</sup> Eur Bacch 146 πυρσώδῃ φλόγα πεύκας ἐκ νάρθηκος  
αἴτσει δρόμῳ καὶ χοροῖσιν πλανάτας ἐρεθίζων ἰαχαῖς τ' ἀνα-  
πάλλων

wars stopped. But among the Spartans alone it still persists as a preparatory drill for war; further, all males in Sparta, from five years of age on, learn thoroughly how to dance the pyrrichê. The pyrrichê of our times is rather Dionysiac in character and is more respectable than the ancient kind. For the dancers carry Bacchic wands in place of spears, they hurl also at one another stalks of fennel,<sup>a</sup> they carry torches, and dance the story of Dionysus and India, or again the story of Pentheus. The loveliest melodies, in high-pitched strains, are to be assigned to the pyrrichê.

The naked-boy-dance is like what is called the *anapalê* among the ancients. For all the boys who dance it are naked, performing certain rhythmical movements and describing certain positions with the arms gently,<sup>b</sup> so as to represent certain scenes in the wrestling-school during a wrestling-and-boxing match, but moving the feet in time to the music. Variations of it are the *Oschophoric* <sup>c</sup> and the *Bacchic*, so that this dance also is traceable to the worship of Dionysus. Aristoxenus says <sup>d</sup> that the ancients, practising first

<sup>b</sup> For *κατὰ τὸ ἀπαλόν*, which is perfectly intelligible, referring to the fact that this is pantomime and not an actual pancratium, Kaibel invents *κατὰ τὸ ἀνάπαλον* which he explains as a word used by the author to account for the term *anapalê*. He gives no translation, however, nor does L. & S., who accept his reading. Of course *anapalê* means simply an imitation wrestling-match in which no falls occur. The word is not defined in L. & S., but from the vague description it would appear that the pairs of pantomimic "wrestlers" changed in the evolutions of the dance, *ἀνα-* in the compound word being distributive.

<sup>c</sup> The *oschos* was a vine-branch laden with grapes, Proclus *ap. Phot. Bibl.* 322 a 13-30, Athen. 495 f (vol. v p 210 and p. 209 note g)

<sup>d</sup> *F.H.G.* II. 284

ἐν τῇ γυμνοπαιδικῇ εἰς τὴν πυρρίχην ἐχώρουν πρὸ τοῦ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ θέατρον. καλεῖται δ' ἡ πυρρίχη καὶ χειρονομία ἢ δ' ὑπορχηματική ἐστίν ἐν ᾗ ἄδων ὁ χορὸς ὀρχεῖται. φησὶ γοῦν ὁ Βακχυλίδης·

οὐχ ἔδρας ἔργον οὐδ' ἀμβολᾶς

καὶ Πίνδαρος δέ φησιν·

Λάκαινα μὲν παρθένων ἀγέλα.

ὀρχοῦνται δὲ ταύτην παρὰ τῷ Πινδάρῳ οἱ Λάκωνες, καὶ ἐστὶν ὑπορχηματική ὀρχησις ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν βέλτιστοι δέ εἰσι τῶν τρόπων οἷτινες καὶ ὀρχοῦνται. εἰσὶ δὲ οἷδε προσοδιακοί,<sup>1</sup> ἀποστολικοὶ (οὗτοι δὲ καὶ παρθένιοι καλοῦνται) καὶ οἱ τούτοις ὅμοιοι. τῶν γὰρ ὕμνων<sup>2</sup> οἱ μὲν ὠρχοῦντο, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ὠρχοῦντο. . . .<sup>3</sup> ἢ τοὺς εἰς Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Διόνυσον, καὶ τὸν παιᾶνα δὲ ὅτε μὲν ὅτε δὲ οὐ. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ὥσπερ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι σπουδαῖαι καὶ φαῦλαι ὀρχήσεις. ὁ μὲν κόρδαξ παρ' Ἑλλήσι φορτικός, ἡ δὲ ἐμμέλεια σπουδαία, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ παρὰ Ἀρκάσι κίδαρις, παρὰ Σικυωνίοις τε ὁ ἀλητήρ. οὕτως δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἰθάκῃ καλεῖται ἀλητήρ, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἀριστόξενος

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf προσωδιακοί ACE

<sup>2</sup> Villebrun τὸν γὰρ ὕμνον A

<sup>3</sup> Lacuna marked by Kaibel

<sup>a</sup> Apparently in a kind of setting-up exercise.

<sup>b</sup> Above, 629 b-c (p 393)

<sup>c</sup> P.L.G.<sup>4</sup> iii. 577, Jebb 53, expressly stated to belong to a hyporcheme in *Anal. Gram.* Keil vii 21.

the naked-boy-dance,<sup>a</sup> proceeded into the pyrrichê before entering the theatre. Another name for the pyrrichê is *arm-waving* <sup>b</sup> The hyporchematic, on the other hand, is one in which the chorus sings as it dances Bacchylides, for example, says <sup>c</sup>. "A task not for sitting still, nor for delay" Pindar, too, says <sup>d</sup> "A band of Laconian maidens" In Pindar this is danced by Laconian men, and in fact the hyporchematic is a dance for men as well as women <sup>e</sup> The best varieties of lyric poetry are those which are danced They are these prosodiac,<sup>f</sup> apostolic<sup>g</sup> (also called parthenion), and the like Of the hymns some were danced, others were not or those to Aphrodite and Dionysus, and the paeon, too, they sometimes danced, sometimes did not Among the barbarians, also, there are serious dances and vulgar dances, exactly as among the Greeks The Greek kordax, for example, is vulgar, whereas the emmeleia is serious, like the *kudaris* <sup>h</sup> among the Arcadians and the *alêter* <sup>i</sup> among the Sicyonians The term *alêter* is used in the same way in Ithaca, as Aristoxenus

<sup>a</sup> *P L G.* <sup>5</sup> 1 431, Bowra frag. 101.

<sup>e</sup> Kaibel marked a lacuna here, but there are gaps everywhere in this description, as well as curtailment of the quotations. A comparison with Proclus *ap. Phot. Bibl.* 320 a 5-9, 322 a 32-35 shows that the list as given above is badly muddled.

<sup>f</sup> Processional hymns with the rhythm — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪.

<sup>g</sup> Sung, apparently, on the dispatch of diplomatic missions, Phot *loc cit.* They were quite different from the maidens' hymns, parthenia

<sup>h</sup> Apparently in honour of Demeter *Kudapia* at Pheneia, Paus. viii. 3, Hesych. *s v*, *Brit School Ann* xii 340, Nilsson, *Gr Feste*, pp 343-344; the dance was a spell to produce fertility.

<sup>i</sup> "Wanderer's dance."

ἐν πρώτῳ Συγκρίσεων. καὶ περὶ μὲν ὀρχήσεως  
τοσαῦτά μοι ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος λέλεκται

Τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἐτηρεῖτο περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν τὸ  
καλὸν καὶ πάντ' εἶχε κατὰ τὴν τέχνην τὸν οἰκεῖον  
αὐτοῖς κόσμον διόπερ ἦσαν ἴδιοι καθ' ἐκάστην  
ἁρμονίαν αὐλοὶ καὶ ἐκάστοις αὐλητῶν ὑπῆρχον  
αὐλοὶ ἐκάστη ἁρμονία πρόσφοροι ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι.  
Πρόνομος δ' ὁ Θηβαῖος πρῶτος ηὔλησεν ἀπὸ<sup>1</sup> τῶν  
αὐτῶν αὐλῶν<sup>2</sup> πάσας<sup>3</sup> τὰς ἁρμονίας. νῦν δὲ εἰκῇ καὶ  
ἀλόγως ἄπτονται τῆς μουσικῆς καὶ πάλαι μὲν τὸ  
παρὰ τοῖς ὄχλοις εὐδοκιμεῖν σημείον ἦν κακοτεχν-  
νίας· ὅθεν καὶ Ἀσωπόδωρος ὁ Φλιάσιος κροταλιζο-  
μένου ποτέ τινος τῶν αὐλητῶν διατρίβων αὐτὸς ἔτι  
ἐν τῷ ὑποσκηνίῳ<sup>4</sup> “ τί τοῦτ’; εἶπεν, δῆλον ὅτι  
μέγα κακὸν γέγονεν,” ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἐν τοῖς  
πολλοῖς εὐδοκίμησαντος. (οἶδα δέ τινες τοῦθ’  
ἱστορήσαντας ὥς Ἀντιγενείδου<sup>5</sup> εἰπόντος.) καίτοι  
οἱ καθ’ ἡμᾶς γε<sup>6</sup> τέλος ποιοῦνται τῆς τέχνης τὴν  
παρὰ τοῖς θεάτροις εὐημερίαν διόπερ Ἀριστό-  
ξενος ἐν τοῖς Συμμίκτοις Συμποτικοῖς “ ὅμοιον,

<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ C

<sup>2</sup> τῶν αὐτῶν αὐλῶν Casaubon τῶν αὐλῶν ACE.

<sup>3</sup> πάσας added by Meineke, following Schweighauser.

<sup>4</sup> παρασκηνίῳ Meineke wrongly

<sup>5</sup> ἀντιγενείδου A

<sup>6</sup> Kaibel καὶ οἱ καθημᾶς δὲ A, καίτοι οἱ πλείους CE.

<sup>a</sup> F.H.G. II. 284.

<sup>b</sup> Beginning at 628 c (p. 387). Masurius (cf 623 e) now  
returns to music in general.

<sup>c</sup> For Pronomus, Alcibiades' music-master, see Athen.  
184 d (vol. II. p. 314) and Paus. IX. 12. 5, where unfortunately



records <sup>a</sup> in the first book of his *Comparisons*. So much, then, I have had to say for the present on the subject of dancing <sup>b</sup>

In olden times the feeling for nobility was always maintained in the art of music, and all its elements skilfully retained the orderly beauty appropriate to them. Hence there were flutes peculiarly adapted to every mode, and every player had flutes suited to every mode used in the public contests. But Pionomus of Thebes began the practice of playing all the modes on the same flutes <sup>c</sup>. To-day, however, people take up music in a haphazard and irrational manner. In early times popularity with the masses was a sign of bad art, hence, when a certain flute-player once received loud applause, Asopodorus of Phlius, who was himself still waiting in the wings, <sup>d</sup> said "What's this? Something awful must have happened!" The player evidently could not have won approval with the crowd otherwise. (I am aware that some persons have narrated this story with Antigeneidas <sup>e</sup> as the speaker.) And yet the musicians of our day set as the goal of their art success with their audiences. Hence Aristoxenus in his *Drinking-Miscellany* says <sup>f</sup>. "We act like the people

the text is as troubled as it is here (*αὐτοῖς τοῖς αὐλοῖς* for *αὐλοῖς τοῖς αὐτοῖς*).

<sup>a</sup> Lit "in the hyposcenium," which at this time (end of third century B.C.?) and in the Hellenistic theatre had come to mean the lowest tier of the *σκηνή* or scene-building, Flickinger, *Greek Theater* 344, cf. 111. Asopodorus is mentioned as a writer 445 b (vol. iv. p. 516) and below, 639 a, but here it would seem that he was a musician (singer?) waiting for his cue to go on the stage.

<sup>e</sup> Famous flute-player, 131 b (vol. II. p. 102), Pliny, *H. N.* xvi 170

<sup>f</sup> *F.H.G.* II. 291. Cf. Plat *Legg* 701 A.

φησί, ποιούμεν Ποσειδωνιάταις<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ἐν τῷ Τυρ-  
 ρηνικῷ<sup>2</sup> κόλπῳ κατοικοῦσιν. οἷς συνέβη τὰ μὲν ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς Ἑλλησιν οὖσιν ἐκβεβαρβαρῶσθαι Τυρρηνοῖς  
 ἢ Ῥωμαίοις<sup>3</sup> γεγονόσι, καὶ τὴν τε φωνὴν μετα-  
 βεβληκέναι τὰ τε λοιπὰ<sup>4</sup> τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἄγειν  
 δέ<sup>5</sup> μίαν τινὰ αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐορτῶν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν  
 ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ἐν ᾗ συνιόντες ἀναμιμνήσκονται τῶν  
 ἀρχαίων ἐκείνων ὀνομάτων τε καὶ νομίμων<sup>6</sup> καὶ  
 ἀπολοφυράμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀποδακρύσαντες  
 ἀπέρχονται. οὕτω δὲ οὖν, φησί,<sup>7</sup> καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐπειδὴ  
 καὶ τὰ θέατρα ἐκβεβαρβάρωται καὶ εἰς μεγάλην  
 διαφθοράν<sup>8</sup> προελήλυθεν ἡ πάνδημος αὕτη μουσική,  
 καθ' αὐτοὺς γενόμενοι ὀλίγοι ἀναμιμνησκόμεθα<sup>9</sup>  
 οἷα ἦν ἡ μουσική." ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἀριστόξενος.

Κάμοι δὲ διὰ τοῦτο φαίνεται φιλοσοφητέον εἶναι  
 περὶ μουσικῆς. καὶ γὰρ Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος  
 τηλικαύτην δόξαν ἔχων ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ καταφανής  
 ἐστὶν ἐκ πολλῶν οὐ παρέργως ἀψάμενος μουσικῆς.  
 ὅς γε καὶ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίαν διὰ μουσικῆς  
 ἀποφαίνει συγκειμένην τὸ δ' ὅλον ἔοικεν ἢ παλαιὰ  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφία τῇ μουσικῇ μάλιστ' εἶναι

<sup>1</sup> CE ποσιδωνιάταις A <sup>2</sup> A τυρρηνικῷ CE

<sup>3</sup> ἢ Ῥωμαίοις deleted by Wilamowitz

<sup>4</sup> A καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ CE.

<sup>5</sup> ἄγειν δέ Kaibel ἄγειν τε A, ἄγουσι CE

<sup>6</sup> A νόμων CE

<sup>7</sup> B, Musurius φασὶ A

<sup>8</sup> Casaubon: διαφθοράν A

<sup>9</sup> Musurus ἀναμιμνησκόμεθα A.

<sup>a</sup> Paestum, in Lucania south of Naples. Wilamowitz deleted "or Romans," but these words seem no more inaccurate than calling the Lucanians Tuscans

<sup>b</sup> Aristoxenus is speaking vaguely of the Tyrrhenian Sea ;

of Poseidonia,<sup>a</sup> who dwell on the Tyrrhenian Gulf<sup>b</sup> It so happened that although they were originally Greeks, they were completely barbarized, becoming Tuscans or Romans ; they changed their speech and then other practices, but they still celebrate one festival that is Greek to this day, wherein they gather together and recall those ancient words and institutions, and after bewailing them and weeping over them in one another's presence they depart home In like manner we also, says Aristoxenus, now that our theatres have become utterly barbarized and this prostituted<sup>c</sup> music has moved on into a state of grave corruption, will get together by ourselves, few though we be, and recall what the art of music used to be<sup>d</sup> So much for what Aristoxenus says.

In view of this it is plain to me also that music should be the subject of philosophic reflection. Pythagoras of Samos, with all his great fame as a philosopher, is one of many conspicuous for having taken up music as no mere hobby ; on the contrary, he explains the very being of the universe as bound together by musical principles.<sup>d</sup> Taking it all together, it is plain that the ancient "wisdom"<sup>e</sup> of the Greeks was given over especially to music. For

had he known Italian geography better he would have said ἐν τινὶ κόλπῳ τῆς Τυρρηνικῆς θαλάσσης. Cf. Strabo 251 εἰς τὸν Ποσειδωνιάτην κόλπον.

<sup>c</sup> The adjective πάνδημος alludes to the "vulgar" Eros or Aphrodite of Plato, *Symp.* 180 E, 181 A.

<sup>d</sup> See Plato, *Rep.* 617 B and Shorey's notes (L.C.L.) II. 504.

<sup>e</sup> So Pindar constantly calls his poetic art σοφία, e.g. *Ol.* 1. 116. Socrates seems to have been the first to distinguish poetic inspiration from wisdom or knowledge, Plato, *Apol.* 22 B ἔγνωσαν οὖν αὖ καὶ περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐ σοφία ποιοῖεν ἀ ποιοῖεν ἀλλὰ φύσει τινὶ καὶ ἐνθουσιάζοντες, the theme of Plato's *Ion*. σοφία means skill, of any kind.

δεδομένη.<sup>1</sup> καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν μὲν θεῶν Ἀπόλλωνα, τῶν δὲ ἡμιθέων Ὀρφέα μουσικώτατον καὶ σοφώτατον<sup>2</sup> ἔκρινον· καὶ πάντας τοὺς χρωμένους τῇ τέχνῃ ταύτῃ σοφιστὰς ἀπεκάλουν, ὥσπερ καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐποίησεν·

εἴτ' οὖν σοφιστῆς σκαιὰ<sup>3</sup> παραπαίων<sup>4</sup> χέλυν

ὅτι δὲ πρὸς τὴν μουσικὴν οἰκειότατα<sup>5</sup> διέκειντο οἱ ἄρχαιοι δῆλον καὶ ἐξ Ὀμήρου· ὃς διὰ τὸ μεμελοποιεῖν πᾶσαν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ποίησιν ἀφροντιστὶ πολλοὺς<sup>6</sup> ἀκεφάλους ποιεῖ στίχους καὶ λαγαροὺς, ἔτι δὲ μειούρους· Ξενοφάνης δὲ καὶ Σόλων καὶ Θέογνις καὶ Φωκυλίδης, ἔτι δὲ Περίανδρος ὁ Κορίνθιος ἐλεγείοποιος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οἱ μὴ προσάγοντες πρὸς τὰ ποιήματα μελωδίαν ἐκπονοῦσι τοὺς στίχους τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς καὶ τῇ τάξει τῶν μέτρων καὶ σκοποῦσιν ὅπως αὐτῶν μηθεὶς μήτε<sup>7</sup> ἀκέφαλος ἔσται μήτε λαγαρὸς μήτε μείουρος· ἀκέφαλοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τὴν χωλότητα ἔχοντες·

ἐπειδὴ νῆας τε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἵκοντο.<sup>8</sup>

ἐπίτονος τετάνυστο βοὸς ἱφί κταμένοιο

λαγαροὶ δὲ οἱ ἐν μέσῳ, οἶον·

<sup>1</sup> A, δεδόσθαι CE ἐνδεδεμένη Schweighauser.

<sup>2</sup> A· σοφώτατοι ὅτι μουσικώτατοι CE (in a different constr.)

<sup>3</sup> Ellis καλὰ ACE

<sup>4</sup> παρπαίων Wecklein.

<sup>5</sup> B, Musurus οἰκειότητα A

<sup>6</sup> πολλοὺς Meineke· τοὺς πολλοὺς A

this reason they regarded Apollo, among the gods, and Orpheus, among the demigods, as most musical and most wise<sup>a</sup>, and they called all who followed this art sophists,<sup>b</sup> as Aeschylus has done<sup>c</sup>. "Then the sophist wildly struck his tortoise-shell lyre with notes discordant" And that the men of old were disposed to treat music with the greatest familiarity<sup>d</sup> is clear also from Homer; why, in setting all his poetry to music he often, without thought, composes verses which are "acephalous," or "slack," or even "taper off at the end."<sup>e</sup> But Xenophanes, Solon, Theognis, Phocylides, also the Corinthian elegiac poet Periander and other poets who do not add melodies to their poetry, finish off their verses in respect of the counting and the arrangement of the metrical feet, and see to it that not one of them is either acephalous or slack or tapering. Acephalous verses are those which have the quality of lameness at the beginning<sup>f</sup>. "When they had come to the ships and to the Hellespont" "A strap lay stretched upon it, made of a slaughtered ox's hide"<sup>g</sup> Slack verses are lame in the middle, as for example:

<sup>a</sup> i.e. as most wise because most musical, the reading in CE.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. men of skill.

<sup>c</sup> *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 97; the text is corrupt and the verse is not a good support of his contention.

<sup>d</sup> They knew it so well that they could break the rules of verse on occasion

<sup>e</sup> The three terms describe verses which have a short syllable where a long syllable is required; see Christ's *Metrik*<sup>2</sup> 194-195

<sup>f</sup> *Il.* xxiii. 2, beginning with a short vowel (ε) instead of the normal long (υ — for — or — υ υ), other examples in van Leeuwen, *Enchirid. dict. ep.* 96-97

<sup>g</sup> A conflation of *Od.* xii 423 and *Il.* iii. 375.

<sup>7</sup> μήτε added by Meineke.

<sup>8</sup> ἱκοντοσ Α.

αἶψα δ' ἄρ' Αἰνείαν φίλον υἱὸν<sup>1</sup> Ἀγχίσαο.  
τῶν αὖθ' ἠγείσθην Ἀσκληπιοῦ δύο παῖδε.

μείουροι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκβολῆς, οἶον·

Τρῶες δ' ἐρρίγησαν ὅπως ἴδον αἴολον ὄφιν  
καλὴ Κασσιόπεια θεοῖς δέμας εἰκουῖα  
τοῦ φέρον ἐμπλήσας ἀσκὸν μέγαν, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἦια.

Διетήρησαν δὲ μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων Λακε-  
δαιμόνιοι τὴν μουσικὴν, πλείστη αὐτῇ χρώμενοι,  
καὶ συχνοὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο μελῶν ποιηταί  
τηροῦσιν δὲ<sup>2</sup> καὶ νῦν τὰς ἀρχαίας ᾠδὰς ἐπιμελῶς  
πολυμαθεῖς τε εἰς ταύτας εἰσὶ καὶ ἀκριβεῖς. ὅθεν  
καὶ Πρατίνας φησί·

Λάκων ὁ τέτιξ εὐτυχος εἰς χορόν.

διὸ καὶ οἱ ποιηταί διετέλουν προσαγορεύοντες  
οὕτως τὰς ᾠδὰς “ γλυκυτάτων πρύτανιν ὕμνων ”<sup>3</sup>  
καὶ “ μέλεα μελιπτέρωτα Μουσᾶν ”<sup>4</sup> ἀπὸ γὰρ  
τῆς τοῦ βίου σωφροσύνης καὶ αὐστηρίας μετ-  
έβαινον ἀσμένως ἐπὶ τὴν μουσικὴν, ἐχούσης τὸ  
κηλητικὸν τῆς ἐπιστήμης. εἰκότως οὖν ἐγένετο<sup>5</sup>  
χαίρειν τοὺς ἀκροωμένους.

Ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ χορηγούς, ὥς φησιν ὁ Βυζάντιος

<sup>1</sup> Meineke υἱὸν φίλον A

<sup>2</sup> τηροῦσιν δὲ Dindorf τηροῦσιν γε A.

<sup>3</sup> Casaubon ὕμνων A

<sup>4</sup> Casaubon μουσαν A, Μωσᾶν Beigk

<sup>5</sup> ἐγένετο (?) Kaibel

<sup>a</sup> A verse of unknown origin, showing in Meineke's correction, needed to illustrate the point, a cletic (υἱὸν Ἀγχ-, — —) where a dactyl or spondee is required. At Od. v 28, Ἡ ῥα, καὶ Ἑρμείαν, υἱὸν φίλον, ἀντίον ἡῦδα, a variant φίλον υἱὸν occurs.

“ Then quickly Aeneas, dear son of Anchises ” <sup>a</sup>  
 “ Their leaders, again, were the two sons of Asclepius ” <sup>b</sup> Tapeing veises limp at the close :  
 “ The Trojans shivered when they saw the wriggling snake ” <sup>c</sup> “ Fair Cassiopeia, like unto the gods in form ” <sup>d</sup> “ With this wine I filled a mighty goat-skin and carried it, with provisions as well.” <sup>e</sup>

Of all the Greeks the Spartans have most faithfully preserved the art of music, employing it most extensively, and many composers of lyrics have arisen among them. Even to this day they carefully retain the ancient songs, and are very well taught in them and strict in holding to them. Hence Pratinas says <sup>f</sup> : “ The Spartan, that cicada ready for a chorus ” Wherefore, also, then poets continually addressed songs in terms like these <sup>g</sup> “ Leader of sweetest hymns,” and “ Mellifluous melodies of the Muses ” For people were glad to turn from the soberness and austerity of life to the solace of music, because the art has the power to charm. With good reason, therefore, the listeners enjoyed it.

Demetrius of Byzantium, in the fourth book of his

<sup>b</sup> *Il.* II. 731 ; whether Ἀσκληπιοῦ or Ἀσκληπιόο is read, the metre halts on a cretic.

<sup>c</sup> *Il.* XII. 208 ; ὄφιν at the close gives two short syllables (a pyrrhic) ; see Leaf's note.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. *Il.* VIII. 305 καλὴ Καστιάνειρα δέμας εἰκῦα θεῇσι and Leaf's note.

<sup>e</sup> *Od.* IX. 212, a verse ending in a dactyl (ῥια) instead of a trochee or spondee. It may be corrected to ῥα.

<sup>f</sup> *P.L.G.* <sup>4</sup> III. 559, Diehl II. 126 ; on the cicada see Athen. 456 e (vol. IV. pp. 570-572).

<sup>g</sup> *P.L.G.* <sup>4</sup> III. 710, Diehl II. 30, 23 (ascribed to Alcman). Wilamowitz deemed these quotations inappropriate here, but the writer is emphasizing the importance of melody (ὥδαί, μέλη) in Sparta.

b Δημήτριος ἐν τετάρτῳ περὶ Ποιημάτων,<sup>1</sup> οὐχ ὥσπερ νῦν τοὺς μισθουμένους τοὺς χορούς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς καθηγουμένους τοῦ χοροῦ, καθάπερ αὐτὸ τοῦνομα σημαίνει.

Καὶ τὸ χρηστομουσεῖν καὶ μὴ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ἀρχαίους τῆς μουσικῆς νόμους.

Συνέβαινε δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν φιλομουσεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γενομένης ἀταξίας καταγηρασάντων<sup>2</sup> σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τῶν ἀρχαίων νομίμων ἣ τε προαίρεσις αὕτη κατελύθη καὶ c τρόποι μουσικῆς φαῦλοι κατεδείχθησαν, οἷς ἕκαστος τῶν χρωμένων ἀντὶ μὲν πρᾶότητος περιποιεῖτο μαλακίαν, ἀντὶ δὲ σωφροσύνης ἀκολασίαν καὶ ἄνεσιν. ἔτι<sup>3</sup> δ' ἴσως τοῦτο μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπὶ πλεον προαχθήσεται ἐὰν μὴ τις ἀγάγη πάλιν εἰς τὸ συμφανές<sup>4</sup> τὴν πάτριον μουσικὴν τὸ παλαιὸν γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἡρώων τὰς πράξεις καὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς ὕμνους<sup>5</sup> δι' ὧδῆς ἐποιοῦντο.<sup>6</sup> Ὀμηρος γοῦν φησιν ἐπ' Ἀχιλλέως “ἄειδε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν,” ἦτοι<sup>7</sup> ἡρώων. καὶ τὸν Φήμιον δέ φησιν ὅτι

πολλὰ βροτῶν θελκτήρια οἶδεν,  
ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, τά τε κλείουσιν ἀοιδοί

d τὸ δὲ ἔθος τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐσώζετο, ὥς φησι Δίνων ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς. τὴν γοῦν Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα πόλεμον ἔσεσθαι πρὸς Ἀστυάγην προείδοντο οἱ

<sup>1</sup> ποιημάτων 452 d, 548 d ποιήματος A

<sup>2</sup> B καὶ γηρασάντων (sic) A, ὕστερον δὲ γηρασάντων CE

<sup>3</sup> ἔτι Coraes · ἐστὶ ACE

<sup>4</sup> ACE εἰς τοῦμφανές Valckenaer.

<sup>5</sup> μύθους (?) Kaibel

<sup>6</sup> ἐποίουν Wilamowitz.

<sup>7</sup> ἦτοι added by Gulick



work *On Poetry*, says that they used to employ the term *choregi*, not, as to-day, of the men who hired the choruses, but of those who led the chorus, as the etymology of the word denotes.<sup>a</sup>

Also it was customary to practise good music and not violate the ancient rules of the art <sup>b</sup>

It happened that in ancient times the Greeks were music-lovers ; but later, with the breakdown of order, when practically all the ancient customs fell into decay, this devotion to principle ceased, and debased fashions in music came to light, wherein every one who practised them substituted effeminacy for gentleness, and licence and looseness for moderation. What is more, this fashion will doubtless be carried further if some one does not bring the music of our forebears once more to open practice. For in ancient times it was the acts of heroes and the praise of gods that the poets put to song-music. Homer, for example, says of Achilles <sup>c</sup>. "And he was singing the glorious deeds of men," that is, of heroes. And of Phemius he says <sup>d</sup>. "He knoweth many charms for mortals, deeds of men and of gods, which minstrels celebrate." This custom was kept up also among the barbarians, as Dinon declares in his *Persian History*.<sup>e</sup> It was the singers, for example, that foresaw the courage of the first Cyrus and the war he was to wage against

<sup>a</sup> So the girl who leads Alcman's *Partheneion*, Edmonds (L C L.) i. 54, is ἡ κλεινὰ χοραγός, and bears the name Hagesichora. On Demetrius of Byzantium see P-W. iv. 2841.

<sup>b</sup> An isolated excerpt, which possibly belonged to the next sentence

<sup>c</sup> *Il* ix. 189.

<sup>d</sup> *Od.* i. 337.

<sup>e</sup> *F H G* ii 90, Hdt i 120-122 knows nothing of this, and says that the Magians failed to see what was coming.

ᾠδοί. “ ὅτε γὰρ (φησὶν) ἡγήσατο<sup>1</sup> τὴν εἰς Πέρσας ἀποδημίαν ὃ Κῦρος (ἐγεγόνει δ’ αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῶν ραβδοφόρων, εἴθ’ ὕστερον ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλοφόρων) καὶ ἀπῆλθεν· εὐωχουμένου οὖν τοῦ Ἀστυάγου μετὰ τῶν φίλων τότε Ἀγγάρης τις<sup>2</sup> ὄνομα (οὗτος δ’ ἦν τῶν ᾠδῶν ὃ ἐνδοξότατος) ἦδεν εἰσκληθεὶς τά τε ἄλλα τῶν εἰθισμένων καὶ τὸ ἔσχατον εἶπεν ὡς ἀφέλται εἰς τὸ ἔλος<sup>3</sup> θηρίον μέγα, θρασύτερον ὑὸς ἀγρίου ὃ ἂν κυριεύσῃ τῶν καθ’ αὐτὸ<sup>4</sup> τόπων, πολλοῖς μετ’ ὀλίγον ραδίως μαχεῖται. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀστυάγου ‘ ποῖον θηρίον ; ’ ἔφη ‘ Κῦρον τὸν Πέρσην.’ νομίσας οὖν ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν ὑπωπτευκέναί καὶ μεταπεμπόμενος<sup>5</sup> . οὐδὲν ὦνησεν.”

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχων ἔτι πολλὰ λέγειν περὶ μουσικῆς αὐλῶν ἀκούων βόμβου καταπαύσω τὸ πολυλογεῖν, τὰ ἐκ Φιλαύλου Φιλεταίρου ἐπειπὼν

f ὦ Ζεῦ, καλὸν γ’ ἔστ’ ἀποθανεῖν αὐλούμενον  
τούτοις ἐν Ἄιδου γὰρ μόνοις ἐξουσία  
ἀφροδισιάζειν ἐστίν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς τρόπους  
ῥυπαροὺς ἔχοντες μουσικῆς ἀπειρία  
εἰς τὸν πίθον φέρουσι τὸν τετρημένον.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ζητήσεως γενομένης περὶ σαμ-

<sup>1</sup> Kaibel · ἡγήσατο A.

<sup>2</sup> τις added by Kaibel.

<sup>3</sup> Schweighauser τὸ ἔλεος A, τοὺς ἔλληνας CE.

<sup>4</sup> Meineke · αὐτὸν ACE

<sup>5</sup> Lacuna marked by Kaibel

<sup>a</sup> His father Cambyzes' country

<sup>b</sup> A kind of constable or usher in the palace

<sup>c</sup> Implying that he was at first relieved at Cyrus's departure

Astyages. "It was at the time (says Dinon) when Cyrus requested permission to visit Persia <sup>a</sup> (he had previously been in charge of Astyages' rod-bearers,<sup>b</sup> and later of his men-at-arms) and had departed, Astyages, therefore, celebrated a feast <sup>c</sup> in company with his friends, and on that occasion a man named Angarês (he was the most distinguished of the singers) was invited, and not only began to sing other customary songs but also, at the last, he told how that a mighty beast had been let loose in the swamp, bolder than a wild boar; which beast, if it got the mastery of the regions round it, would soon contend against a multitude without difficulty. And when Astyages asked, 'What beast?' he replied, 'Cyrus the Persian' Believing, therefore, that his suspicion about him <sup>d</sup> had been correct, he kept summoning him to return it did no good "

Though I might say many things more on the subject of music, I hear the loud till of flutes, and will therefore bring my long-winded discourse to a close, after repeating the lines from *The Flute-Lover* of Philetaerus <sup>e</sup> "Zeus, it's indeed a fine thing to die to the music of flutes. For only to such is it permitted in Hades to revel in love affairs, whereas those whose manners are sordid, having no knowledge of music, must carry water to the leaky jar " <sup>f</sup>

After this questions arose about the sambuca, and

<sup>a</sup> Namely, that Cyrus would be king in his stead, Hdt 1. 108.

<sup>e</sup> Kock II 235.

<sup>f</sup> The punishment of the Danaïds, Hor. *Od.* III. 11. 25,

audiat Lyde scelus atque notas  
virginum poenas et inane lymphæ  
dolum fundo pereuntis imo ,

cf. Plato, *Rep.* 363 D κοσκίνῳ (sieve) ὕδωρ ἀναγκάσουσι φέρειν

ύκης ἔφη ὁ Μασούριος ὀξύφθογγον εἶναι μου-  
ικὸν ὄργανον τὴν σαμβύκην διειλέχθαι τε περὶ  
αὐτοῦ Εὐφορίωνα τὸν ἐποποιὸν ἐν τῷ περὶ  
Ἰσθμίων,<sup>1</sup> χρῆσθαι φήσας αὐτῷ Πάρθους καὶ  
Ῥωγλοδύτας τετραχόρδῳ ὄντι· ἱστορεῖν δὲ τοῦτο  
Ἰυθαγόραν ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς Θαλάσσης  
αλεῖται δέ τι καὶ τῶν πολιορκητικῶν ὀργάνων  
σαμβύκη, οὗ τό τε σχῆμα καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν  
ἰποδεῖκνυσι Βίτων ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀτταλον περὶ  
Ὀργάνων. καὶ Ἀνδρέας ὁ Πανορμίτης ἐν τῷ  
τριακοστῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Σικελικῶν τῶν κατὰ πόλιν,  
ὡς ἀπὸ δύο νεῶν<sup>2</sup> προσάγοιτο τοῖς τῶν ἐναντίων  
γείχεσι· καλεῖσθαι τε σαμβύκην, ἐπειδὴ ὅταν ἐξ-  
αρθῇ γίνεται σχῆμα νεὼς καὶ κλίμακος ἐνοποιού-  
μενον,<sup>3</sup> ὅμοιον δὲ τί ἐστίν καὶ τὸ τῆς σαμβύκης.  
Μόσχος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Μηχανικῶν Ῥωμαικὸν εἶναι  
λέγει τὸ μηχανήμα καὶ Ἡρακλείδην τὸν Ταραντῖνον  
εὐρεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶδος. Πολύβιος δ' ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ  
τῶν Ἱστοριῶν “ Μάρκελλος,<sup>4</sup> φησί, δυσχρηστού-  
μενος ἐν τῇ Συρακουσῶν πολιορκίᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν  
Ἀρχιμήδους κατασκευασμάτων ἔλεγεν ταῖς μὲν  
ναυσὶν αὐτοῦ κυαθίζειν ἐκ θαλάσσης Ἀρχιμήδην,  
τὰς δὲ σαμβύκας ῥαπιζομένας ὥσπερ ἐκ πότου<sup>5</sup>  
μετ' αἰσχύνῃς ἐκπεπτωκέναι.”

<sup>1</sup> Musurus (cf 182 e, 635 a) περι ισμων Α

<sup>2</sup> Lipsius ὄνων Α

<sup>3</sup> ἐνοποιούμενον Α (ἐνοποιηθὲν Polyb.) ἐνοποιουμένων CE.

<sup>4</sup> Α Μάρκος Polyb

<sup>5</sup> ἐκποτου Α ἐκσπόνδους Polyb.

<sup>a</sup> Always cited thus by Athen (vol. II pp 306, 312, vol III. p 184, vol IV p 478), although, as the title here shows, he was also a philologist, Meineke, *Anal. Alex frag* 33, p 68.

Masurius explained that it is a musical instrument with a high pitch, and that the epic poet <sup>a</sup> Euphorion discoursed on it in his work *On the Isthmian Games*, saying that it was used by the Parthians and the Troglodytes, and that it had four strings; Pythagoras, he says, records this in his work *On the Red Sea*.<sup>b</sup> There is also a siege-engine called sambuca, the form and construction of which are described by Biton <sup>c</sup> in his work *On Engines*, addressed to Attalus. And Andreas of Panormus, in the thirty-third book of his *Sicilian History*, treated city by city, says <sup>d</sup> that it was brought to bear against the enemy's walls from two ships; further, that it was called a sambuca because, when raised aloft, its appearance as a united whole becomes that of a ship and a ladder, and the appearance of the musical sambuca is somewhat similar. Moschus in the first book of his *Mechanics* says that the contrivance was Roman, and that Heraclideides of Tarentum invented the idea of it. Polybius says in the eighth book of his *Histories* <sup>e</sup>. "Marcellus, baffled by the structures invented by Archimedes at the siege of Syracuse, was wont to say that Archimedes ladled water out of the sea with Marcellus's ships, while as for the sambucas,<sup>f</sup> they had been beaten and thrown out with ignominy, like harps from a drinking party."

<sup>b</sup> This Pythagoras is mentioned at 183 f (vol. ii p. 310), Ael. *N A.* xvii 8

<sup>c</sup> Polyb viii 6, Plut *Marcell.* 15 (brought to the siege of Syracuse by the Romans without success), Wescher, *Poliorcétique*, pp. 57-58, *Dut Antiq.* ii 595.

<sup>d</sup> *F H G* iv 302.

<sup>e</sup> Chap 8. 5-6

<sup>f</sup> Brought by Marcellus to be used as storming-bridges. He puns on the other sense.

Εἰπόντος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις Αἰμιλιανοῦ· “ ἄλλὰ μὴν,  
 c ὦ ἑταῖρε Μασούριε, πολλάκις καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἐννοίᾳ  
 γίνομαι, μουσικῆς ὧν ἑραστής, περὶ τῆς μαγάδιδος  
 καλουμένης, πότερον αὐλῶν εἶδος ἢ κιθάρας ἐστίν.  
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἡδιστος Ἀνακρέων λέγει που

ψάλλω δ' εἴκοσι χορδαῖσι<sup>1</sup> μάγαδιν<sup>2</sup> ἔχων,  
 ὦ Λεύκασπι, σὺ δ' ἡβᾶς.

Ἴων δ' ὁ Χῖος ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ ὥς περὶ αὐλῶν λέγει  
 διὰ τούτων

Λυδὸς τε μάγαδις αὐλὸς ἡγείσθω βοῆς.

ὅπερ ἐξηγούμενος ἱαμβεῖον Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ γραμ-  
 ματικός, ὃν μάντιν ἐκάλει Παναίτιος ὁ Ῥόδιος  
 d φιλόσοφος διὰ τὸ ραδίως καταμαντεύεσθαι τῆς  
 τῶν ποιημάτων διανοίας, γένος αὐλοῦ φησιν εἶναι  
 τὸν μάγαδιν, οὔτ' Ἀριστοξένου τοῦτ' εἰπόντος ἐν  
 τοῖς περὶ Αὐλητῶν ἢ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Αὐλῶν καὶ<sup>3</sup>  
 Ὀργάνων, ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ Ἀρχεστράτου· πε-  
 ποίηται γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ δύο βυβλία περὶ Αὐλητῶν.  
 οὐκ εἶπεν δὲ τοῦτο οὐδὲ Πύρρανδρος ἐν τῷ περὶ  
 Αὐλητῶν, οὐδὲ Φίλλις ὁ Δήλιος. ξυνέγραψε γὰρ  
 καὶ οὗτος περὶ Αὐλητῶν καὶ Εὐφράνωρ. Τρύφων  
 δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ Ὀνομασιῶν λέγει οὕτως “ ὁ  
 e δὲ μάγαδις καλούμενος αὐλός.” καὶ πάλιν· “ ὁ<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> εἰκοσίχορδον μάγαδιν χεῖρεσσι Wilamowitz.

<sup>2</sup> μαγάδην Dindorf, μαγάδιν Diehl.

<sup>3</sup> Αὐλῶν καὶ perhaps to be deleted (Kaibel)

<sup>4</sup> ὁ added by Kaibel (cf. 182 d) αὐλός, ὁ καὶ παλαιομάγαδις  
 Schoenemann (cf. vol. II p. 305 note 5).

<sup>a</sup> P L G<sup>4</sup> III 260, Diehl I 465, Edmonds II 148, below,  
 635 c. On the μάγαδις cf. Athen 182 f (vol. II. p. 306),  
 Pollux IV. 61.

Upon this Aemilianus said · Look you, Masurius, old friend, I myself, being a lover of music, have often pondered the question about what is called the magadis, whether it is a variety of flute or harp. For the delectable Anacreon says, I believe<sup>a</sup>. “With magadis in hand I sing to its twenty strings whilst thou, O Leucaspis, exultest in thy youth” Yet Ion of Chios, in *Omphalé*, speaks in the following lines as if he meant flutes<sup>b</sup>: “Let the Lydian magadis-flute<sup>c</sup> lead the cry” In expounding this iambic verse the grammarian Aristarchus, whom Panaetius, the philosopher of Rhodes, used to call the diviner because he so easily divined the meaning of poetic lines, says that the magadis is a kind of flute, although Aristoxenus<sup>d</sup> says not a word of this either in his chapters *On Flute-Players* or in those *On Flutes and Musical Instruments*,<sup>e</sup> nor does Archestratus either; for the latter has composed two books *On Flute-Players*. Again, Pyrrander says nothing of this in his work *On Flute-Players*, nor Philis of Delos; for he, too, compiled a work *On Flute-Players*, as well as Euphranor. Tryphon, in his second book *On the Use of Terms*, has this to say<sup>f</sup>: “The flute called magadis” And again: “That

<sup>b</sup> *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 736, cf. Hesych. s. *μαγάδεις*.

<sup>c</sup> A. A. Howard in *H.S.C.P.* iv. 40 identifies this *αὐλός* with the *αὐλοὶ κιθαριστήριοι* of Hesych. s. *μαγάδεις*, Pollux iv. 81, Athen 182 c-d (vol. ii. p. 304), which were tuned to accord with the lyre (*μάγαδης*)

<sup>d</sup> A similar remark on his silence is made by Athen 174 c (vol. ii. p. 290)

<sup>e</sup> Although Muller (*F.H.G.* ii 286) allows this title, it is found nowhere else except as a general description of the subject matter of Tryphon's *περὶ Ὀνομασιῶν*, Athen. 174 e (vol. ii. p. 292) Ammonius has simply *περὶ Ὀργάνων*. Euphranor's *περὶ Αὐλῶν* is mentioned at 182 c (vol. ii. p. 304)

<sup>f</sup> Velsen 77.

μάγαδις ἐν ταύτῳ ὀξὺν καὶ βαρὺν φθόγγον ἐπι-  
δείκνυται, ὡς Ἀναξανδρίδης<sup>1</sup> ἐν Ὀπλομάχῳ φησὶν

μαγάδι<sup>2</sup> λαλήσω μικρὸν ἅμα σοι καὶ μέγα.<sup>3</sup>”

τὴν ἀπορίαν οὖν μοι ταύτην οὐδεὶς ἄλλος δυνήσεται  
ἀπολύσασθαι, καλὲ Μασούριε, ἢ σύ”

Καὶ ὃς ἔφη “ Δίδυμος ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν ταῖς  
εἰς Ἰωνα<sup>4</sup> Ἀντεξηγήσεσιν, ἑταῖρε Αἰμιλιανέ, μά-  
γαδιν αὐλὸν ἀκούει τὸν κιθαριστήριον· οὐ μνημο-  
νεύειν Ἀριστόξενον ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Αὐλῶν Τρήσεως  
f λέγοντα πέντε γένη εἶναι αὐλῶν, παρθενίους, παι-  
δικούς, κιθαριστηρίους, τελείους, ὑπερτελείους. ἢ  
ἐλλείπειν οὖν δεῖ παρὰ τῷ Ἰωνι τὸν τε σύνδεσμον,  
ἢ ἢ μάγαδις αὐλός θ<sup>5</sup> ὁ προσαυλούμενος τῇ μαγά-  
διδι<sup>6</sup> ἢ γὰρ μάγαδις ὄργανόν ἐστι ψαλτικόν, ὡς  
Ἀνακρέων φησί, Λυδῶν<sup>7</sup> τε εὖρημα διὸ καὶ τὰς  
Λυδὰς<sup>8</sup> ψαλτρίας φησὶν εἶναι ὁ Ἰων ἐν τῇ Ὀμφάλῃ  
διὰ τούτων

ἄλλ’ εἶα, Λυδαὶ ψάλτραι, παλαιθέτων  
ὕμνων ἀοιδοί, τὸν ξένον κοιμήσατε.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 182 d. ἀλεξανδρίδης A

<sup>2</sup> Kaibel μάγαδιν A

<sup>3</sup> Schweighauser μέγα A

<sup>4</sup> εἰς Ἰωνα Wilamowitz πρὸς Ἰωνα A, πρὸς Ἐπιγένη (cf  
468 c) εἰς Ἰωνα Bapp

<sup>5</sup> θ<sup>5</sup> added by Kaibel

<sup>6</sup> μαγάδι Kaibel · μαγάδι A (cf Xen An vii 3 32)

<sup>7</sup> Musurus. ἀνδῶν A.

<sup>8</sup> Musurus ἀνδὰς A.

<sup>9</sup> Meineke. κοσμήσατε A.



named magadis can produce at the same moment a high and a low tone, as Anaxandrides says in *The Drill-Sergeant*<sup>a</sup>. 'With my magadis I will babble to you something at once soft and loud'." This question, therefore, no one else will be able to solve for me, my good Masurius, but you.

Masurius replied · Didymus the grammarian, in his *Controversial Notes on Ion*, friend Aemilianus, understands<sup>b</sup> by magadis the flute which is attuned to the harp (*kitharisterion*); this, Didymus says, is mentioned by Aristoxenus<sup>c</sup> in the first book of his treatise *On Flute-Boring*, stating that there are five kinds of flute—the virginal, child-pipes, harp-pipes, complete, and super-complete<sup>d</sup>. Or else, then, the conjunction "and" must have fallen out in the line from Ion,<sup>e</sup> so that it will read "The Lydian magadis and the flute" which is played to accompany the magadis. For the magadis is certainly an instrument played like a harp, as Anacreon makes clear,<sup>f</sup> and it is an invention of the Lydians. Wherefore Ion, in *Omphalê*, says that the Lydian girls are harp-players in these lines<sup>g</sup>. "Up then, ye Lydian harp-players, singers of ancient hymns, lull our guest

<sup>a</sup> Kock II 149, Athen. 182 d (vol II p. 304).

<sup>b</sup> Schmidt 302, who reads πρὸς Ἰώβαν, "against Juba," for πρὸς Ἰῶνα (see critical note 4), the latter is not impossible, since Didymus ἐν τῷ ἐξηγητικῷ seems to have contradicted Ion at several points, Athen. 468 d-f (vol V. p. 66).

<sup>c</sup> F.H.G. II 286, Athen. 176 f (vol II. p. 302), Howard, *loc. cit.* 38-40, Marquard *Aristox.* 28, 256, Laloy, *Aristoxène* 16.

<sup>d</sup> The last two are also called ἀνδρείοι, 176 f (vol II. p. 302), used to accompany men's voices, and of lower pitch Aristotle, *Hist. An.* VII 1 7 says the παρθένιοι had a higher pitch than the παιδικοί.

<sup>e</sup> Above, 634 c

<sup>f</sup> 634 c (p. 423).

<sup>g</sup> T.G.F.<sup>2</sup> 736.

335 Θεόφιλος δ' ὁ κωμικός<sup>1</sup> ἐν Νεοπτολέμῳ<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὸ τῇ  
μαγάδιδι ψάλλειν<sup>3</sup> μαγαδίζειν λέγει ἐν τούτοις·

πονηρὸν υἱὸν καὶ πατέρα καὶ μητέρα  
ἐστὶν μαγαδίζειν ἐπὶ τροχοῦ καθημένους·  
οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῶν ταῦτόν ᾔσεται μέλος.

Εὐφορίων δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰσθμίων παλαιὸν μὲν φησι  
τὸ ὄργανον εἶναι τὴν μάγαδι, μετασκευασθῆναι δ'  
ὀψέ ποτε καὶ σαμβύκην μετονομασθῆναι. πλείστον  
δ' εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ ὄργανον ἐν Μιτυλήνῃ, ὥς καὶ μίαν  
b τῶν Μουσῶν ἔχουσιν αὐτὸ ὑπὸ Λεσβοθέμιδος  
ποιηθῆναι ἀρχαίου ἀγαλματοποιοῦ. Μέναιχμος δ'  
ἐν τοῖς περὶ Τεχνιτῶν τὴν πηκτίδα, ἣν τὴν αὐτὴν  
εἶναι τῇ μαγάδιδι,<sup>4</sup> Σαπφώ φησιν εὑρεῖν. Ἀρι-  
στόξενος δὲ τὴν μάγαδι καὶ τὴν πηκτίδα χωρὶς  
πλήκτρου διὰ ψαλμοῦ παρέχεσθαι τὴν χρεῖαν.  
ὅπερ<sup>5</sup> καὶ Πίνδαρον εἰρηκέναι ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἱέρωνα  
σκολίῳ, τὴν μάγαδι ὀνομάσαντα “ψαλμὸν ἀντί-  
φθογγον,” διὰ τὸ διὰ<sup>6</sup> δύο γενῶν ᾄμα καὶ διὰ πασῶν  
c ἔχειν τὴν συνωδίαν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ παίδων.<sup>7</sup> καὶ  
Φρύνιχος δ' ἐν Φοινίσσαις εἴρηκε

ψαλμοῖσιν ἀντίσπαστ' αἰδόντες μέλη.

<sup>1</sup> Kaibel κωμωδικὸς A.

<sup>2</sup> Musurus νεοπτολεμου A.

<sup>3</sup> Kaibel: μαγαδι διαψάλλειν ACE

<sup>4</sup> Kaibel: μαγιδι A, μαγάδι CE

<sup>5</sup> Kaibel (?) Schroeder: διόπερ A.

<sup>6</sup> διὰ deleted by Musurus

<sup>7</sup> παίδων A· γυναικῶν CE

<sup>a</sup> Kock II 475; the reply to some threat of torture.

<sup>b</sup> Frag. 32 Meineke, p. 67.

<sup>c</sup> Athen. 182 f (vol. II, p. 306).

to sleep." And the comic poet Theophilus in *Neoptolemus* uses the verb *magadizo* of singing and playing to the magadis, in these lines <sup>a</sup> "For a son and a father and a mother to be placed on the rack and made to play the magadis (*magadizein*) is a poor scheme; not one of us will sing the same tune." Now Euphorion, in his work *On the Isthmian Games*, says <sup>b</sup> that the instrument known as the magadis was very old, but in more recent times its construction was altered and its name changed to sambuca. This instrument, he says, was most commonly used in Mytilene, so much so, indeed, that one of the Muses was portrayed by Lesbothemis, an ancient sculptor, holding it in her hands.<sup>c</sup> Again, Menaechmus in his work *On Artists* asserts <sup>d</sup> that the pectis, which, he says, is the same as the magadis, was invented by Sappho. Aristoxenus says <sup>e</sup> that the magadis and the pectis may be played without a plectrum, by simply plucking with the fingers. This, he says, is in fact intimated <sup>f</sup> by Pindar, in the *Scolion to Hieron*, when he called the magadis "the plucking that sounds in answering strains," because with the two kinds of instrument <sup>g</sup> played together and at the interval of an octave there is perfect unison of men's and boys' voices. Again, Phrynichus says in *The Phoenician Women* <sup>h</sup>. "With plucking of the strings they sing their lays in answering strains" And

<sup>a</sup> *Scr. Al. M.* 146, frag. 5, J. 2 B 674.

<sup>e</sup> *F.H.G.* II 286.

<sup>f</sup> *P.L.G.* <sup>5</sup> 1 440, Sandys 584-586, Athen 512 d (vol. v. p. 302), below, 635 d-e.

<sup>g</sup> The magadis and the barbitos, as appears from 635 d-e. The barbitos had a lower register (at least by an octave) than the pectis and the magadis.

<sup>h</sup> *T.G.F.* <sup>2</sup> 723.

καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Μυσοῖς

πολὺς δὲ Φρυγὴς τρίγωνος, ἀντίσπαστά τε<sup>1</sup>  
Λυδῆς<sup>2</sup> ἐφύμνει<sup>3</sup> πηκτίδος συγχορδία.<sup>4</sup>

Διαποροῦσι δ' ἔνιοι ὅπως τῆς μαγάδιδος οὔσης  
κατὰ Ἀνακρέοντα (ὅψε γάρ ποτε τὰ πολύχορδα  
ὀφθῆναι) μνημονεύων αὐτῆς ὃ Ἀνακρέων λέγει

ψάλλω δ' εἴκοσι χορδαῖσι μάγαδιν ἔχων,  
ὦ Λεύκασπι

καὶ ὁ μὲν Ποσειδώνιος<sup>5</sup> φησιν τριῶν μελωδιῶν  
δ αὐτὸν μνημονεύειν, Φρυγίου τε καὶ Δωρίου<sup>6</sup> καὶ  
Λυδίου ταύταις γὰρ μόναίς τὸν Ἀνακρέοντα  
κεχρησθαι ὧν ζ' χορδαῖς ἐκάστης περαινομένης  
εἰκότως φάναι ψάλλειν αὐτὸν κ' χορδαῖς, τῷ ἀρτίῳ  
χρησάμενον ἀριθμῷ τὴν μίαν ἀφελόντα ἄγνοεῖ δ'  
ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ὅτι ἀρχαῖόν ἐστιν ὄργανον ἢ μά-  
γαdis, σαφῶς Πινδάρου λέγοντος τὸν Τέρπανδρον  
ἀντίφθογγον εὑρεῖν τῇ παρὰ Λυδοῖς πηκτίδι τὸν  
βάρβιτον

τόν ῥα Τέρπανδρός ποθ' ὁ Λέσβιος εὔρε  
πρῶτος ἐν δειπνοῖσι Λυδῶν<sup>7</sup>

e ψαλμὸν ἀντίφθογγον<sup>8</sup> ὑψηλᾶς ἀκούων πηκτίδος

πηκτίς δὲ καὶ μάγαdis ταῦτόν, καθά φησιν ὁ Ἀρι-  
στόξενος καὶ Μέναιχμος ὁ Σικυνώνιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ

<sup>1</sup> τε added from 183 e

<sup>2</sup> 183 e · αὐδῆσ A

<sup>3</sup> 183 e ἐφύμνει (sic) A

<sup>4</sup> συγχορδαία A

<sup>5</sup> ποσειδώνιος A

<sup>6</sup> καὶ Δωρίου added by Musurus

<sup>7</sup> Schneider · λυδίων A.

<sup>8</sup> ἀντιφθογγος A

Sophocles in the *Mysians*<sup>a</sup>: "Oft resounds the Phrygian triangle,<sup>b</sup> and with answering strains the harmony of the Lydian pectis sings "

Some writers are puzzled over the question how it is that, the magadis being what it was in Anacreon's time<sup>c</sup> (for it was at some later date that the instruments with many strings made their appearance), Anacreon when mentioning it says<sup>d</sup>: "With magadis in hand I sing to its twenty strings, O Leucaspis." Poseidonius, further, says<sup>e</sup> that Anacreon mentions three melodic scales, Phrygian, Dorian, and Lydian<sup>f</sup>; these, in fact, were alone used by Anacreon; and since each of these requires seven strings for their rendering, naturally he says that he sings to twenty strings, simply using a round number and subtracting the one. But Poseidonius is unaware that the magadis is an ancient instrument, although Pindar says distinctly that Terpander invented the barbitos "in answering strain" to the pectis used in Lydia<sup>g</sup>. "The barbitos which Terpander of Lesbos first invented one time when, at the feasts of the Lydians, he heard the plucking of high notes on the pectis sounding in answering strains" But the pectis and the magadis are the same instrument, as Aristoxenus declares,<sup>h</sup> and Menaechmus of Sicily also in his work

<sup>a</sup> *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 221, Athen 183 e (vol. II p. 310).

<sup>b</sup> A harp of triangular shape.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* an instrument with only four strings, *cf.* above, 633 f (pp. 419-421). The text is mutilated and can be paraphrased only. Peppink supplies with οὐσης οὐπω πολυχόρδου, "being not yet of many strings"

<sup>d</sup> Above, 634 c, p. 422 and note a.

<sup>e</sup> *F.H.G.* III. 277, J 2 A 285.

<sup>f</sup> For these three see Plut. 1133 B and critical note 6

<sup>g</sup> *P.L.G.*<sup>5</sup> I. 440, Sandys 584-586, above, 635 b.

<sup>h</sup> *Cf.* above, 635 b (p. 427)

Τεχνιτῶν. καὶ τὴν Σαπφῶν δὲ φησιν οὗτος, ἥτις  
 ἐστὶν Ἀνακρέοντος πρεσβυτέρα, πρώτην χρήσασθαι  
 τῇ πηκτίδι ὅτι δὲ καὶ Τέρπανδρος ἀρχαιότερος  
 Ἀνακρέοντος δῆλον ἐκ τούτων· τὰ Κάρνεια πρῶτος  
 πάντων Τέρπανδρος νικᾷ, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος ἱστορεῖ ἐν  
 τε τοῖς ἐμμέτροις Καρνεονίκαις καὶ τοῖς κατα-  
 λογάδην. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ θέσις τῶν Καρνείων κατὰ  
 f τὴν ἕκτην καὶ εἰκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὡς Σωσίβιος  
 φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ Χρόνων. Ἱερώνυμος δ' ἐν τῷ  
 περὶ Κιθαρωδῶν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ πέμπτον τῶν<sup>1</sup> περὶ  
 Ποιητῶν, κατὰ Λυκούργον τὸν νομοθέτην τὸν  
 Τέρπανδρόν φησι γενέσθαι, ὃς ὑπὸ πάντων συμ-  
 φώνως ἱστορεῖται μετὰ Ἰφίτου τοῦ Ἡλείου τὴν  
 πρώτην ἀριθμηθεῖσαν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων θέσιν δια-  
 θεῖναι<sup>2</sup> Εὐφορίων τε ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰσθμίων τὰ  
 πολύχορδά φησι τῶν ὀργάνων ὀνόμασι μόνον παρηλ-  
 λάχθαι, παμπάλαιον δ' αὐτῶν εἶναι τὴν χρήσιν  
 36 Διογένης δ' ὁ τραγικὸς διαφέρειν οἶεται<sup>3</sup> πηκτίδα  
 μαγάδιδος, λέγων οὕτως ἐν τῇ Σεμέλῃ·

καίτοι κλύω μὲν Ἀσιάδος μιτρηφόρους  
 Κυβέλας γυναικάς, παῖδας ὀλβίων Φρυγῶν,  
 τυπάνοισι<sup>4</sup> καὶ ρόμβοισι<sup>5</sup> καὶ χαλκοκτύπων  
 βόμβοις βρεμούσας ἀντίχερσι<sup>6</sup> κυμβάλων . . .<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> τῶν added by Kaibel

<sup>2</sup> τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων διαθεῖναι (?) Kaibel

<sup>3</sup> οἶεται CE· om A

<sup>4</sup> Casaubon: τυμπάνοισι A

<sup>5</sup> Pierson· βομβοισι A.

<sup>6</sup> Casaubon. ἀντὶ χειρὶ A, ἀντηχέσι Methner, ἀντήρεσι (?)

Kaibel

<sup>7</sup> Lacuna marked by Wilamowitz

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the discussion of their ages at 599 c (p 229)

<sup>b</sup> A Dorian festival in honour of Apollo, Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*,  
 pp 120, 125, P-W x. 1986.

*On Artists.* The latter further says that Sappho, who lived before Anacreon,<sup>a</sup> was the first to use the pectis. And that Terpander also came earlier than Anacreon is plain from the following facts. Terpander was the first to win a victory at the Carneian festival,<sup>b</sup> as Hellanicus records<sup>c</sup> in his *Carneian Victors*, written in verse as well as in prose. Now the establishment of the Carneia took place in the twenty-sixth Olympiad,<sup>d</sup> as Sosibius declares<sup>e</sup> in his work *On Chronology*. Moreover, Hieronymus in his treatise on *Harp-Singers*, which is the fifth book of his work *On the Poets*, says<sup>f</sup> that Terpander lived in the time of Lycurgus the law-giver, who is recorded by all, without dissent, as having arranged the first numbered establishment of the Olympian Games<sup>g</sup> in conjunction with Iphitus of Elis.<sup>h</sup> Further, Euphorion in his work *On the Isthmian Games* says<sup>i</sup> that the instruments with many strings varied only in their names, but the use of them was very ancient.

Diogenes the tragic poet, however, thinks that the pectis differed from the magadis, speaking as follows in his *Semele*. "And yet I hear that the turban-wearing women of Asian Cybele, the daughters of the rich Phrygians, with drums and bull-roarers and booming of bronze cymbals in their two hands make

<sup>a</sup> *F.H.G.* i. 61, J. 1. 129, P -W. viii. 143

<sup>d</sup> 676-672 B C

<sup>e</sup> *F.H.G.* ii. 625.

<sup>f</sup> Hiller 95, frag. 5.

<sup>g</sup> An awkward way of saying "arranged the establishment of what is numbered as the first occurrence of the Olympic Games." At this point further proof of Anacreon's later date may have been lost (Kaibel)

<sup>h</sup> Paus. v. 20.1, E. N. Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, p. 43

<sup>i</sup> Meineke 67.

<sup>j</sup> *T.G.F.* 2 776-777. On the rhombus, "bull-roarer," see vol. v. p. 370 note 2.

σοφὴν<sup>1</sup> θεῶν ὑμνωδὸν ἱατρόν θ' ἄμα.  
 κλύω δὲ Λυδὰς Βακτρίας<sup>2</sup> τε παρθένους  
 ποταμῷ παροίκους "Αλυι<sup>3</sup> Τρωλίαν θεὸν  
 δαφνόσκιον κατ' ἄλσος "Αρτεμιν σέβειν  
 ψαλμοῖς τριγώνων πηκτίδων τ'<sup>4</sup> ἀντιζύγοις  
 ὀλκοῖς κρεκούσας<sup>5</sup> μάγαδιν, ἔνθα<sup>6</sup> Περσικῷ  
 νόμῳ ξενωθείς αὐλὸς ὁμονοεῖ χοροῖς.

καὶ Φίλλις δ' ὁ Δῆλιος ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ Μουσικῆς  
 διαφέρειν φησὶ πηκτίδα μαγάδιδος, λέγων οὕτως  
 "φοίνικες, πηκτίδες, μαγάδιδες, σαμβῦκαι, ἱαμ-  
 βῦκαι;<sup>7</sup> τρίγωνα, κλεψιάμβοι, σκινδαψοί, ἐννεά-  
 χορδα. ἐν οἷς γάρ, φησί, τοὺς ἰάμβους ἦδον  
 ἱαμβύκας ἐκάλουν ἐν οἷς δὲ παρελογίζοντο τὰ ἐν  
 τοῖς μέτροις κλεψιάμβους μαγάδιδας δὲ ἐν οἷς<sup>8</sup>  
 τὰ διὰ πασῶν καὶ πρὸς ἴσα τὰ μέρη τῶν ἀδόντων  
 ἡρμοσμένα. καὶ ἄλλα δ' ἦν παρὰ ταῦτα καὶ γὰρ  
 βάρβιτος ἢ βάρμος<sup>9</sup> καὶ ἄλλα πλείονα τὰ μὲν  
 ἔγχορδα,<sup>10</sup> τὰ δὲ ἔνηχα κατεσκεύαζον."

<sup>1</sup> Ἦν γὰρ δὴ τινα καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἐμφυσωμένων

<sup>1</sup> σέβειν (?) Bergk <sup>2</sup> Βασσάρυς (?) Kaibel

<sup>3</sup> Canter παροικοῦσαλυ, A

<sup>4</sup> τ' added by Casaubon

<sup>5</sup> Casaubon: κρεκουσαισ A, κρεκούση CE.

<sup>6</sup> ἐν δὲ Methner

<sup>7</sup> Casaubon ἱαμβοὶ καὶ A, ἱαμβοὶ CE

<sup>8</sup> ἐν οἷς added by Kaibel

<sup>9</sup> βαρμοσ A βάρωμος 182 f

<sup>10</sup> CE ἔνχορδα A.

<sup>a</sup> Quoted from Aristoxenus 182 f (vol. II p. 306), *F.H.G.* II. 286

<sup>b</sup> Quasi "thieving iambi," but the real intent is not clear. The French translators render: ceux qui accompagnaient ces mêmes chants (viz the iambic verses), mais sans en suivre précisément la mesure



loud din . . . celebrating her who is the wise minstrel of the gods and healer as well And I hear that the Lydian and Bactrian maidens dwelling beside the Halys river worship the goddess of Tmolus, Artemis, in her laurel-shaded grove the while they, 'mid plucking of triangles and pectides, thrum the magadis in responsive twanging, where also the flute, in Persian fashion, joins its welcome concoid to the chorus" And Phillis of Delos also, in the second book of his work *On Music*, maintains that the pectis is different from the magadis; his words are these <sup>a</sup> : " Phoenix, pectis, magadis, sambuca, iambuca, triangle, clepsimb, scindapsus, nine-stringed Those, he says, with which they chanted iambic verses they call iambucas; those with which they recited in distorted fashion metrical verses, they called cleps-iambi <sup>b</sup> The magadides are those with which they sang notes an octave apart, the parts assigned to the singers being adjusted at equal intervals.<sup>c</sup> And there were other instruments besides these; for example the barbitos or barmos,<sup>d</sup> and many others, some of which were stringed, others percussion instruments."<sup>e</sup>

For of course there were some other instruments, besides those which are blown into <sup>f</sup> and those which

<sup>a</sup> i.e. they sang in unison, an octave apart

<sup>d</sup> Or baromos, 182 f (vol II p 306)

<sup>e</sup> L & S take ἔνηχα to be wind-instruments, but as Schweighauser rightly points out, three types are enumerated, ἔγχορδα, ἔνηχα, ἐμφυσώμενα, as indicated here and in the next paragraph. Further, ἦχος in ἔν-ηχα means sound, noise, not tone Schol Aristoph *Ran* (1305) 1340 ἀπορία λύρας ὁστρακά τινες λαβόντες ἦχον μὲν ἀπετέλουν, πάνυ δὲ ἄσημον Cf Didymus, below.

<sup>f</sup> Cf. Pollux iv 58.

καὶ χορδαῖς διειλημμένων ἕτερα ψόφου μόνον παρασκευαστικά, καθάπερ τὰ κρέμβαλα. περὶ ὧν φησι Δικαίάρχος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Βίου, ἐπιχωριάσαι φάσκων ποτὲ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς τὸ προσορχεῖσθαι τε καὶ προσάδειν ταῖς γυναιξίν ἢ ὄργανά τινα ποιά, ὧν ὅτε τις ἄπτοιτο τοῖς δακτύλοις ποιεῖν λιγυρὸν ψόφον δηλοῦσθαι δὲ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἄσματι, οὗ ἐστὶν ἀρχή

Ἄρτεμι, σοί μέ τι φρὴν ἐφίμερον  
ὕμνον ὑφαίνεμεναι<sup>1</sup> θεόθεν<sup>2</sup>  
†αδετις ἀλλὰ χρυσοφάεννα<sup>3</sup>  
κρέμβαλα χαλκοπάρα χερσίν.<sup>4</sup>

Ἐρμιππος δ' ἐν Θεοῖς τὸ τούτοις κρούειν κρεμβαλιάζειν<sup>5</sup> εἶρηκεν ἐν τούτοις·

λεπάδας<sup>6</sup> δὲ πετρῶν ἀποκόπτοντες  
κρεμβαλιάζουσι.<sup>7</sup>

Ἐίδυμος δέ φησιν εἰωθῆναι τινὰς ἀντὶ τῆς λύρας κογχύλια καὶ ὄστρακα συγκρούοντας ἔρρυθμον ἤχόν τινα ἀποτελεῖν τοῖς ὀρχουμένοις, καθάπερ καὶ Ἀριστοφάνην ἐν Βατράχοις φάναι

Ἀρτέμων δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Διονυσιακοῦ Συστήματος<sup>8</sup> Τιμόθεόν φησι τὸν Μιλήσιον παρὰ<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Beigk νεναι A.

<sup>2</sup> Hiller, Crusius τε ὅθεν A

<sup>3</sup> Bergk χρυσοφανα A.

<sup>4</sup> χαλκοπάρα ἄχερσίν A.

<sup>5</sup> Dindorf κρεμβαλίζειν ACE

<sup>6</sup> Musurus λεπαιδας A

<sup>7</sup> Dindorf (cf Hesych s v) κρεμβαλίζουσι A.

<sup>8</sup> Coraes. ἐπιστήματος A

<sup>9</sup> παρὰ A· πρῶτον (?) Kaibel.

<sup>a</sup> F.H.G II 239.

<sup>b</sup> P.L.G<sup>4</sup> III. 655-656, Diehl II. 28 (assigned to Alcman), Edmonds III 508.

have strings at regular intervals, instruments which merely produce a loud noise, like castanets. Of these Dicaearchus speaks in his *History of Greece*, saying <sup>a</sup> that they were a certain kind of instrument which were once extraordinarily popular for women to dance and sing to, and whenever one rattled them with the fingers they produced a ringing sound; this is shown, he says, in the song to Artemis which begins <sup>b</sup>: "O Artemis, for thee my heart impels me to weave a delectable hymn inspired of the gods. . . On, then, with bronze-cheeked castanets (*crembala*) shining like gold, in your hands" <sup>c</sup>. So Hermippus, in *Gods*, calls playing with them *crembalazein*, in these words <sup>d</sup>: "They knock the very limpets off the rocks when they rattle their *crembala* (*crembalazousi*)" Didymus, further, says <sup>e</sup> that some people, in place of a harp, rattle conchs and shells together to produce a sound in time with the dancers, as Aristophanes says in *The Frogs* <sup>f</sup>.

Artemon, in the first book of his work *On the Dionysiac Guild*, says <sup>g</sup> that Timotheus of Miletus is

<sup>c</sup> The quotation, as Edmonds saw, is not to be divided as in Bergk and Diehl. But I cannot follow the violent guesses wherewith Edmonds seeks to supplement sense and metre.

<sup>d</sup> Kock 1 232.

<sup>e</sup> Schmidt 250, Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* (1305) 1340 (p. 433 note e).

<sup>f</sup> *Ran.* 1304-1307, Aeschylus contemptuously says.

καίτοι τί δεῖ  
λύρας ἐπὶ τούτων, ποῦ ἔστιν ἢ τοῖς ὀστράκοις  
αὕτη κροτοῦσα, δεῦρο Μοῦσ' Εὐριπίδου,  
πρὸς ἥνπερ ἐπιτήδεια ταῦτ' ἄδων μέλη.

<sup>g</sup> *F.H.G.* iv. 342. The title seems to refer to all professional artists, in music and drama. This Artemon (of Cassandreia) is quoted at 515 e (vol. v. p. 318).

τοῖς πολλοῖς δόξαι πολυχорδοτέρῳ συστήματι  
χρήσασθαι τῇ μαγάδι· διὸ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσιν  
εὐθυνόμενον ὡς παραφθείροι τὴν ἀρχαίαν μουσικὴν,  
καὶ μέλλοντός τινος ἐκτέμνειν αὐτοῦ τὰς περιττὰς  
τῶν χορδῶν, δεῖξαι παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχοντα Ἀπολ-  
λωνίσκον πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ σύνταξιν ἰσόχορδον  
λύραν ἔχοντα καὶ ἀφεθῆναι

Δοῦρις δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ Τραγωδίας ὠνομάσθαι  
φησὶ τὴν μάγαδιν ἀπὸ Μάγδιος<sup>1</sup> Θρακὸς γένος.  
'Απολλόδωρος δ' ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὴν Ἀριστοκλέους  
'Επιστολὴν Ἀντιγραφῇ “ ὁ νῦν, φησὶν, ἡμεῖς  
λέγομεν ψαλτήριον, τοῦτ' εἶναι μάγαδιν, ὁ δὲ  
κλεψίαμβος κληθεῖς, ἔτι<sup>2</sup> δ' ὁ τρίγωνος καὶ ὁ  
ἔλυμος καὶ τὸ ἐννεάχορδον ἀμαυρότερα τῇ χρεῖα  
καθέστηκεν.” καὶ Ἀλκμὰν δέ φησιν· “ μάγαδιν δ'  
ἀποθέσθαι ” Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Θαμύρα

πηκταὶ δὲ λύραι καὶ μαγάδιδες  
τά τ' ἐν Ἑλλησι ξόαν' ἡδυμελῇ.

Τελέστης δ' ἐν Ὑμεναίῳ<sup>3</sup> διθυράμβῳ πεντάχορδόν  
φησιν<sup>4</sup> αὐτὴν εἶναι διὰ τούτων

ἄλλος δ' ἄλλαν κλαγγὰν ἰεῖς  
κερατόφωνον ἐρέθιζε μάγαδιν,

<sup>1</sup> A μάγδου C

<sup>2</sup> ὑμαιναι A

<sup>3</sup> CE ἔστι A.

<sup>4</sup> ἐμφαίνει C

held by most authorities to have adopted an arrangement of strings with too great a number, namely the magadis; wherefore he was even about to be disciplined by the Lacedaemonians for trying to corrupt their ancient music.<sup>a</sup> and some one was on the point of cutting away his superfluous strings when he pointed to a small image of Apollo among them holding a lyre with the same number and arrangement of strings as his own, and so was acquitted

Duris, in his work *On Tragedy*, says<sup>b</sup> that the magadis has its name from Magdis, a Thracian by birth Apollodorus<sup>c</sup> in his *Answer to Aristocles' Letter* says "What we to-day call a psalterium is the magadis, but the clepsimbus, as it was called, the triangle, the elymus,<sup>d</sup> and the nine-stringed have become rather obsolete in use" And so Alcman says<sup>e</sup> "To lay aside the magadis" Sophocles in *Thamyras*<sup>f</sup> "Well-built lyres and magadides and all the instruments of polished wood wherewith the Greeks make sweet melody" Telestes in *Hymenaeus*, a dithyramb, indicates that the magadis has five strings, in these words<sup>g</sup> "Each man, ringing out a different tone from the other, roused the horn-sounded<sup>h</sup> magadis with its five strings fitted together like five

<sup>a</sup> On the conservatism of the Lacedaemonians, characteristic of all provincial peoples in matters of art, cf. 628 b (p 387), 632 f (p 415)

<sup>b</sup> *F.H.G.* II 486, J 2 A 146

<sup>c</sup> Of Athens, J 2 B 1107, P.-W II. 936.

<sup>d</sup> A kind of flute, 176 f (vol. II. p. 302).

<sup>e</sup> *P.L.G.*<sup>4</sup> III 64, Diehl II. 36, Edmonds I 126

<sup>f</sup> *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 181

<sup>g</sup> *P.L.G.*<sup>4</sup> III 630, Diehl II. 156, Edmonds III 278.

<sup>h</sup> Struck by the plectrum, which was sometimes made of horn, ἐν κερατίνοις πλῆκτροις, Plato, *Legg* 795 A.

ἐν πενταρράβδῳ<sup>1</sup> χορδᾶν<sup>2</sup> ἀρθμῶ<sup>3</sup>  
χεῖρα<sup>4</sup> καμψιδίαυλον ἀναστρωφῶν<sup>5</sup> τάχος.

οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ὄργανον ᾧ τῶν Θρακῶν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐν τοῖς δειπνοῖς χρῶνται, ὥς φησιν Νικομήδης ἐν τῷ περὶ Ὀρφέως. φοίνικα δὲ τὸ ὄργανον Ἐφορος καὶ Σκάμων<sup>6</sup> ἐν τοῖς περὶ Εὐρημάτων ὑπὸ Φοινίκων εὑρεθέντα<sup>7</sup> ταύτης τυχεῖν τῆς προσηγορίας. Σῆμος δὲ ὁ Δήλιος ἐν πρώτῳ Δηλιάδος διὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ φοίνικος τοὺς ἀγκῶνας αὐτοῦ ἐξεργάσθαι<sup>8</sup> τῇ σαμβύκῃ πρώτην φησὶ χρήσασθαι Σίβυλλαν, ἧς . . . Σκάμων ὁ προειρημένος ὀνομασθῆναι δ' αὐτὴν εὑρεθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Σάμβυκος τινός

Καὶ περὶ τοῦ τρίποδος δὲ καλουμένου (ὄργανον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο μουσικόν) ὁ προειρημένος Ἀρτέμων γράφει οὕτως· “ὅθεν πολλὰ τῶν ὀργάνων οὐδ' εἰ γέγονέ ποτε γινώσκεται· καθάπερ ὁ Πυθαγόρου τοῦ Ζακυνθίου τρίπους. ὀλιγοχρόνιον γὰρ τὴν ἀκμὴν σχών, καὶ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐργώδης εἶναι κατὰ τὴν χειροθεσίαν, ἣ δι' ἣν δὴ ποτ' οὖν αἰτίαν, συντόμως καταλυθεῖς διαλέληθε τοὺς πολλούς ἦν δὲ παραπλήσιος μὲν Δελφικῷ τρίποδι καὶ τοῦνομ' ἐντεῦθεν ἔσχεν, τὴν δὲ χρήσιν τριπλῆς κιθάρας παρείχετο. τῶν γὰρ ποδῶν ἐστώτων

<sup>1</sup> πενταράβδω A, πενταράδω (sic) C, πενταρόδω E

<sup>2</sup> CE χορδᾶν A.

<sup>3</sup> Bergk. ἀριθμῶι ACE

<sup>4</sup> χέρα Wilamowitz

<sup>5</sup> CE· κάμψει διάυλον ἀναστροφῶν A

<sup>6</sup> 630 b, and below σκάμμων A

<sup>7</sup> εὑρεθὲν Kaibel. But though one may imagine dittography with ταύτης following, εὑρεθέντα is to be construed with φοίνικα

<sup>8</sup> Schweighauser· ἐξεργάσασθαι A.

<sup>a</sup> The high-flown language of the dithyramb can only be paraphrased; πενταρράβδω χορδᾶν ἀρθμῶ literally means

rods, while the player weaves his hands in and out with the speed of a runner rounding the course" <sup>a</sup> But I know also of another instrument used by the Thracian princes at their banquets, as Nicomedes says <sup>b</sup> in his work *On Orpheus* This is the phoenix, the instrument which Ephorus, <sup>c</sup> and Scamon in his treatise *On Inventions*, <sup>d</sup> say was invented by the Phoenicians and so got its name. But Semus of Delos, in the first book of his *History of Delos*, says <sup>e</sup> that it was so named because its ribs were made of the palm-tree (phoenix) on Delos The sambuca, he says, was first used by the Sibyl, of whom the before-mentioned Scamon . . . But he says it was named from one Sambux, its inventor.

And then with reference to the so-called tripod (for this also was a musical instrument) the before-mentioned Artemon writes as follows <sup>f</sup> "Hence in the case of many instruments it is not certainly known whether they even existed <sup>g</sup>; such, for instance, is the tripod of Pythagoras of Zacynthus For the vogue which it acquired was of short duration, and because it was thought to be difficult to handle, or for any reason whatever, it soon became obsolete and is totally forgotten by most people. It was like the Delphic tripod, <sup>h</sup>—hence its name,—but could be used as a triple harp. The three legs rested on a base

"with the five-staved joining of strings"—the strings well-stretched resembling rods (ράβδοι); τάχος is accus. of effect (Goodwin-Gulick Grammar § 1053 a), καμψιδίαινον, "rounding the double-course" in the stadium.

<sup>b</sup> F.H.G. iv. 465, cf. Athen. 182 f (vol. ii. p. 306).

<sup>c</sup> F.H.G. i. 276, J 2 A 44.

<sup>d</sup> F.H.G. iv. 490.

<sup>e</sup> F.H.G. iv. 492

<sup>f</sup> F.H.G. iv. 342.

<sup>g</sup> i.e. they are so little known that their very existence is questioned.

<sup>h</sup> Athen. 456 c-d (vol. iv p. 570)

ἐπὶ τινος βάσεως εὐστροφού, καθάπερ αἱ τῶν  
 περιάκτων δῖφρων κατασκευάζονται θέσεις, τὰς  
 μέσας τρεῖς χώρας τὰς ἀπὸ ποδὸς ἐπὶ πόδα δι-  
 εστώσας ἐνέτεινε χορδαῖς, ὑπερθεῖς ἐκάστη πῆχυν  
 καὶ κάτω προσαρμόσας χορδοτόνια, καὶ τὸν ἐπάνω  
 κόσμον κοινὸν τοῦ λέβητος καὶ τῶν παρηρητημένων  
 ἡχείων<sup>1</sup> ἀποδούς ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὴν φαντασίαν εἶχεν  
 ἀστείαν καὶ τὸν ἦχον προσέβαλλεν<sup>2</sup> ἀδρότερον.  
 διένειμε δ' ἐκάστη χώρα τὰς τρεῖς ἁρμονίας, τὴν  
 τε<sup>3</sup> Δωριστὶ καὶ Φρυγιστὶ καὶ Λυδιστὶ καὶ καθ-  
 εζόμενος αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τινος δῖφρου περὶ ταυτὸν<sup>4</sup>  
 συμμέτρως ἔχοντος<sup>5</sup> τῇ συστάσει, διείρας<sup>6</sup> δὲ τὴν  
 εὐώνυμον χεῖρα πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολήν, καὶ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ  
 χρησόμενος τῷ πλήκτρῳ, καθ' ὁποίαν δὴ<sup>7</sup> πρώτην  
 ἡρεῖτο τῶν ἁρμονιῶν μετέστρεφε τῷ ποδὶ τὴν  
 βάσιν εὐτροχόν<sup>8</sup> οὖσαν, καὶ πρὸς ἑτέραν πλευρὰν  
 πάλιν ἐπιβάλλων ἐχρήτο καὶ πάλιν ἑτέραν. οὕτω  
 δ' ὁξέως ὑπὸ τὴν χεῖρα προσῆγεν αὐτῷ τὰ συστή-  
 ματα ἢ τῆς βάσεως εὐκινησία τῷ ποδὶ ψαυομένη  
 καὶ τὴν χειροθεσίαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰθίσθη<sup>9</sup> κατοξύ-  
 λειν ὥστ', εἴ τις μὴ συνορώη τὸ γινόμενον, ἀλλὰ  
 διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς μόνον κρίνοι, νομίζειν γ' κιθαρῶν<sup>10</sup>  
 ἰκούμεν διαφόρως ἡρμοσμένων καὶ τοῦτο τὸ  
 ὄργανον<sup>11</sup> θαυμασθὲν ἰσχυρῶς μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου βίον  
 ἔξιλεπεν<sup>12</sup> εὐθέως "

<sup>1</sup> ἡχείων (?) Kaibel. ἐνίων A

<sup>2</sup> sic A, προσβάλλον (in different constr.) C.

<sup>3</sup> E. ἐκάστη χώρα διένειμε τὰς τρεῖς ἁρμονίας C, διένειμεν δ' ἀσπὴς χώρας ταῖς τρισὶν ἁρμονίαις τὴν τε A.

<sup>4</sup> πρὸς αὐτὸν Wilamowitz

<sup>5</sup> Schweighauser ἔχοντα A

<sup>6</sup> διάρᾱς Schweighauser

<sup>7</sup> Kaibel ἂν A.



which turned easily, like the bases constructed for revolving stools; the three spaces between, from leg to leg, were tightly girded by the strings; at the top of each space was fixed a cross-arm, to which were fitted the pegs <sup>a</sup> below, while the upper adornment joined together the cauldron <sup>b</sup> with the sound-boxes; this gave an appearance of elegance and also added a more sonorous tone. Pythagoras further assigned to each space separately the three modes, the Dorian, the Phrygian, and the Lydian. He himself would sit on a stool which was of about the same proportions in construction,<sup>c</sup> he would insert his left hand to grasp the instrument, and as, with the other hand, he was about to strike with the plectrum, he would revolve with his foot the base, which swung about easily, and would continue his playing, striking now on one side, and again on another. The easy motion of the base, responding to the touch of his foot, brought so quickly to his hand the several parts of the instrument, and he had practised the swift manipulation of it to such a degree, that if one did not see with his own eyes what was going on, but judged it solely from hearing, he would think he was listening to three harps scaled differently. And although this instrument was admired exceedingly, after the lifetime of Pythagoras it soon went out of fashion."

<sup>a</sup> Lit "string-tighteners."

<sup>b</sup> The basin or kettle which formed the upper part of the ordinary tripod.

<sup>c</sup> As the tripod.

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<sup>8</sup> Musurus: *εὐτροχον δ'* A.

<sup>9</sup> *ἡθίσθη* A, *εἰθίστο* CE.

<sup>10</sup> Meineke: *κιθαριστῶν* ACE.

<sup>11</sup> *τὸ ῥγανον* A.

<sup>12</sup> CE: *ἐξέλειπεν* A.

Τὴν δὲ ψιλὴν κιθάρισιν πρῶτόν φησιν Μέναιχμος εἰσαγαγεῖν Ἀριστόνικον τὸν Ἀργεῖον, τῇ ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενον κατὰ Ἀρχίλοχον, κατοικήσαντα ἐν Κορκύρα. Φιλόχορος δ' ἐν γ' Ἀτθίδος " Λύσανδρος, φησὶν, ὁ Σικυνώνιος κιθαριστῆς πρῶτος μετέστησε τὴν ψιλοκιθαριστικὴν, μακροὺς τοὺς τόνους ἐντείνας καὶ τὴν φωνὴν εὖογκον ποιήσας, καὶ τὴν ἔναυλον κιθάρισιν ἣ πρῶτοι οἱ περὶ Ἐπίγονον ἐχρήσαντο. καὶ περιελὼν τὴν συντομίαν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐν τοῖς ψιλοῖς κιθαρισταῖς χρώματά τε εὖχροα πρῶτος ἐκίθαρσε καὶ ἰάμβους καὶ μάγαδιν, τὸν καλούμενον συριγμόν καὶ ὄργανον μετέλαβεν<sup>1</sup> μόνος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐξήσας χορὸν περιεστήσατο πρῶτος. Δίωνα<sup>2</sup> δὲ τὸν Χῖον τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου σπονδεῖον πρῶτον κιθαρίσαι Μέναιχμος. Τιμόμαχος δ' ἐν τοῖς Κυπριακοῖς Στήσανδρον λέγει τὸν Σάμιον<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ πλείον αὐξῆσαι τὴν τέχνην καὶ πρῶτον ἐν Δελφοῖς κιθαρωδῆσαι τὰς

<sup>1</sup> ἰαμβύκην καὶ μάγαδιν τὸν καλούμενον συριγμόν κιθαρίζων μετέλαβεν (?) Kaibel.

<sup>2</sup> Ἰωνα (?) Jan

<sup>3</sup> Musurus. ὠδασαμίτωνα A.

<sup>a</sup> Lit "bare harp-playing," i.e. instrumental performances without the voice of a singer, Plato, *Legg* 669 E.

<sup>b</sup> *Scr. Al* 146, frag 6, J. 2 B 674

<sup>c</sup> *F H.G* 1 395

<sup>d</sup> He evidently increased the size of the sound-box. But L. & S (*cf.* P.-W vi 69) explain ἔναυλον κιθάρισιν as harp-playing accompanied by the flute. The context, however, points only to string instruments. For Epigonos of Ambracia (sixth century B.C.), whose harp resembled that of to-day, see 183 d (vol II pp. 308-310).

<sup>e</sup> The word *συντομία*, "meagreness," "thinness," seems to refer to the unadorned music of earlier times. In literary

As for solo harp-playing,<sup>a</sup> Menaechmus says <sup>b</sup> that it was introduced by Aristonicus of Argos, who belonged to the same period as Archilochus, and had settled in Coicyia. But Philochorus in the third book of his *History of Attica* declares <sup>c</sup> · “ Lysander of Sicyon was the first harp-player to institute the new art of solo playing, tuning his strings high and making the tone full and rich, in fact giving that flute-like tone to strings <sup>d</sup> which Epigonus and his school were the first to adopt. He abolished the meagre simplicity <sup>e</sup> prevailing among the solo harpists, and introduced in his harp-playing highly-coloured variations,<sup>f</sup> also iambi,<sup>g</sup> the magadis, and the syngmus,<sup>h</sup> as it is called ; in fact he was the only musician who, up to his time,<sup>i</sup> could substitute one instrument for another, and having advanced his art to a high point he became the first to station a band of players about him. Dion of Chios, according to Menaechmus,<sup>j</sup> was the first to play on the harp the libation-music to Dionysus <sup>k</sup> Timomachus in his *History of Cyprus* says <sup>l</sup> that Stesander of Samos greatly advanced the art and was the first to sing at Delphi, to harp-accom-

style *συντομία* is conciseness, opposed to *ῥυθμός* Aristot. *Rhet* iii. 6. 1.

<sup>f</sup> From the ordinary scales.

<sup>g</sup> Or “ iambucae,” above, 636 b (p. 433)

<sup>h</sup> A kind of whistle? Poll. iv. 83 has *σύριγμα*. Kaibel proposed to remove the comma after *μάγαδις* and take *συριγμόν* in apposition with it, thus assuming another wind-instrument called magadis, as at 634 c (p. 423).

<sup>i</sup> Lit “ the only one of those preceding him ”

<sup>j</sup> *Scr. Al* 146, frag. 7, J. 2 B 674

<sup>k</sup> Poll. iv. 79 τὸ δὲ σπονδείον μέλος εἶποις ἂν ἐπιβώμιον (played at the altar), iv. 84 he says it was played on the flute as a part of the Pythian nome. This Dion is wholly unknown ; see critical note 2.

<sup>l</sup> *F H.G.* iv. 521.

καθ' Ὁμηρον μάχας, ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας. ἄλλοι δὲ πρῶτόν φασιν παρ' Ἑλευθερναίοις κιθαρίσαι τὰς ἐρωτικὰς ᾠδὰς Ἀμήτορα<sup>1</sup> τὸν Ἑλευθερναῖον, οὗ καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους Ἀμητορίδας καλεῖσθαι. Ἀριστόξενος δέ φησιν. “ὥσπερ τῶν ἐξαμέτρων τινὲς ἐπὶ τὸ γελοῖον παρωδᾶς εὗρον, οὕτως καὶ τῆς κιθαρωδίας πρῶτος Οἰνῶνας,<sup>2</sup> ὃν ἐζήλωσαν Πολύευκτός τε ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ Διοκλῆς ὁ Κυναιθεύς.” καὶ μοχθηρῶν δὲ ᾠσμάτων γεγόνασιν ποιηταί, περὶ ὧν φησι Φαινίας ὁ Ἐρέσιος<sup>3</sup> ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Σοφιστὰς γράφων οὕτως. “Τελένικος ὁ Βυζάντιος, ἔτι δὲ Ἀργᾶς ποιηταὶ μοχθηρῶν ὄντες νόμων πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἴδιον χαρακτῆρα τῆς ποιήσεως εὐπόρουν, τῶν δὲ Τερπάνδρου καὶ Φρύνιδος νόμων οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἠδύναντο ἐπιφαῦσαι” τοῦ Ἀργᾶ μνημονεύει Ἀλεξίς ἐν Ἀποβάτῃ οὕτως

Χορόνικος ὁ<sup>4</sup> ποιητῆς ὀδί

Β τίνων ποιητῆς ᾠσμάτων; Α σεμνῶν πάνν.

Β τί πρὸς τὸν Ἀργᾶν οὗτος, Α ἡμέρας δρόμῳ κρείττων

καὶ Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ.

ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐφυνῆς τις εἶναι φαίνεται.

ὥς δ' εὐρύθμως<sup>5</sup> λαβὼν τὸ μελετητήριον

εἶτ' ἐσχέδιασε δριμέως ἐν .<sup>6</sup> παπαῖ,

μεστὸς γενόμενος πρὸς τὸν Ἀργᾶν βούλομαι

κωδωνίσας πέμψαι σ' ἀγωνιούμενον,

ἵνα καὶ σὺ νικᾷς τοὺς σοφιστὰς, ὦ φίλε.

<sup>1</sup> Hemsterhuys ἀμίτορασ Α

<sup>2</sup> Jahn, Hiller οἰνωπασ Α, οἰνώτας C

<sup>3</sup> αἰρέσιος Α

<sup>4</sup> ὁ early edd om. Α.

<sup>5</sup> Schweighauser ἐύρυθμος Α

<sup>6</sup> δριμέως παπαῖ παπαῖ Casaubon εὐ μάλα παπαῖ Meineke.

paniment, Homer's stories of battle, beginning with the *Odyssey*. Others say that Amêtoi of Eleutherna was the first to play on the harp erotic songs among the Eleuthernaeans; his descendants are called Ametonidae. Aristoxenus says<sup>a</sup> "Just as certain persons have made up parodies of hexameters<sup>b</sup> to provoke laughter, so also Oenônas<sup>c</sup> introduced parodies of songs sung to the harp, and he was imitated by Polyeuctus of Achaia and Diocles of Cynaetha." There have also been composers of indecent songs; concerning these Phaenias of Eresus in his work *Against the Sophists* writes as follows<sup>d</sup> "Telemachus of Byzantium, and Argas as well, who were composers of indecent nomes, were successful in their own kind of poetry, but they could not in the least degree approach the nomes of Terpander or Phrynis." This Argas is mentioned by Alexis in *The Bareback Rider* thus<sup>e</sup>. "A Here comes the composer Choronicus. B What songs does he compose? A Very elegant ones indeed! B How does he compare with Argas? A. He can beat him by a good day's run." And Anaxandrides in *Heracles*<sup>f</sup> "It's true, he does seem to be a gifted lad, and how gracefully he took up his instrument and smartly improvised. But I've had my fill; I want to make a test and send you to compete against Argas, that you too, my friend, may beat the experts."

<sup>a</sup> F H G II 285.

<sup>b</sup> i.e. epic poetry and oracles.

<sup>c</sup> Athen. 19 f-20 a (vol. I. p. 86), see critical note 2.

<sup>d</sup> F H G II 299

<sup>e</sup> Kock II 304, the title refers to a rider in the public games who leapt from one horse to another, like the Roman desultor, Plut. *Phoc.* 20.

<sup>f</sup> Kock II 141.

Ὁ δὲ τοὺς εἰς Χιωνίδην<sup>1</sup> ἀναφερομένους ποιήσας  
Πτωχοὺς Γνησίππου τινὸς μνημονεύει παιγνια-  
γράφου<sup>2</sup> τῆς ἰλαρᾶς μούσης, λέγων οὕτως

ταῦτ' οὐ μὰ Δία Γνήσιππος οὐδὲ<sup>3</sup> Κλεομένης  
ἐν ἐννέ<sup>4</sup> ἄν χορδαῖς<sup>4</sup> κατεγλυκάνατο

καὶ ὁ τοὺς Εἰλωτας<sup>5</sup> δὲ πεποιηκῶς φησιν

τὰ Στησιχόρου τε καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος Σιμωνίδου τε  
ἀρχαῖον<sup>6</sup> ἀεῖδειν. ὁ δὲ Γνήσιππος ἔστ' ἀκούειν,  
ὃς νυκτερίν<sup>7</sup> εὔρε μοιχοῖς ἀείσματ' ἐκκαλεῖσθαι  
γυναῖκας ἔχοντας ἱαμβύκην τε καὶ τρίγωνον.

Κρατῖνος ἐν Μαλθακοῖς·

τίς ἄρ' ἐρῶντά<sup>8</sup> μ' οἶδεν ὦ Γνήσιππέ πω; πολλή  
χολή.<sup>9</sup>

οἴομαι ἄγ<sup>10</sup> μὴδὲν οὕτως μωρὸν εἶναι καὶ κενόν

σκώπτει δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ ποιήματα καὶ ἐν Βουκόλοις·

ὃς οὐκ ἔδωκ' αἰτοῦντι Σοφοκλέει<sup>11</sup> χορόν,  
τῷ Κλεομάχου<sup>12</sup> δ', ὃν οὐκ ἂν ἤξιουν ἐγὼ  
ἐμοὶ διδάσκειν οὐδ' ἂν εἰς Ἀδώνια<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Musurus (cf 137 e) χιωνίδη A

<sup>2</sup> παιγνιογράφος Maa

<sup>3</sup> Meineke οὐδ' ὁ A.

<sup>4</sup> Poison ἐννέα χορδαῖσιν A

<sup>5</sup> Casaubon ἰλεώτας A

<sup>6</sup> τε ἀρχαῖον Musurus. τὰρχαῖον A ἄδειν ἀρχαῖον Wilamo-  
witz

<sup>7</sup> Heilmann ἔστιν ἀκούειν κείνοσ νυκτερινὰ A

<sup>8</sup> Dalechamps. ἔρωτα A

<sup>9</sup> Dobree· γνήσιππε ἐγὼ πολλῇ χολῇ A

<sup>10</sup> ἄγ added by Gulick, γὰρ Grotius

<sup>11</sup> Meineke: σοφοκλεῖ A.

Whoever wrote *Beggars*, generally attributed to Chionides, mentions a certain Gnesippus, playful writer of the lascivious muse, as follows <sup>a</sup>: " Things like these, Zeus is my witness, not Gnesippus and not Cleomenes could have sweetened with their nine strings " And the author of *The Helots* says <sup>b</sup>: " To sing the songs of Stesichorus, of Alcman, and Simonides is out of date. Rather, Gnesippus is the one to hear, for he has invented serenades for adulterers, with iambuca and triangle in hand, to sing and lure their ladies with " Cratinus, too, in *Mollycoddles* <sup>c</sup>. " Who, then, Gnesippus, ever heard of me being in love ? It makes me sick ! <sup>d</sup> I think that nothing can be so stupid and vain " Cratinus in *The Herdsmen* also makes fun of Gnesippus for his poetry <sup>e</sup>. " Why, he would not grant a chorus to Sophocles when he asked it, but gave one to the son of Cleomachus, whom I wouldn't think good enough to produce for me <sup>f</sup> a choral ode even for the Adonis

<sup>a</sup> Kock i. 5 ; the same doubt as to authorship expressed at 137 e (vol. II p. 128). Cleomenes may be the rhapsodist mentioned above, 620 d (p. 341).

<sup>b</sup> Kock i. 294 (Eupolis); for the thought cf. Aristoph. *Nub.* 1353-1372, Pers. *Sat.* v. 164-166:

an rem patriam rumore sinistro  
limen ad obscenum frangam, dum Chrysidis udas  
ebrius ante fores extincta cum face canto ?

<sup>c</sup> Kock i. 43.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 4 πάνυ γάρ ἐστ' ἡδὴ χολή But the text above is conjectural.

<sup>e</sup> Kock i. 16

<sup>f</sup> The speaker imagines himself as a choregus for a lyric performance. For the implied licentiousness of women at the Adonia cf. Aristoph. *Lys.* 389-398 (Kock).

ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ὠραῖς

ἵτω δὲ καὶ τραγωδίας

ὁ Κλεομάχου διδάσκαλος

μετ' αὐτόν, ὁ<sup>1</sup> παρατιλιτριῶν

ἔχων χορὸν λυδιστὶ τιλλουσῶν μέλη πονηρά

- 19 Τηλεκλείδης δὲ ἐν τοῖς Στερροῖς καὶ περὶ μοιχείας ἀναστρέφεσθαί φησιν αὐτόν.

Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἑρωτικῶν τὰ ἐρωτικά<sup>2</sup> φησιν ἄσματα καὶ τὰ Λοκρικὰ καλούμενα οὐδὲν τῶν Σαπφούς καὶ Ἀνακρέοντος διαφέρειν<sup>3</sup> ἔτι δὲ τὰ Ἀρχιλόχου καὶ τῶν Ὀμήρου Ἐπικιχλίδων τὰ πολλὰ διὰ τῆς ἐμμέτρου ποιήσεως τούτων ἔχεται τινος τῶν παθῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Ἀσωποδώρου περὶ τὸν Ἑρωτα καὶ πᾶν τὸ τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ἐπιστολῶν γένος ἐρωτικῆς τινος διὰ λόγου<sup>4</sup> ποιήσεώς ἐστιν."

- b Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Μασουρίου διεξελθόντος περι-  
ηνέχθησαν ἡμῖν καὶ αἱ δεύτεραι καλούμεναι τρά-  
πεζαι, πολλάκις ἡμῖν διδόμεναι οὐ μόνον ταῖς<sup>5</sup> τῶν  
Κρονίων ἡμέραις, ἐν αἷς Ῥωμαίων παισὶν ἔθος  
ἐστὶν<sup>6</sup> ἐστὶν τοὺς οἰκέτας, αὐτοὺς τὰς τῶν οἰκετῶν  
ἀναδεχομένους λειτουργίας. Ἑλληνικὸν δὲ τοῦτο  
τὸ ἔθος ἐν Κρήτῃ γοῦν τῇ τῶν Ἑρμαίων ἐορτῇ τὸ  
ὅμοιον γίνεται, ὡς φησι Καρύστιος ἐν Ἱστορικοῖς  
Ὑπομνήμασιν. εὐωχουμένων γὰρ τῶν οἰκετῶν οἱ

<sup>1</sup> μετ' αὐτόν, ὁ Kaibel μετὰ τῶν A

<sup>2</sup> Ἰωνικά Wilamowitz

<sup>3</sup> B, Musurus διαφθερίζειν A

<sup>4</sup> Casaubon διαλόγου A <sup>5</sup> ταῖς A ἐν ταῖς CE

<sup>6</sup> ἔθος ἐστὶν added by Musurus. ἔθος CE, om A

<sup>a</sup> Kock 1 90 The text is conjectural, but the last line contains excellent puns. It may also be rendered "culling dirty songs in the Lydian mode."



Festival " Again, in *The Seasons* <sup>a</sup>: " Let also the son of Cleomachus, producer of tragedies, follow him and be off, taking with him his chorus of hair-plucking slaves, pulling the hairs from their dirty limbs in Lydian fashion " Further, Telecleides in *Hard-Boiled* indicates <sup>b</sup> that Gnesippus was often involved in acts of adultery

Clearchus, in the second book of his *Love Stories*, declares <sup>c</sup> that the " erotic " or " Locrian " poems, as they are called, were no different from the poems of Sappho or Anacreon. What is more, those of Archilochus as well as most of Homer's *Epikichlides*, <sup>d</sup> composed in verse, deal with these passions, and of course the writings of Asopodorus <sup>e</sup> regarding Eros, and the entire class of erotic epistles, in prose, belong to the erotic genre of composition

After Masurius had concluded this long recital, <sup>f</sup> the second tables, as they are called, were brought in and set before us ; they had often been served to us, and not merely during the holidays of the Saturnalia, when it is customary for the Roman children to entertain the slaves at dinner, while the children take upon themselves the duties of the slaves But this custom is also Greek ; the like, for example, occurs in Crete at the festival of the Hermaea, as Carystius declares in *Historical Notes*. <sup>g</sup> For while the slaves are feasting,

<sup>b</sup> Kock i 217.

<sup>c</sup> *F.H.G.* II 316 His language, as usual, is involved. He means simply that erotic works are found in both verse and prose

<sup>d</sup> Lit " for the thrushes," Athen 65 a-b (vol. I. p. 282).

<sup>e</sup> He is said to have written in a rhythmical prose, 445 b (vol. IV p. 516).

<sup>f</sup> From 634 e (p. 425) ; cf 623 e-633 f.

<sup>g</sup> *F.H.G.* IV 358-359. Cf. Plato, *Lysis* 206 D

<sup>c</sup> δεσπόται ὑπηρετοῦσιν πρὸς τὰς διακονίας. καὶ ἐν  
 Τροιζίνι δὲ μηνὶ Γεραιστίῳ· πανήγυρις δὲ τότε  
 γίνεται πολυήμερος, ἥς ἐν μιᾷ οἱ δούλοι μετὰ τῶν  
 πολιτῶν κοινῇ τε ἀστραγαλίζουσιν καὶ οἱ κύριοι  
 τοὺς δούλους ἐστιῶσιν, ὡς ὁ αὐτός φησιν Καρύ-  
 στιος. Βήρωσος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ<sup>1</sup> Βαβυλωνιακῶν τῷ  
 Λώῳ φησὶ μηνὶ ἐκκαίδεκάτῃ ἄγεσθαι ἑορτὴν Σά-  
 καια<sup>2</sup> προσαγορευομένην ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐπὶ ἡμέρας  
 πέντε, ἐν αἷς ἔθος εἶναι ἄρχεσθαι τοὺς δεσπότας  
 ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀφηγεῖσθαι τε τῆς οἰκίας ἕνα  
 αὐτῶν ἐνδεδυκότα στολὴν ὁμοίαν τῇ βασιλικῇ ὃν  
 καὶ καλεῖσθαι ζωγάνην.<sup>3</sup> μνημονεύει τῆς ἑορτῆς  
<sup>d</sup> καὶ Κτησίας ἐν δευτέρῳ Περσικῶν Κῶοι δὲ  
 τοῦναντίον δρῶσιν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Μακαρεὺς ἐν τρίτῳ  
 Κωακῶν· ὅταν γὰρ τῇ Ἡρᾷ θύωσιν, δούλοι οὐ  
 παραγίνονται ἐπὶ τὴν εὐωχίαν. διὸ καὶ Φύλαρχον<sup>4</sup>  
 εἰρηκέαι·

Οὐρανίῃ<sup>5</sup> μῦνοι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι ἱεροεργοί,  
 ἀνδράσι παρ' κείνοισιν<sup>6</sup> ἐλεύθερον ἄμαρ<sup>7</sup> ἔχοντες<sup>8</sup>  
 δούλων δ' οὐτις ἀμπαν ἐσέρχεται οὐδ' ἡβαιόν  
 Βάτων δ' ὁ Σινωπεὺς ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ περὶ Θεσ-

<sup>1</sup> τρίτῳ (?) Muller

<sup>2</sup> Casaubon. σακέαν A.E., σακέα C (in a different consti )

<sup>3</sup> A., ζογάνην E. ζογάνης (in a different constr ) C.

<sup>4</sup> Ευφορίωνα Meineke, Φιλίταν Kaibel

<sup>5</sup> Kuchenmuller: σουριη A.

<sup>6</sup> Kuchenmuller (after Meineke) προσκεινοισι A.

<sup>7</sup> Musurus· ἔλευρον ἄμαρ A.

<sup>8</sup> ἄγουσιν Meineke.

<sup>a</sup> Thuc iv. 119 calls it Gerastius (Γεράστιος), and says it was a Spartan month, P-W. vii 1245 On festivals which resembled the Saturnalia see Nilsson, *Gr Feste* 35-40.

their masters assist in menial duties. Again, in Troezen, during the month of Geraestius <sup>a</sup>, at that time a festival is held lasting many days, on one of which the slaves play at knucklebones in company with the citizens, and the masters entertain the slaves at a feast, according to Carystius again Beiosus, in the first book of his *Babylonian History*, says <sup>b</sup> that in the month of Loos, on the sixteenth day, there was held in Babylon a festival called Sacaea, extending over five days, wherein it was customary for the masters to be ruled by their slaves, and one of them, as leader of the household, was clothed in a robe similar to the king's; he was called the *zoganês*. The festival is mentioned <sup>c</sup> also by Ctesias in the second book of his *Persian History*. But the people of Cos do the contrary, as recorded <sup>d</sup> by Macareus in the third book of his *Coan History*; for when they sacrifice to Hera, slaves may not come to the feast. Hence Phylarchus says <sup>e</sup> "In honour of the Queen of Heaven only free men perform the holy rites, among that folk only they that possess the day of freedom. But no slave may enter in at all, no, not even for a moment."

The orator Baton of Sinopê, in his book *On Thessaly*

<sup>b</sup> *F.H.G.* II 498. Muller proposed to read *τρίτω*, "in the third book," instead of *πρώτῳ*, "first." *Λῶος* or *Λῳος* was a Macedonian month Hesych. *s. σάκαια ἢ Σκυθικὴ ἑορτή*.

<sup>c</sup> Gilmore 64.

<sup>d</sup> *F.H.G.* IV. 442, Athen 262 c (vol. III. p. 178)

<sup>e</sup> *J. 2 A 188*, Powell 95, Kuchenmuller, *Philetæ Reliq.* 87. No poet by the name of Phylarchus is known, but the historian may have quoted the verses. "In honour of Our Lady of Nisyros" (Hera) is Muller's suggestion. The second verse may have read "among the men of Cos" See P.-W. *s. v. Hera* 380, 382, Stat. *Theb.* x 913 *caelestis regia*.

<sup>e</sup> σαλίας καὶ Αἰμονίας σαφῶς ἐμφανίζει τὴν τῶν  
 Σατουρναλίων ἑορτὴν Ἑλληνικωτάτην, φάσκων  
 αὐτὴν παρὰ τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς Πελώρια καλεῖσθαι,  
 γράφων οὕτως· “ θυσίας κοινῆς τοῖς Πελασγοῖς  
 γινομένης ἀναγγεῖλαι<sup>1</sup> τινὰ τῷ Πελασγῷ ἄνδρα,  
 ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Πέλωρος, διότι ἐν τῇ Αἰμονίᾳ σεισμῶν  
 μεγάλων γενομένων<sup>2</sup> ῥαγείη τὰ Τέμπη ὄρη ὀνο-  
 μαζόμενα καὶ διότι διὰ τοῦ διαστήματος ὀρμήσαν  
 τὸ τῆς<sup>3</sup> λίμνης ὕδωρ ἐμβάλλοι<sup>4</sup> εἰς τὸ τοῦ Πηνειοῦ  
 ῥεῖθρον, καὶ τὴν πρότερον λιμνάζουσαν χώραν  
<sup>f</sup> ἅπασαν γεγυμνῶσθαι καὶ ἀναξηραιομένων τῶν  
 ὑδάτων πεδία θαυμαστὰ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ κάλλει  
 ἀναφαίνεσθαι. ἀκούσαντα οὖν τὸν Πελασγὸν τὴν  
 τράπεζαν ἀφθόνως αὐτῷ κεκοσμημένην τῷ Πελώρῳ  
 παραθεῖναι. καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δὲ φιλοφρονου-  
 μένους ἕκαστον φέρειν ὃ τι ἔχοι παρ’ αὐτῷ βέλ-  
 τιστον καὶ παρατιθέναι ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν τῷ  
 ἀπαγγεῖλαντι, καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Πελασγὸν προθύμως  
 διακονεῖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώματι ὄντας  
 ὑπηρετεῖν, καθότι ἐκάστω ὁ καιρὸς παρέπιπτεν.  
 διόπερ φασίν, ἐπεὶ τὴν χώραν κατέσχον, ἀπο-  
 640 μίμημα τῆς τότε γενομένης ἑορτῆς . . .<sup>5</sup> καὶ  
 θύοντας Διὶ Πελωρίῳ<sup>6</sup> τραπέζας τε λαμπρῶς  
 κοσμοῦντας προτιθέναι<sup>7</sup> καὶ οὕτως φιλάνθρωπον<sup>8</sup>  
 τὴν πανήγυριν συντελεῖν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ξένους  
 ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τὴν θοίνην παραλαμβάνειν καὶ τοὺς  
 δεσμώτας λύειν καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας κατακλίναντας  
 μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας ἐστιᾶν, διακονούντων αὐτοῖς<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A (ἀνήγγελέ τις C). ἀπαγγεῖλαι Meineke, cf. below.

<sup>2</sup> CE γινομένων A.

<sup>3</sup> Musurus, C ὀρμήσαντος τῆς A, ὀρμήσαι τὸ τῆς E

<sup>4</sup> ἐμβάλοι Charitonides.

and *Haemonia*, makes it clear that the festival of the Saturnalia is a very Greek affair ; he says that among the Thessalians it is called the *Pelônia*, and writes as follows <sup>a</sup> " At a public sacrifice which was being held by the Pelasgians a man named Pelôrus brought the news to Pelasgus that in Haemonia, during great earthquakes, the mountains called Tempe had broken apart, and through the aperture the water of the lake rushed and was pouring into the stream of the Peneius, so that the land which had been marshy before was now entirely bared to view, and as the waters dried up plains were appearing of wondrous extent and beauty. Well, when Pelasgus heard the story he set before Pelôrus a table lavishly provided by himself. The other people, also, in friendly gratitude brought whatever each one possessed of his best, and set it upon the table for the messenger, while Pelasgus in person waited on him devotedly, and all the other men of high rank assisted, according to the opportunity that fell to each. Hence, they say, after they had got possession of the territory, they instituted a festival in imitation of the one that had been held on that earlier occasion, and sacrificing to Zeus Pelôrus they set up gaily furnished tables and carry out the festivities so generously that all foreigners, even, are welcomed to the feast, prisoners are set free, and slaves, reclining on couches with the utmost liberty, are entertained while their masters wait on

<sup>a</sup> *F H G.* iv 349.

<sup>5</sup> Lacuna indicated by Kaibel, supplying *ποιουμένους*. But Schweighauser, following C, deleted *καὶ* (so Meineke).

<sup>6</sup> CE *πέλωρι* A.

<sup>7</sup> AE, *προτίθενται* C (in different constr) *παρατιθέναι* Meineke.

<sup>8</sup> Musurus, C *φιλόανθρωπόν τε* A.

<sup>9</sup> *κατακλίνοντας* (?) Kaibel.

τῶν δεσποτῶν· καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἔτι καὶ νῦν Θεσσαλοὺς μεγίστην ἑορτὴν ἄγοντας προσαγορεύειν Πελώρια<sup>1</sup>·”

Πολλάκις οὖν, ὡς ἔφην, τῶν τοιούτων ἡμῖν παρατιθεμένων ἐπιδορπισμάτων ἔφη τις τῶν παρόντων·

b αἱ δεύτεραί πως φροντίδες σοφώτεραι.—

τί γὰρ ποθεῖ τράπεζα; τῷ δ’<sup>2</sup> οὐ βρίθεται, πλήρης μὲν ὄψων ποντίων, πάρεισι δὲ μόσχων τέρειναι<sup>3</sup> σάρκες ἄρνεία<sup>4</sup> τε δαῖς καὶ πεπτὰ καὶ κροτητὰ τῆς ξουθοπτέρου πελάνῳ μελίσσης ἀφθόνως δεδευμένα,

φησὶν ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Κρήσσαις. καὶ ὡς ὁ Εὐβουλος δ’ ἐν Ὀλβία ἔφη·

ἐν τῷ γὰρ αὐτῷ πάνθ’ ὁμοῦ πωλήσεται<sup>5</sup>  
ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις σῦκα, B κλητῆρες,<sup>6</sup> A. βό-  
τρυς,

c γογγυλίδες, ἄπιοι, μῆλα, B. μάρτυρες, A. ῥόδα, μέσπιλα, χόρια, σχάδονες, ἐρέβινθοι, B. δίκαι, Δ. πυός, πυριάτη, μύρτα, B. κληρωτήρια, A. ὑάκινθος, ἄρνες, B. κλειψύδραι, νόμοι, γραφαί.

μέλλοντος οὖν τοῦ Ποντιανοῦ λέγειν περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν παρακειμένων, “οὐ πρότερόν γε, ἔφη ὁ Οὐλπιανός, ἀκουσόμεθα περὶ τούτων ἕως ἂν περὶ τῶν ἐπιδορπισμάτων εἴπῃς” καὶ ὁ Ποντιανός·

<sup>1</sup> Meineke πελωρίαν ACE

<sup>2</sup> CE τὸ δ’ A <sup>3</sup> CE τέρειναι A

<sup>4</sup> Meineke χηνία A, χηνεῖα CE

<sup>5</sup> πωλεῖν<sup>7</sup> ἀεὶ Kock unnecessarily

them ; in short, even to this day the Thessalians hold this as their chief festival, calling it Pelôria "

Well, as I was saying, we often had such things served to us as dessert, and one of our company quoted " "Second thoughts are somehow wiser"—Euripides says in *The Women of Crete*<sup>b</sup> "What is missing on the table? With what is it not loaded? It is filled with dainties from the sea, on it are tender cuts from the flesh of calves, a feast of lamb,<sup>c</sup> baked cakes and beaten biscuits<sup>d</sup> liberally soaked in a thick sauce from the humming-winged bee." Again, as Eubulus has said in *The Happy Woman*<sup>e</sup> "A In one and the same place you will find all kinds of things for sale together at Athens; figs— B. policemen! A grapes, turnips, peais, apples— B. witnesses! A roses, medlars, haggis, honeycomb, chick-peas— B lawsuits! A beestings, curds, myrtle-berries— B ballot-boxes! A. iis, roast lamb— B waterclocks, laws, indictments!" As Pontianus, therefore, was on the point of talking about the dishes served to us, Ulpian said No, we will not hear about these until you have said a word about the *epidorpismata* So

<sup>a</sup> Eur. *Hipp* 436, Phaedra's nurse speaks. "Second thoughts" allude to the "second tables" on which dessert (*ἐπιδορπίσματα, τραγήματα*) was served, above, 639 b. But the viands here mentioned are hardly dessert in our sense.

<sup>b</sup> *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 503, cf. Plut. 1097 D.

<sup>c</sup> The mss. have *χηνεία*, "of goose," which is against metre

<sup>d</sup> Lit "things rattled together", but what they were is unknown, and Naber's *κάκροφητὰ*, "things gulped down," scarcely helps matters Plut. *loc. cit.* agrees with Athen.

<sup>e</sup> Kock II 190 The assignment to two speakers is due to Toeppel There is a similar medley in Aristoph. *Plut.* 190-192.

<sup>6</sup> Pierson *ὁ κακλήτηρος* A

<sup>7</sup> Schweighauser: *εἴπη* A.

“τραγήματα Κράτης φησὶ Φιλιππίδην λέγειν ἐν Φιλαργύρῳ οὕτως·

πλακοῦντες, ἐπιδορπίσματ', ὥά, σήσαμα·  
ὅλην λέγοντ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπιλείποι μ' ἡμέραν.<sup>1</sup>

καὶ Δίφιλος ἐν Τελεσίᾳ·

τράγημα, μυρτίδες, πλακοῦς, ἀμύγδαλα.<sup>2</sup>  
B. ἐγὼ δὲ ταυῦθ' ἥδιστα γ' ἐπιδορπίζομαι.

Σώφιλος ἐν Παρακαταθήκῃ·

ἡδύ γε μετ' ἀνδρῶν ἐστιν Ἑλλήνων αἰεὶ  
συνάγειν· τὸ πρᾶγμα χάριεν. “οὐχὶ δώδεκα<sup>3</sup>  
κυάθους,” ἀνεβόησέν τις, “ὑποχέις,<sup>4</sup> κωμάσαι  
πρὸς τὴν Ταναγρικὴν δεῖ γάρ, ἵν' ἐκεῖ κατα-  
κλιθεῖς<sup>5</sup>  
ἐπιδορπίσῃται τὰς ὀνειῖας ματτύας.”

ε Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Ἀτλαντικῷ μεταδόρπια αὐτὰ καλεῖ  
ἐν τούτοις· “πάντα τε εὐώδη ἔφερε τότε<sup>6</sup> τοῖς  
κατοικοῦσιν ἡ γῆ, καὶ τὸν ἡμέρον δὲ καρπὸν  
πλεῖστον ἔφερεν καὶ ἀκροδρῶν πλῆθος καὶ ὅσα  
παραμύθια ἡδονῆς<sup>7</sup> μεταδόρπια.”

Τρύφων δέ φησι τὸ παλαιὸν πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν τοὺς  
δαιτυμόνας, ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν κεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκάστου  
μοῖραν, ὕστερον δὲ πολλὰ τε καὶ ποικίλα ἐπείσ-

<sup>1</sup> Kock ὅλην λέγοντά με ἐπιλείποι τὴν ἡμέραν A

<sup>2</sup> 52 f. ἀμυγδαλαῖ A.

<sup>3</sup> Cobet: οὐχι β A

<sup>4</sup> Cobet ὑποχει A

<sup>5</sup> Musurus· κατακλεισθεῖς A.

<sup>6</sup> Peppink ἐφέρετο A

<sup>7</sup> ἡδονῆς A πλεθυσμονῆς Plato.

<sup>a</sup> Wachsmuth 65

<sup>b</sup> Lit. “things to chew,” dessert, usually nuts and dried fruits



Pontianus began : Crates declares <sup>a</sup> that Philippides means tragēmata <sup>b</sup> when in *The Miser* he says <sup>c</sup> : “ Flat-cakes, dessert (epidorpismata), eggs, sesame-seeds , the list would not fail me if I recited it the livelong day ” <sup>d</sup> And Diphilus in *Telesias* <sup>e</sup> “ A sweet, some myrtle-berries, a cheese-cake, almonds  
B But I, at least, can have a very nice dessert with these ” Sophilus in *The Deposit* <sup>f</sup> : “ Nice it is always to foregather with gentlemen from Greece ; the occasion is full of grace Someone calls out, ‘ Aren’t you going to pour in a pint ? We’ve got to have a racket at the house of the sweetie from Tanagra <sup>g</sup> ; there one shall lie on a couch and have a dessert of—minced donkey ’ ” Plato in his account of Atlantis calls dessert metadōrπia in these words <sup>h</sup> . “ The land bore for the inhabitants in those days all kinds of sweet-smelling things, and it bore also cultivated crops in greatest abundance, and a quantity of fruits and all the enticements to pleasure in desserts ” <sup>i</sup>

Tryphon says <sup>j</sup> that in old times each man’s portion was laid upon the tables before the guests entered the dining-room, but later many varied dishes were

<sup>a</sup> Kock III. 307.

<sup>b</sup> Kock’s rather violent emendation (see critical note 1) is the only one which makes sense and metre.

<sup>c</sup> Kock II. 567, Athen 52 f (vol. 1. p. 230).

<sup>d</sup> Kock II. 445, a bit of satire on Greek food.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. Cic. *Dom.* 43 111 Tanagraea meretrix.

<sup>h</sup> *Critias* 115 Α ὅσα εὐώδη τρέφει που γῆ τὰ νῦν ἔφερέν τε ταῦτα καὶ ἔτρεφεν εὖ, κτλ ; μεταδόρπια are “ things eaten after supper.”

<sup>i</sup> Plato says ὅσα παραμύθια πλησμονῆς μεταδόρπια, “ all desserts which are stimulants of a sated appetite.”

<sup>j</sup> Velsen 101. Kaibel deleted this paragraph ; cf. what follows.

φέρεισθαι· διὸ καὶ ἐπιφορήματα κληθῆναι. Φιλύλλιος δ' ἐν Φρεωρύχῳ φησὶν περὶ τῶν δευτέρων τραπεζῶν λέγων

f ἀμυγδάλια,<sup>1</sup> καρύδι,<sup>2</sup> ἐπιφορήματα

καὶ Ἀρχιππος ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν α'. καὶ ἐπιδورπίσασθαι δ' ἔλεγον τὸ ἐντραγεῖν καὶ ἐπιδειπνῆσαι.

Ἄπερ Ἀρχιππος ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ Γαμοῦντι ἐπιφορήματα καλεῖ διὰ τούτων

ἱτρίοις<sup>3</sup> ἐπιφορήμασί τ'  
ἄλλοις γέμουσα

41 καὶ Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ “σιτίοις δὲ ὀλίγοιςι χρέονται, ἐπιφορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖς.” τὸ μέντοι κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν λεγόμενον “Ἀβυδηνὸν ἐπιφόρημα” τέλος τί ἐστὶν καὶ<sup>4</sup> ἐλλιμένιον,<sup>5</sup> ὡς Ἀριστείδης<sup>6</sup> φησὶν ἐν γ' περὶ Παροιμιῶν. Διονύσιος δ' ὁ τοῦ Τρύφωνος· “τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν τοὺς δαιτυμόνας ἐπὶ τῶν τραπεζῶν κεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκάστου μοῖραν, ὕστερον δὲ πολλὰ καὶ<sup>7</sup> ποικίλα ἐπιφέρεισθαι<sup>8</sup> διὸ καὶ ἐπιφορήματα κληθῆναι.” Φιλύλλιος δ' ἐν Φρεωρύχῳ τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λέγων ὧδε·

<sup>1</sup> Meineke ἀμύγδαλα A <sup>2</sup> 641 b· κάρνα A

<sup>3</sup> τράπεζα δ' ἱτρίοιςι Meineke, Kock.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ deleted by Kaibel

<sup>5</sup> Leopardi ἐναιμένιον A.

<sup>6</sup> ἀριστίδης A

<sup>7</sup> καὶ added from 640 e.

<sup>8</sup> ἐπεισφέρεισθαι ? cf 640 e.

<sup>a</sup> Kock l. 787.

<sup>b</sup> Kock l. 680

<sup>c</sup> Chap. 133, of the Persians: σίτοιςι δὲ ὀλίγοιςι χρέ-

brought in additionally (epeispheresthai), hence they were called epiphoremata (additional courses). Phyllyllus in *The Well-Digger* speaks of the second tables, saying <sup>a</sup>. "Little almonds and nuts, as a second course" (epiphoremata). So Archippus in *Heracles* <sup>b</sup> and Herodotus in the first book <sup>c</sup>, and they also used to speak of 'taking a bite' <sup>d</sup> and 'having an after-meal' under the term epidorπισasthai.

All of which <sup>e</sup> Archippus in *Heracles takes a Wife* calls epiphoremata in these lines <sup>b</sup>. "A table loaded with meal-cakes and other desserts" And Herodotus in the first book <sup>c</sup>. "Breadstuffs they use but little, but they have many desserts" But the phrase used in the proverb "an epiphorema of Abydus" refers to a sort of tax and harbour-toll, as Aristeides says in the third book of his work *On Proverbs*.<sup>f</sup> Dionysius, the disciple of Tryphon: "In old times each man's portion was laid upon the table before the guests entered the dining-room, but later many varied dishes were brought in additionally (epeispheresthai); hence they were called epiphoremata" Phyllyllus in *The Well-Digger*, speaking of the viands brought after the banquet has the following <sup>a</sup>:

ωνται, ἐπιφορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ οὐκ ἁλέσι, i.e. not as a single course, but at intervals during the meal (How and Wells); quoted by Athen. 143 f (vol. II p. 156).

<sup>a</sup> For ἐντραγεῖν σικύδιον, "chew a pickle," see 74 a (vol. I. p. 318).

<sup>e</sup> The μεταδόρπια mentioned by Plato above, 640 E; a more correct quotation from Tryphon's lexicon now follows.

<sup>f</sup> See Zenob. s. Ἀβυδηνὸν ἐπιφόρημα, who gives an amusing account of its origin, and adds: εἴρηται δὲ ἡ παροιμία καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν) συκοφαντεῖσθαι τοὺς ξένους. Suid. s. v. ὅταν ἀκαίρως ἐπιφανέντος τινὸς ἀηδία τις ᾖ, εἰώθαμεν λέγειν Ἀβυδηνὸν ἐπιφόρημα. The Abydenes had an evil reputation, Athen. 524 f (vol. V. p. 366).

b ἀμυγδάλια,<sup>1</sup> καρύδι', ἐπιφορήματα.

Πλάτων δ' ἐν Μενέλεω ἐπιτραπεζώματα αὐτὰ καλεῖ οἷον τὰ ἐπιτιθέμενα ταῖς τραπέζαις βρώματα, λέγων οὕτως

εἰπέ μοι,  
ὥς<sup>2</sup> ὀλίγα λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτραπεζωμάτων,  
B. ὁ γὰρ θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸς αὐτὰ κατέφαγεν.

Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ Μέθης τὰ τραγήματά φησι λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων τρωγάλια ὥσει<sup>3</sup> γὰρ ἐπιδορπισμὸν εἶναι. Πίνδαρος δέ ἐστιν ὁ εἰπών·

c δείπνου δὲ λήγοντος γλυκὺ τρωγάλιον,  
καίπερ πεδ' ἄφθονον<sup>4</sup> βοράν.

ὄντως γὰρ κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην ἀποβλέψαντα ἔστιν εἰς τὰ παρακείμενα εἰπεῖν

ὁρᾷς τὸν εὐτράπεζον ὥς ἡδὺς βίος.

Ὅτι γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις αἱ δεύτεραι τράπεζαι πολυτελῶς μεμεριμνημέναι, παρίστησιν Πίνδαρος ἐν Ὀλυμπιονίκαις περὶ τῆς Πέλοπος κρεουργίας διηγούμενος·

τραπέζαισι δ'<sup>5</sup> ἀμφὶ δεύτερα,<sup>6</sup> κρεῶν  
σέθεν διεδάσαντο καὶ φάγον.

d ἐμοὶ δ' ἄπορα γαστρίμαργον μακάρων τιν'<sup>7</sup> εἰπεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> Meineke ἀμύγδαλα A.

<sup>2</sup> πῶς (?) Kock

<sup>3</sup> Schweighauser τρωγαλιλωσει A, τρωγάλια CE

<sup>4</sup> καίπερ Boeckh, πεδ' ἄφθονον Schneider καὶ περι παιδα-  
φθονον A

<sup>5</sup> δὲ A τ' Pind. codd.

" Little almonds and nuts, as a second course." Plato, however, calls desserts epitrapezomata in *Menelaus*, that is, foods laid upon the tables, in these words <sup>a</sup>. " A. Tell me, how is it that so little is left over of the things upon the table ? B Why, that god-detested fellow ate them up " Aristotle in his treatise *On Drunkenness* says <sup>b</sup> that dessert was called trogahia by the ancients ; for it is, as it were, a subsequent meal. Pindar is one writer who uses the word trogahon in the singular <sup>c</sup> : " As the banquet draws to its close sweet is dessert, though it follows bounteous food." As a matter of fact, looking at the viands there set before us, one may say in the words of Euripides <sup>d</sup> : " You can see how happy is the life where the table is well-supplied."

That, indeed, the " second tables " had sumptuous care bestowed on them is attested by Pindar in his *Odes for Olympian Victories*, when he narrates the story of the butchering of Pelops <sup>e</sup>. " And at the tables, during the second course, they <sup>f</sup> divided bits of thy flesh and ate of it But as for me, it is impossible to call any of the blessed gods a cannibal "

<sup>a</sup> Kock 1 622, Athen. 170 e (vol. II. p. 276).

<sup>b</sup> Frag. 104 Rose ; a fuller citation, though leaving much to be desired in point of clearness, is given below, 641 d-e.

<sup>c</sup> *P.L.G.* <sup>4</sup> 1. 439, Sandys 588, Puech II. 191.

<sup>d</sup> *T.G.F.* <sup>2</sup> 693 (frag. 1052, vs. 3). For the context see Stobaeus, *Flor.* II. 14.

<sup>e</sup> *Ol.* 1. 50-52, *P.L.G.* <sup>5</sup> 1. 84-85 (where see Schroeder's note), Sandys 8, Puech 1. 295.

<sup>f</sup> The gods, who were guests at the table of Tantalus.

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<sup>6</sup> ἀμφὶ δεύτατα or δεύτερα Schweighauser ἀμφὶ δευρα A, ἀμφὶ δεύτατα Pindar, τραπέζισι τ' ἀμφὶ δευτάταις (?) Schroeder.

<sup>7</sup> Pind : ἄπορον ἀγαστρίμαργον μακαρώτιν A.

οἱ δὲ παλαιότεροι ἀπλῶς τραπέζας ἔλεγον, ὡς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐν Ἡφαίστῳ σατυρικῶ

θοίνῃ σε<sup>1</sup> πρῶτον τέρψομεν πάρεστι δέ  
 B τὸ δεύτερον δέ<sup>2</sup> τῷ με κηλήσεις τρόπῳ,  
 A μύρῳ σε<sup>3</sup> κρίσω πάμπαν εὐόσμῳ δέμας.  
 B. ὕδωρ δὲ νῦναι χεῖρας οὐ πρόσθεν δίδως;  
 A. ἡνίκα<sup>4</sup> τράπεζά γ' ἐκποδῶν ἀπαίρεται.

Ἀριστοφάνης Σφηξίν·

ὕδωρ κατὰ χειρός· τὰς τραπέζας εἰσφέρειν

Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ Μέθης παραπλησίως  
 e ἡμῖν δευτέρας τραπέζας προσαγορεύει<sup>5</sup> διὰ τούτων·  
 “τὸ μὲν οὖν ὅλον διαφέρειν τράγημα βρώματος  
 νομιστέον ὅσον ἔδεσμα τρωγαλίου<sup>6</sup> τοῦτο γὰρ  
 πάτριον τοῦνομα τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, ἐπεὶ ἐν τραγήμασι  
 τὰ βρώματα<sup>7</sup> παρατίθενται. διόπερ οὐ κακῶς  
 ἔοικεν εἰπεῖν ὁ πρῶτος δευτέραν προσαγορεύσας  
 τράπεζαν ὄντως γὰρ ἐπιδορπισμός τις ὁ τραγη-  
 ματισμός ἐστι<sup>8</sup> καὶ δεῖπνον ἕτερον παρατίθεται τὰ<sup>9</sup>  
 τραγήματα.” Δικαίάρχος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ τῆς εἰς  
 f Τροφωνίου Καταβάσεώς φησιν οὕτως· “ἢ γε τὴν  
 πολλὴν δαπάνην ἐν τοῖς δεῖπνοις παρέχουσα δευτέρα  
 τράπεζα προσεγένετο, καὶ στέφανοι καὶ μύρα καὶ  
 θυμιάματα καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἀκόλουθα πάντα.” ἐδί-  
 δοτο δὲ καὶ ὦν<sup>10</sup> ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τραπέζῃ, ὥσπερ

<sup>1</sup> Casaubon: *θοίνῃ* δὲ A.

<sup>2</sup> δὲ added by Casaubon

<sup>3</sup> B, Musurus: *μυροσε* A.

<sup>4</sup> *ἡνίκα* Kaibel, ἐπεὶ Schweighauser: *ναὶ* A, *ναὶ* καὶ Casaubon.

<sup>5</sup> Kaibel· ἀπαγορεύει A.

<sup>6</sup> A· *ἐδέσματος τρωγάλιον* Schweighauser.

<sup>7</sup> τὰ βρώματα deleted by Kaibel

<sup>8</sup> E (ὁ τραγισμός)· ὄντως γὰρ ἐπιδορπισμός τραγηματισμός  
 τίς ἐστιν A, ὁ τραγηματισμός ἐπιδορπισμός τίς ἐστι C.

The men of ancient times used the word "tables" in a general sense, as Achaeus in *Hephaestus*, a satyric drama<sup>a</sup>: "A We will first delight thee with a banquet; it is ready. B How shall you bewitch me secondly? A. I will anoint your whole body with fragrant perfume B Aren't you first giving water to wash my hands? A Aye, when the table is removed." Aristophanes in *The Wasps*<sup>b</sup>. "Water over the hand, tables brought in." Aristotle in his treatise *On Drunkenness* uses the term "second tables" much as we do in this passage, thus<sup>c</sup>: "In general, dessert (tragêma) must be distinguished from the meal in that the one consists of eating, the other of munching (trogalon). This last is the traditional word among the Greeks, since they serve the things to be eaten in the form of things to chew (tragêmata) Hence the first man to term this a 'second table' was probably right; for as a matter of fact the eating of tragêmata makes a kind of subsequent meal, and the tragêmata are served as a second dinner" Dicaearchus in the first book of his *Descent into the Cave of Trophomus* says<sup>d</sup>. "The second table that was added supplied a lavish outlay at dinner-parties, and there were wreaths, perfumes, incense, and all the things which go with them" An egg was always offered at the second table, as also hares and thrushes

<sup>a</sup> *T.G.F.*<sup>2</sup> 750 Welcker believed the first speaker to be Dionysus, the second, Hephaestus. The topic of dessert is dropped for a moment to explain *τράπεζα*, "table," as a general term for food, Pollux vi. 84, Athen 49 b (vol. i. pp. 212-214), 151 b (vol. ii. p. 188).

<sup>b</sup> Vs 1216, cf Athen. 408 e (vol. iv. pp. 348-350).

<sup>c</sup> Frag. 104 Rose, above, 641 b.

<sup>d</sup> *F.H.G.* ii. 262.

<sup>9</sup> *τὰ* added by Kaibel.

<sup>10</sup> *ὅτι* CE.

καὶ λαγῶα καὶ κίχλαι κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν μελιπήκτων  
προσεφέρετο,<sup>1</sup> ὥς Ἀντιφάνης ἐν Λεπτινίσκῳ φησὶν  
οὕτως

οἶνον Θάσιον πίνοις ἄν, Β. εἴ τις ἐγχείοι.<sup>2</sup>

Α. πρὸς ἀμυγδάλας δὲ πῶς<sup>3</sup> ἔχεις, Β. εἰρη-  
νικῶς . . .

Α. . . . .

Β. μαλακὰς δι' ἃς μέλιτι πρέπει παίειν<sup>4</sup> βία.

Α. μελίπηκτα δ' εἴ σοι προσφέροι, Β. τρώ-  
γοιμί τᾶν.<sup>5</sup>

642 Α. ὦν δέ; Β. καταπίνοιμ' ἄν. Α. ἄλλου δεῖ<sup>6</sup>  
τινος,

ἐν δὲ Ὀμοίοις·

εἴτ' ἐπεισῆγεν χορείαν ἢ τράπεζαν δευτέραν,  
καὶ παρέθηκε γέμουσαν πέμμασι παντοδαποῖς

Ἄμφις δὲ ἐν Γυναικομανίᾳ

ἤδη ποτ' ἤκουσας βίον  
ἀλληλεμένον,<sup>7</sup> Β. ναί<sup>8</sup> Α. τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν' ἔστιν  
σαφῶς

ἄμητες, οἶνος ἡδύς, ὦά, σησαμαῖ,<sup>9</sup>  
μύρον, στέφανος, αὐλητρίς. Β. ᾧ Διοσκόρῳ,

b ὀνόματα τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν διελέλυθας.

<sup>1</sup> CE· εἰσεφέρετο Α, προσέφεροντο Eustath

<sup>2</sup> Rutherford· ἐγχείαι ACE

<sup>3</sup> δὲ πῶς CE δέπωσ Α

<sup>4</sup> Gulick· εἰρηνικῶς μαλακὰς σφοδρὰ διασ μέλιτι προσπαίζειν  
βίαι Α, εἰρηνικῶς μᾶλλον δι' ἃς μέλιτι προσπαίζειν δεῖαν CE  
(δέει Ε, δέδοται Eustath) Lacuna marked by Dindorf

<sup>5</sup> τρώγοιμί τᾶν (?) Kaibel τρώγοιμι καὶ Α, τρώγοιμ' ἄν CE  
Eustath

<sup>6</sup> Dobree δη (sic) Α

<sup>7</sup> ἀλληλεμενον Α.



set before them, together with the honey-cakes; so Antiphanes says in *Little Leptines*<sup>a</sup> "A. Would you drink some Thasian wine? B. If one poured it out for me. A. How do you feel about some almonds? B. Quite peaceable. A. . . .<sup>b</sup> B. Let them be nice and tender; for which you should whip them up well in honey. A. And if one offered you honey-cakes? B. Sure, I'd eat them. A. And an egg? B. I'd gulp it down. A. Do you want anything else?" Again Antiphanes says in *Just Alike*<sup>c</sup> "After that he would bring in a dance or a second table, and set it before us laden with all kinds of pastry" Amphis in *Woman-Madness*<sup>d</sup>: "A. Have you ever heard of a life of white-bread-ease? B. Yes. A. Well, that's what we have right here, you may be sure. cakes of fine meal, good wine, eggs, sesame-seeds, perfume, a wreath, a flute-girl. B. Castor and Pollux! You've recited names of the twelve gods." Anaxandrides in

<sup>a</sup> Kock II 68, Eustath 1401 52 ἀστέως Ἀντιφάνης φησὶν ἐν ἐρωτήσῃ καὶ ἀποκρίσῃ ταῦτα The text is badly garbled, and no emendations can be certain

<sup>b</sup> The first speaker may here have asked about the hares and thrushes. To which the second gives direction for their preparation in honey, comparable to the jelly served with birds to-day σφόδρα in A (omitted in CE) seems to be a gloss on βία. For πρέπει used in cooking-recipes cf. Aristoph. *Av.* 1590 καὶ μὴν τὰ γ' ὀρνίθεια λιπάρ' εἶναι πρέπει; see Todd's *Index Aristophaneus s.v.* For παίειν as a term in cookery see vol. IV p. 453 note c

<sup>c</sup> Kock II. 82, joined by Meineke with lines from the same play Athen 471 c (vol. V. p. 78).

<sup>d</sup> Kock II 238.

<sup>e</sup> Lit "ground-grain life," in which the eater enjoys bread made with fine white flour Cf. ἀλευρίται ἄρτοι II 5 d (vol. II. p. 40) and for the proverb ἀղηλεσμένος βίος Suid. s.v.

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<sup>8</sup> Schweighauser: αἱ A, om. CE.

<sup>9</sup> Early edd.: ὠσασησμαι A, ὠὰ σήσιμα CE.

Ἀναξανδρίδης Ἀγροίκοις·

ὥς δ' ἐστεφανώθην, ἡ τράπεζ' εἰσήγετο  
τοσαῦτ' ἔχουσα βρώμαθ'<sup>1</sup> ὅσα, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς  
καὶ τὰς θεάς, οὐδ' ἔνδον<sup>2</sup> ὄντ'<sup>3</sup> ἦδιν ἐγὼ  
οὕτως παρέζων †χρηστῶς †οὐκ ἔζων τότε.<sup>4</sup>

Κλέαρχος Πανδρόσω·

c λάβ' ὕδωρ κατὰ χειρός. B. μηδαμῶς· καλῶς  
ἔχει.

A. λάβ', ὠγάθ', οὐδὲν χεῖρον. ἡ παῖς,<sup>5</sup> ἐπιτίθει  
ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν κάρυα καὶ τραγήματα.

Εὐβουλος Καμπυλίω·

τραγημάτων δ' ἔσθ' ἡ τράπεζά σοι πλέα  
B οὐ<sup>6</sup> φιλοτραγήμων εἰμί πως ἐκάστοτε

Ἀλεξίς Πολυκλεία—ἐταίρας δ' ὄνομα Πολύκλεια

ὁ πρῶτος εὐρῶν κομψὸς ἦν τραγήματα.  
τοῦ συμποσίου γὰρ διατριβὴν ἐξεύρε καὶ  
ἀργούς' ἔχειν μηδέποτε<sup>8</sup> τὰς σιαγόνας

d καὶ ἐν Ὀμοίᾳ—τὸ δ' αὐτὸ δρᾶμα καὶ ὥς Ἀντιδότου  
φέρεται

οὐδὲ φιλόδειπνός εἰμι, μὰ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν,  
τραγήμασιν χαίρω δὲ<sup>9</sup> μᾶλλον. B. εὖ πάνυ.

A. τραγήματ' αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ ὅτι νομίζεται<sup>10</sup>

τοῖς νυμφίοις μετιοῦσι—B τὴν νύμφην λέγεις—<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Meineke, ἐσήρετο Kock, τοσαῦτ' ἔχουσα early edd.·  
ἐπήγετο σαυτεχουσα βρώματα A.

<sup>2</sup> οὐτ' εἶδον Casaubon

<sup>3</sup> οὐτ' Musurus.

<sup>4</sup> ἤδη ποτὲ οὕτως παρέζων χρήστ' (iather χρήσθ') ὅσ' οὐκ  
ἐγγων ἐγὼ (?) Kaibel. χρήστε, οὐκ Meineke.

*The Farmers* <sup>a</sup>: “No sooner was a wreath put on my head than the table was brought in with viands in such quantity—I swear by the gods and goddesses—as I didn’t know even existed indoors, so was my life not spent, but mis-spent, on that day.” <sup>b</sup> Clearchus in *Pandrosus* <sup>c</sup>: “A. Have some water over your hands. B. Not so, thanks very much. A. Have it, good sir, it won’t hurt you. Girl! Put some nuts and tragêmata <sup>d</sup> on the table” Eubulus in *The Hunchback* <sup>e</sup>: “A. The table is now filled with tragêmata for you. B. But I’m not fond of eating dessert every time” Alexis in *Polycleia*, name of a courtesan <sup>f</sup>: “The man who first discovered tragêmata was smart. For he found a way to prolong the party and never have our jaw-bones idle” And in *She was Like That*—the same play goes also under the authorship of Antidotus <sup>g</sup>: “A. I’m not fond of a big dinner, either, so help me Asclepius, but I enjoy dessert more. B. Very nice of you! A. Yes, for I see it’s the regular custom for bridegrooms when they are after the— B. the bride, you mean— A. to

<sup>a</sup> Kock ii. 136, no satisfactory emendations have been proposed

<sup>b</sup> Alluding to a kind of motto quoted by Plut. 13 B ζῆν, οὐ παραζῆν προσήκει, cf. Plato, *Crito* 48 B οὐ τὸ ζῆν ἀλλὰ τὸ εὖ ζῆν.

<sup>c</sup> Kock ii. 409

<sup>d</sup> Here, probably, raisins and dried figs

<sup>e</sup> Kock ii 180. <sup>f</sup> Kock ii 366. <sup>g</sup> Kock ii 357.

<sup>5</sup> ἡ παῖς Dobree. παις A

<sup>6</sup> CE. οὐχὶ A

<sup>7</sup> Wilamowitz ἐξεῦρε καργούς A, ὥστε ἀργούς (om. ἐξεῦρε) in paraphrase CE Eustath

<sup>8</sup> CE. μηδέ πωποτε A.

<sup>9</sup> Eifurdt: δὲ χαίρω A

<sup>10</sup> B, Musuius νομίζετε A.

<sup>11</sup> Schweighäuser, assuming an interruption; but λέγεις may be a corruption, δόσεις Lumb.

Α παρέχειν, ἄμητας καὶ λαγῶα καὶ κίχλας.  
τούτοισι χαίρω, τοῖς δὲ κεκαρυκευμένοις  
ὄφιοις καὶ ζωμοῖσι—μηδὰμ' ὦ θεοί.<sup>1</sup>

ε Ἀπίων δὲ καὶ Διόδωρος, ὥς φησι Πάμφιλος,  
ἐπαίκλειά φησι<sup>2</sup> καλεῖσθαι τὰ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον  
τραγήματα.

Ἐφίππος Ἐφήβοις

χόνδρος μετὰ ταῦτ' εἰσῆλθε,<sup>3</sup> μύρον Αἰγύπτιον,  
φοινικίνου<sup>4</sup> βίκος τις ὑπανεώγνυτο,  
ἵτρια, τραγήμαθ' ἦκε,<sup>5</sup> πυραμοῦς, ἄμης,  
ὥων ἐκατόμβη· πάντα ταῦτ' ἐχναύομεν,  
ἐμασώμεθ' οὕτως ἀνδρικῶς ὅσ' εἴχομεν·  
καὶ γὰρ παραμασύντας<sup>6</sup> τινὰς παραβόσκομεν.<sup>7</sup>

καὶ ἐν Κύδωνι

καὶ μετὰ δεῖπνον κόκκος . . . .<sup>8</sup>

ἐρέβινθος . . . . κύαμος,

f χόνδρος, τυρός, μέλι, σησαμίδες,  
βάτραχος, βότρυες, ροῦς,<sup>9</sup> πυραμίδες,  
μῆλον, κάρνον, γάλα, κανναβίδες,  
κόγχαι, χυλός, Διὸς ἐγκέφαλος

Ἀλεξίς Φιλίσκῳ

ἀρτέον

τράπεζαν, ἀπονύβαι<sup>10</sup> δοτέον, προσοιστέος  
στέφανος, μύρον, σπονδή, λιβανωτός, ἐσχαρίς,  
τράγημα<sup>11</sup> δοτέον ἔτι, πλακοῦντος ἀπτέον.

<sup>1</sup> Kock (οὐδὰμ' Jacobs) ζωμοῖσιν ἠδ' οἷω θεοὶ Α

<sup>2</sup> ἐπαίκλειά φησι CE (om. Διόδωρος), ἐπαίκλεια φησιν Α.

<sup>3</sup> Jacobs· μετατ' εἰσῆλθεν Α

<sup>4</sup> 29 d φοινίκου Α.

<sup>5</sup> Porson· εἰτ' ἵτρια τραγήματα θῆκε

<sup>6</sup> Casaubon παρὰμασυντασ Α

give dessert—milk-cakes, hares, thrushes. Those I enjoy, but as for highly-seasoned entrées and broths—never, oh ye gods ! ”

Apion and Diodorus, however, on the testimony of Pamphilus, say that the dessert following the dinner was called epaikleia.<sup>a</sup>

Ephippus in *The Recruits* <sup>b</sup> “ A thick gruel was next brought in and some Egyptian perfume, a cask of date wine was being tapped, sesame cakes, sweet-meats arrived, honey-cake, milk-cake, and a hecatomb of eggs : all these we nibbled at, and right manfully did we chew all we had ; in fact we fed some fellow-chewers besides ” <sup>c</sup> Also in *Cydon* <sup>d</sup>. “ And after dinner there came a berry . chickpea . . bean, some gruel and cheese. honey, sesame-seeds, fishing-frog, grapes, spice, cheese-cakes, quince, walnut, milk, hempseed, whelks, barley-water, Zeus-moisel.” <sup>e</sup> Alexis in *Phylscus* <sup>f</sup>. “ The table must be cleared away, water brought to wash the hands, a wreath, perfume, wine for libation, frankincense and a brazier must be supplied ; then there is still dessert to be brought and a flat-cake to be laid hold of.”

<sup>a</sup> ἐπάικλα 140 d, 141 c (vol II pp. 140, 144), ἐπάικλον 664 f.

<sup>b</sup> Kock II. 255, Athen. 29 d, 58 a (vol. I. pp. 128, 252).

<sup>c</sup> i.e. self-invited parasites.

<sup>d</sup> Kock II 256, cf. Athen. 322 d-e (vol III. pp. 448-450).

<sup>e</sup> See 514 e (vol. V. p. 314).

<sup>f</sup> Kock II 389.

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<sup>7</sup> παρε- (²) Schweighauser.

<sup>8</sup> Dindorf. μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον A.

<sup>9</sup> Kock βράχος βρυνγμός μονός A

<sup>10</sup> Porson: ἀρτεον τράπεζαν ἀπονύβασθαι A, ἀρτέα τράπεζ' ἀπονύβασθαι Meineke

<sup>11</sup> Porson. τραγήματα A, τραγήματ' οἷστε' εἶτα Peppink.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Κυθήριος Φιλόξενος ἐν τῷ Δείπνῳ  
 3 δευτέρων τραπεζῶν μνημονεύων πολλὰ καὶ τῶν  
 ἡμῖν παρακειμένων ὠνόμασεν, φέρε καὶ τούτων  
 ἀπομνημονεύσωμεν·

τὰς δὲ δὴ πρόσθεν μολούσας λιπαραυγεῖς  
 πορθμίδας πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν πάλιν εἰσφέρον<sup>1</sup>  
 γεμούσας,

τὰς ἐφήμεροι<sup>2</sup> καλέοντι νῦν τραπέζας δευτέρας,<sup>3</sup>  
 ἀθάνατοι δέ τ' Ἀμαλθείας κέρας. ταῖσι δ' ἐν  
 μέσαις<sup>4</sup>

ἐγκαθιδρύθη μέγα χάρμα βροτοῖς, λευκὸς μυελὸς  
 γλυκερός,<sup>5</sup> λεπτοῖς ἀράχνας ἐναλιγκίοισι πέ-  
 πλοισ

b συγκαλύπτων<sup>6</sup> ὄψιν αἰσχύνας ὑπο, μὴ κατίδῃ τις<sup>7</sup>  
 μηλογενές<sup>8</sup> πῶν λιπόντ'<sup>9</sup> ἀνάγκαις  
 ξηρὸν ἐν ξηραῖς<sup>10</sup> Ἀρισταίου παλιρρύτοισι<sup>11</sup> πα-  
 γαῖς<sup>12</sup>

τῷ δ'<sup>13</sup> ὄνομ' ἧς ἄμυλος. χερσὶν δ' ἐπέθεντο<sup>14</sup>  
 στόμιον μαλεραῖς  
 . ταν δεξαμενην ὅ τι καὶ<sup>15</sup> διδῶ τις, ἃ Ζανὸς  
 καλέοντι

τρώματ'. ἐπεὶ γ'<sup>16</sup> ἐπένειμεν ἐγκατακνακομιγές<sup>17</sup>  
 πεφρυγμένον

<sup>1</sup> Meineke εἰσέφερον ACE.

<sup>2</sup> Meineke ἐφήμεριοι A, ἐφήμεριοι C

<sup>3</sup> δευτέρας added by Bergk.

<sup>4</sup> ACE (σταισι A) ταῖσιν δὲ μέσαις Kaibel.

<sup>5</sup> A, om C γλακερός (?) Kaibel

<sup>6</sup> Casaubon · συγκαλυπτὸν (sic) A

<sup>7</sup> κατίδῃ τις B κατιδῆσ A

<sup>8</sup> sic A

<sup>9</sup> Bergk λιπὼν ταῖς A.

<sup>10</sup> Meineke ξηροῖς A.

<sup>11</sup> παλιρρύτοισι A μελιρρύτοισι Meineke.

Inasmuch as Philoxenus of Cythera in *The Banquet* mentioned "second tables," and named many viands that were served to us, let us recite them from memory <sup>a</sup> "The vessels <sup>b</sup> which had been taken away earlier they brought in again, glistening in brightness and laden with many good things, the creatures of a day now call them 'second tables,' but the immortals call them 'Amaltheia's horn' <sup>c</sup> And in the midst of them was set great joy for mortal men, white marrow sweet, <sup>d</sup> hiding its visage in robes as fine as a spider's web, through shame lest one see it has perforce left the sheep-born flock dry amid the dry, backward-flowing fountains of Aristaeus <sup>e</sup>, its name was amylos. <sup>f</sup> And with eager hands and mouths the feasters attacked . . . whatsoever one offered, <sup>g</sup> which men call the dessert of Zeus For the slave <sup>h</sup> served, smothered deep in saffron sauce, a roasted

<sup>a</sup> *P.L.G.* <sup>4</sup> iii 606, Diehl i 319 (Philoxenus Leucadius), Edmonds iii 356 On the authorship *cf.* 146 f (vol. ii p. 168)

<sup>b</sup> Lit "ferry-boats," referring to the tables used for the first course (δεῖπνον)

<sup>c</sup> Horn of Plenty, Athen 783 c, 542 a (vol v pp. 48, 452).

<sup>d</sup> Or reading γλαγερός, "milky"

<sup>e</sup> The outer skin of a beestings-pudding "is made by depriving the young of the first milk after yearning; the 'fountains of Aristaeus,' patron-god of farmers, are the goat's udders" (Edmonds).

<sup>f</sup> ἄμυλος (ἄμυλον below, 647 f) is a cake of very fine meal. It seems scarcely appropriate here.

<sup>g</sup> Bergk rightly marked a large gap in the text here. It is futile to try to fill it.

<sup>h</sup> For the omission of the subject *cf.* Xenophanes at 462 d (vol. v. p. 16) ἀμφιτιθεῖ στεφάνους

<sup>12</sup> πάγαισ A

<sup>13</sup> Meineke · το | δ' A.

<sup>14</sup> Musurus ἐπιθεντο A

<sup>15</sup> καὶ A · κα Dindorf.

<sup>16</sup> ἐπεὶ γ' Edmonds. ἐπειτ' A.

<sup>17</sup> ἐγκατακνακομυγες A.

πυροβρομολευκερεβινθοακανθιδομικριτριαδν<sup>1</sup>  
 βρωματοπαντανάμικτον  
 ἄμπυκι καριδιά· στιχὰς<sup>2</sup> παρεγίνετο τούτοις  
 σταιτινοκογχομαγῆς<sup>3</sup> χῶ ψαιστελαιοξανθεπιπαγ-  
 καπύρωτος<sup>4</sup> χοιρίνας<sup>5</sup>  
 ἀδέα δέ . . κυκλώθ<sup>6</sup> ὁμόφωκτ<sup>7</sup> ἀνάριθμα  
 καὶ μελίπακτα τετυγμέν' ἄφθονα σασαμόφωκτα.<sup>8</sup>  
 τυρακίνας τε γάλακτι καὶ μέλι συγκατάφυρτος ἦς  
 ἄμυλος πλαθανίτας<sup>9</sup>  
 σασαμοτυροπαγῇ<sup>10</sup> δέ καὶ ζεσελαιοπαγῇ πλατύ-  
 νετο<sup>11</sup> σασαμόπαστα  
 πέμματα κᾶτ' ἐρέβινθοι κνακοσυμμιγεῖς<sup>12</sup> ἀπαλαῖς  
 θάλλοντες ὥραις,  
 ὡά τ' ἄμυγδαλίδες τε<sup>13</sup> τῶν μαλακοφλοίδων<sup>14</sup>  
 ἐτάττετο<sup>15</sup> τρωκτά τε παισὶν  
 ἀδυεδῆ κάρυ', ἄλλα θ' ὅσσα πρέπει παρὰ θοίαν  
 ὀλβιόπλουτον ἔμεν<sup>16</sup> πόσις δ' ἐπεραίνεται κότ-  
 ταβοί τε λόγοι τ' ἐπὶ κοινᾷς,  
 1 ἔνθα τι καινὸν<sup>17</sup> ἐλέχθη κομφὸν ἀθυρμάτιον καὶ  
 θαύμασαν αὐτ' ἐπὶ τ' ἤνησαν .<sup>18</sup>

ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Κυθήριος Φιλόξενος· ὃν ἐπαινῶν  
 Ἀντιφάνης ἐν τῷ Τριταγωνιστῇ φησι

<sup>1</sup> Edmonds . -ακανθουμικτριναδν Α

<sup>2</sup> Edmonds κηροιδηστιχασ Α

<sup>3</sup> Meineke: ταιτιν ὁ κογχομανῆς Α

<sup>4</sup> Bergk, Meineke: τοξαισελαιοξανθεπιπαν καπυρος Α.

<sup>5</sup> χοιρίνας Meineke χοιρινισ Α

<sup>6</sup> Bergk αδεαδεκυκλωτα Α.

<sup>7</sup> Meineke ὁμοφλωκτα Α (sic).

<sup>8</sup> Meineke σασαμοφλωκτα Α.

<sup>9</sup> Meineke πλατανισ Α.

<sup>10</sup> M. Schmidt σασαμορυτοπαγῇ Α.

<sup>11</sup> Meineke: πλατιντο Α



all-together of wheaten-oaten-samphire-chickpea-thistle-top - little - milk - cake - sweetmeat, with its honeyed rim ; on came in the line with these also the dough - kneaded - lentil - pod - oil - boiled - yellow - parched-on-every-side cake And sweet . . , rounded and toasted together in countless number, and honeyed sesame-biscuits prepared without stint, and a cheese-pie milk-and-honey-mixed was there,—a soft pie baked in a mould ; then there were, in wide profusion, sesame - cheese - and - oil - boiled cakes sprinkled with sesame-seeds, and next came chick-peas, saffron-mingled, luxuriant in their tender bloom, eggs too, and almonds with skins still soft<sup>a</sup> were posted there, and the sweet walnuts munched by children, and all the other viands which befit a banquet of happy wealth ; and so the drinking came to its close, and the cottabos, and the social talk, wherein some novel and clever conceit was uttered, and they marvelled at it and praised it extravagantly ”<sup>b</sup> All this is from Philoxenus of Cythera, in praise of whom Antiphanes says in *The Third-rate Actor* <sup>c</sup>. “ Far

<sup>a</sup> Eaten, like a peach or an apricot, with the skins on

<sup>b</sup> Bergk, to supply the missing syllables, conjectured *περισσῶς*, from Pind. frag 216 σοφοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν ἔπος αἶνῆσαν *περισσῶς* “ wise men even praise the motto, ‘ nothing in excess,’ extravagantly.”

<sup>c</sup> Kock ii 102 There is some irony in the praise. In “ ivy-twisted ” there may be an allusion to Bacchic frenzy With “ flower-flitting ” cf. above, 633 a (p 415) μέλεα μελιπτέρωτα.

<sup>12</sup> Meineke · καὶ τερεβινθοκνακοσυμμιγείσθαι A.

<sup>13</sup> τε added by Meineke.

<sup>14</sup> Bergk : μαλακόφλοιων A (sic).

<sup>15</sup> Edmonds · τετο A.

<sup>16</sup> ἔμην added by Bergk.

<sup>17</sup> Dalechamps : κηνον A.

<sup>18</sup> Meineke : ἐθαύμασαν αὐτὸ ἔπειτ' ἤνῃσαν A.

πολύ γ' ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ποιητῶν διάφορος  
 ὁ Φιλόξενος. πρῶτιστα<sup>1</sup> μὲν γὰρ ὀνόμασιν  
 ἰδίοις καὶ κοινοῖσι<sup>2</sup> χρῆται πανταχοῦ  
 ἔπειτα τὰ<sup>3</sup> μέλη μεταβολαῖς καὶ χρώμασιν  
 ὡς εὖ κέκρται θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἦν  
 e ἐκεῖνος, εἰδὼς τὴν<sup>4</sup> ἀληθῶς μουσικὴν.  
 οἱ νῦν δὲ κισσόπλεκτα<sup>5</sup> καὶ κρηναῖα καὶ  
 ἀνθεισιπότατα μέλεα<sup>6</sup> μελέοις ὀνόμασι  
 ποιοῦσιν ἐμπλέκοντες ἄλλότρια μέλη.

Πλακούντων δὲ ὀνόματα πολλῶν καταλεξάντων,  
 ὅσων μέμνημαι τούτων σοι καὶ μεταδώσω. οἶδα  
 δὲ καὶ Καλλίμαχον ἐν τῷ τῶν παντοδαπῶν συγ-  
 γραμμάτων Πίνακι ἀναγράψαντα πλακουντοποιικὰ  
 f συγγράμματα Αἰγιμίου<sup>7</sup> καὶ Ἡγησίππου καὶ  
 Μητροβίου, ἔτι δὲ Φαίστου<sup>8</sup> ἡμεῖς δὲ ἂ μετ-  
 εγράψαμεν ὀνόματα πλακούντων τούτων<sup>9</sup> σοι καὶ  
 μεταδώσομεν, οὐχ ὡς τοῦ ὑπ'<sup>10</sup> Ἀλκιβιάδου πεμφ-  
 θέντος Σωκράτει· ὃν Ξανθίππης καταπατησάσης,  
 γελάσας<sup>11</sup> ὁ Σωκράτης “οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, οὐδὲ σὺ  
 μεθέξεις τούτου” τοῦτο δὲ ἱστόρησεν Ἀντίπα-  
 44 τρος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Ὀργῆς. “ἐγὼ δὲ φιλο-  
 πλάκουντος ὦν οὐκ ἂν περιεῖδον” τὸν θεῖον  
 ἐκεῖνον ἐξυβριζόμενον πλακοῦντα μνημονεύων οὖν  
 ὁ κωμικὸς Πλάτων εἶρηκεν ἐν τῷ Ποιητῇ οὕτως·

<sup>1</sup> Dobree πρῶτα A

<sup>2</sup> Grotius· ἰδίους καὶ κοινοῖσι ACE (κοινοῖς C).

<sup>3</sup> τὰ added by Casaubon

<sup>4</sup> Grotius· εἰδῶσ' A.

<sup>5</sup> Meineke κισσόπληκτα ACE (κισσόπληκτα C)

<sup>6</sup> CE τε μέλεα A

<sup>7</sup> αἰγιμίου A.

<sup>8</sup> Meineke φαίτου A

<sup>9</sup> Coiaes: ὧν A.

<sup>10</sup> ὑπ' added by Casaubon.

superior to all other poets is Philoxenus. For, first and foremost, he uses novel and special words everywhere. And then how nicely his lyrics are tempered with variety and colour! He was a god among men, he knew true poetry. But your moderns compose ivy-twisted flower-fitting fountain songs—wretched “things with wretched words which they weave into nonsensical lays.”

Since many of the guests enumerated names of different cakes, I will share with you all I can remember of them. I know, too, that Callimachus in his *Tablet* of miscellaneous literature has recorded <sup>b</sup> books on the making of cakes, by Aegimius, Hegesippus, Metrobius, and Phaestus. We, in like manner, will share with you the names of cakes which I have transcribed, not acting as Xanthippê did when one was sent to Socrates by Alcibiades; after she had trampled it under foot, Socrates said, with a laugh, “Well, you can’t have a share of it either.” This story is told by Antipater <sup>c</sup> in the first book of his treatise *On Anger*. “As for me, being fond of flat-cake, I wouldn’t have permitted” <sup>d</sup> that heavenly cake to be treated with such utter ignominy. Mentioning them, then, in *The Poet*, the comedian Plato has the following <sup>e</sup>: “I

<sup>a</sup> The adjective μέλεα (“wretched”) puns on the noun μέλη (metrical or musical phrasing)

<sup>b</sup> Schneider II. 316, frag. 100 d 7, Mair (L.C.L.) p. 12, cf. above, 585 b (p. 155).

<sup>c</sup> Possibly the Stoic of Tarsus; but see H. Cohn, *Antipater v. Tarsos* 15 note 1.

<sup>d</sup> Quoted from some comic poet, Demiańczuk 115.

<sup>e</sup> Kock I. 631, Eustath. 1345. 30, the speaker is some god who has been forgotten at the sacrifice.

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<sup>11</sup> καταπατησάσης, γελάσας Gulick: καταγελασάσης A. Cf. Ael. V.H. XI. 12.

μόνος δ' ἄγευστος,  
 ἄσπλαγχνος ἐνιαυτίζομαι, ἀπλάκουντος,<sup>1</sup> ἀλι-  
 βάνωτος

ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τῆς κώμης ἀμνήμων εἰμὶ ἦν  
 Πλακοῦντά φησι καλεῖσθαι Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος  
 ἐν δωδεκάτῳ Τρωικοῦ Διακόσμου, τῶν Ὑπο-  
 πλακίων Θηβῶν φάσκων αὐτὴν ἀπέχειν σταδίους  
 ) ἑξ. περισπαστέον δὲ λέγοντας πλακοῦς τὴν ὀνο-  
 μαστικὴν· συνήρηται γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ πλακοίεις, ὡς  
 τυρόεις τυροῦς, σησαμόεις σησαμοῦς. εἴρηται δὲ  
 κατ' ἔλλειψιν τοῦ ἄρτος ὅτι δὲ καλοὺς πλακοῦντας  
 ἐν Παρίῳ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου φαγεῖν ἔστιν οἱ  
 ἐπιδημήσαντες μαρτυρήσουσιν. Ἀλεξίς γὰρ πε-  
 πλάνηται λέγων τοὺς ἐκ Πάρον· λέγει δὲ οὕτως  
 ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Ἀρχιλόχῳ

ὦ τὴν εὐτυχὴν<sup>2</sup> ναίων Πάρον, ὄλβιε πρέσβυ,  
 ἦ<sup>3</sup> κάλλιστα φέρει χώρα δύο τῶν συναπασῶν,  
 c κόσμον μὲν μακάρεσσι λίθον, θνητοῖς δὲ πλα-  
 κοῦντας.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ Σάμιοι διαφέροντές εἰσι πλακοῦντες  
 Σώπατρος ὁ φλυακογράφος φησὶν ἐν Βακχίδος  
 Μνηστῆρσιν·

πλακουντοποιὸν ὠνομασμένην Σάμον.

ΕΓΧΥΤΩΝ δὲ πλακοῦντων μνημονεύει Μένανδρος  
 μὲν ἐν Ψευδηρακλεῖ·

οὐκ ἔστι κανδύλους ποιεῖν οὐδ' οἶα<sup>4</sup> σὺ  
 εἴωθας εἰς ταῦτόν καρυκεύειν, μέλι,

<sup>1</sup> Casaubon ἐνιαυγιζομαιαβλακοῦντος A (sic), ἀπλάκουντος  
 CE

<sup>2</sup> εὐτείχῃ (εὐτειχῇ ?) Dindorf, εὐαυγῇ Kock.

alone spend the year untasting—no entrails, no flat-cake, no frankincense for me.” What is more, I have not forgotten, either, the village which Demetrius of Scepsis asserts,<sup>a</sup> in the twelfth book of his *Trojan Battle-Order*, was called Flat Cake<sup>b</sup>; he says it lay six stadia distant from Thebes-under-Plakos. The word plakoûs, when used in the nominative, should be accented with the circumflex on the last syllable, since it is a contract form from plakoeis (flattish), like tyroûs from tyroeis (cheesy), sesamoûs from sesamoeis (full of sesame). It is used as a substantive with the word artos (loaf) understood. That one may eat fine flat-cakes in Parium, on the Hellespont, all who have travelled there will testify. Alexis, indeed, is in error when he speaks of the flat-cakes from Paros; these are his words in the play entitled *Archilochus*<sup>c</sup> “ Oh you fortunate old man, dwelling in happy Paros, which country out of all in the world produces two things most fair, marble to grace the Blessed, and flat-cakes for mortals.” And that the Samian flat-cakes are of superior quality is asserted by Sopater, the writer of farces, in *The Sutors of Bacchus*<sup>d</sup>. “ Samos, whose name is flat-cake-maker ”

*Enchytoi*, moulded cakes, are mentioned by Menander in *Sham Heracles*<sup>e</sup>. “ You haven’t any rich titbits to make, nor the kind of sauces which you usually mix

<sup>a</sup> Frag. 7 Gaede.

<sup>b</sup> Plakoûs or Plakos, *Il* vi. 396-397.

<sup>c</sup> Kock ii. 305; Archilochus, who was a native of Paros, may be the person addressed

<sup>d</sup> Kaibel 192

<sup>e</sup> Kock iii. 148, Allinson (L.C.L.) 458, cf. Athen. 172 b (vol. ii. pp. 280, 281 note d) For ἐγχυτοί, lit. “poured in a mould,” cf. Hipponax 370 b (vol. iv. p. 176).

<sup>3</sup> Musurus ὀλβιαεπρεσβυη A.

<sup>4</sup> 172 b. ὄσα A.

d σεμίδαλιν, ὥα<sup>1</sup>. πάντα γὰρ τὰναντία  
 νῦν ἐστίν· ὁ μάγειρος γὰρ ἐγχύτους ποιεῖ,  
 πλακοῦντας ὀπτᾶ,<sup>2</sup> χόνδρον ἔπει καὶ φέρει  
 μετὰ τὸ τάριχος, εἶτα θρίον καὶ βότρυσ  
 ἢ δημιουργὸς δ' ἀντιπαρατεταγμένη  
 κρεᾶδι' ὀπτᾶ καὶ κίχλας.

Εὐάγγελος δὲ Ἀνακαλυπτομένη<sup>3</sup>

τέτταρας ποιεῖν<sup>4</sup> τραπέζας τῶν γυναικῶν εἰπά  
 σοι,<sup>5</sup>

ἕξ δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ δεῖπνον δ'<sup>6</sup> ἐντελὲς καὶ  
 μηδὲ ἐν<sup>7</sup>

e ἑλλιπές.<sup>8</sup> λαμπροὺς γενέσθαι<sup>9</sup> βουλόμεσθα τοὺς  
 γάμους.

οὐ παρ' ἐτέρου δεῖ πυθέσθαι· πάντα δ' αὐτόπτης  
 ἐρῶ

τῶν μὲν ἰχθύων σὺ λήψει<sup>10</sup> πάνθ' ὅσ' ἂν βούλη<sup>11</sup>  
 γένη,

εἰς δὲ τὰ κρέα μόσχον ἔλαβες, δέλφακας,<sup>12</sup>  
 χοίρους, λαγῶς<sup>13</sup>.

B. ὡς ἀλαζὼν ὁ κατάρτος. A. θρία, τυρόν,  
 ἐγχύτους.

Γ. παῖ, Δρόμων. A. κάνδυλον ὥα τ', ἀμύ-  
 λιον . . .<sup>14</sup>

τὸ πέρας, ὕψος τῆς τραπέζης πήχεων ἔσται<sup>15</sup>  
 τριῶν,

<sup>1</sup> 172 b. σεμίδαλινω ᾤ A

<sup>2</sup> 172 b ὀπτοῦς AC.

<sup>3</sup> Schweighauser, Kaibel δὲ ἐν ἀκαλυπτομενῇ A.

<sup>4</sup> ποιεῖν added by Meineke

<sup>5</sup> Schweighauser: εἶπας οἱ A.

<sup>6</sup> Dindorf τὸ δὲ δεῖπνον A.

<sup>7</sup> Kaibel μηδὲν A

<sup>8</sup> Musurus ἑλλιπέας A

<sup>9</sup> Dindorf γίνεσθαι A

<sup>10</sup> Gulick τῶν μὲν ἐλαῶν ἀφέλε A.

in it, consisting of honey, sifted flour, and eggs, no, for nowadays things are completely turned round. It is the *cook* who makes cakes in moulds, bakes flat-cakes, boils groats and serves them after the salt-fish. and then a dish in fig-leaves and some grapes. Meanwhile the artisan, a woman, posted to rival him, roasts bits of meat and thrushes." Euangelus in *The Unveiling of the Bride* <sup>a</sup>. " (Father) I told you to set four tables for the women and six for the men; the dinner is to be complete, and not a thing must be lacking. We want the wedding to be a brilliant one. You don't need to ask questions of any one else, I'll tell you everything, keeping my eye on you the while. As to the fish, you shall buy <sup>b</sup> all the kinds you like; for the meat courses you have got veal, young sows, sucking-pigs, hares. (Cook's boy, *aside*) What a braggart this damned fellow is! (Father) Platters of fig-leaves, cheese, moulded cakes. (Cook) Boy there, Dromon! (Father) A Lydian sauce, some eggs, a nice meal-cake . . . And to make it perfect, the height of the

<sup>a</sup> Kock iii 376, a conversation between the bride's father (a parvenu) and the cook hired for the wedding-feast

<sup>b</sup> The reading in A, τῶν μὲν ἐλαῶν ἄφελε, "take away the olives," is suspected on metrical grounds (White, *Verse of Greek Comedy*, §§ 248-252), but even if the metre can be condoned, the verse still lacks a trochee. Since there is no obvious antithesis between olives and meat I have changed the reading so as to make a complete verse, ἐλαῶν γένῃ occurred in Alexis, 60 a (vol. i. p. 260), where, however, the verse is again faulty. For λήψει, "buy," see Alexis 170 a (vol. ii p. 272).

<sup>11</sup> Dindorf ὅσα βούλει A

<sup>12</sup> B. δέλφακα A

<sup>13</sup> Schweighauser: λαγωὺς A.

<sup>14</sup> A παῖ, παῖ, Δρόμων Meineke

<sup>15</sup> Bothe: ἐστι A.

f ὥστε τὸν δειπνοῦντ' ἐπαίρειν, ἂν τι βούληται  
λαβεῖν.

ΑΜΗΣ πλακοῦντος γένος. Ἀντιφάνης·  
ἄμητες, ἄμυλοι.

Μένανδρος ἐν Ὑποβολιμαίῳ·

τὸν ἄμητα, Χαίριππ', οὐκ ἐς Ἄιδου πέμπετε,  
B. τίν' ἄμητ' ἐν Ἄιδου προσδοκᾷ,<sup>1</sup>

Ἴωνες δέ, ὥς φησι Σιληνὸς ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις,  
ἄμην αὐτὸν καλοῦσιν, καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς ἀμητίσκους  
Τηλεκλείδης·

αὐτόμαται<sup>2</sup> δὲ κίχλαι μετ' ἀμητίσκων εἰς τὸν  
φάρυγ'<sup>3</sup> εἰσεπέτοντο.

ΔΙΑΚΟΝΙΟΝ. Φερεκράτης·

645 ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπληστίας  
διακόνιον ἐπῆσθεν,<sup>4</sup> ἀμφιφῶντ' ἔχων.

ΑΜΦΙΦΩΝ πλακοῦς Ἀρτέμιδι ἀνακείμενος, ἔχει  
δ' ἐν κύκλῳ καόμενα δάδια Φιλήμων ἐν Πτωχῇ  
ἢ Ῥοδιά<sup>5</sup>. — . . .

Ἄρτεμι, φίλη δέσποινα, τοῦτόν σοι φέρω,  
ὦ πότνι', ἀμφιφῶντα καὶ σπονδήσιμα<sup>6</sup>

μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ καὶ Δίφιλος ἐν Ἑκάτῃ. Φιλό-

<sup>1</sup> ἄμητ' . . . προσδοκᾷ added, with second speaker, from  
Phot. 92. 3 Reitz τὸν ἀμηταχαίριππουκεαι | ἐς πέτιν τινά A

<sup>2</sup> A here ὁπαὶ 64 f, 268 c

<sup>3</sup> φάρυγγ' A (ACE at 64 f, 268 c).

<sup>4</sup> ACE ἐπῆσθι Meineke.

<sup>5</sup> Casaubon πτωχῶι ηροδιαί A

<sup>6</sup> A : σπονδὰς ἄμα Coraes, σπονδῇν ἄμα Meineke



table shall be three ells, so that the diner must raise himself if he wants to reach anything."

*Amês* A kind of milk-cake Antiphanes <sup>a</sup>. "Milk-cakes, fine meal-cakes" Menander in *Suppositious* <sup>b</sup>. "A Aren't your people, Chaerippus, sending that milk-cake to Hades? B What milk-cake can you expect in Hades?" The Ionians, according to Silenus in his *Glossary*, call it an *amê*,<sup>c</sup> and Telecleides has *ametiskoi* for the small cakes <sup>d</sup>. "And of their own accord thrushes served up with little milk-cakes were flying into the gullet"

*Diakomon* Pherecrates <sup>e</sup>. "In his greed, and on top of all, he began to eat the *diakonion*, though he already had an *amphiphôn*."

*Amphiphôn*. A flat-cake dedicated to Artemis, having lighted candles all about it Philemon in *The Beggar-Woman*, or *The Woman from Rhodes* <sup>f</sup>. "Artemis, my dear mistress, for thee, O Lady, I bring this *amphiphôn* and offerings for a libation" It is mentioned by Diphilus also, in *Hecate* <sup>g</sup> Philo-

<sup>b</sup> Kock iii 141, as emended by Porson, Demiańczuk 58, om Allinson (L C L) See critical note 1

<sup>c</sup> First or a declension, accus. *ἄμην* instead of the form *ἄμητα* used by Menander

<sup>d</sup> Kock i. 209, Athen. 64 f (vol. i. p. 280), 268 c (vol. iii. p. 206)

<sup>e</sup> Kock i. 194, the subject is possibly the gluttonous Heracles. If *διακόνιον* is connected with *διάκονος*, the word may mean a cake made for the servants. But since Hesych. s.v., among other definitions, adds *ἡ κρηπίς τοῦ πλακούντος* it would seem that *διακόνιον* was the under-crust of the cake, and not ordinarily eaten

<sup>f</sup> Kock ii 495 The name of the cake means "shining all round", Pollux vi. 75 *ἀμφιφῶντες, οὓς ἔφερον εἰς Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος, δάδας ἡμμένας περιπήξαντες*. *Etym. Magn* 95 1 offers an alternative etymology, *ἡ διὰ τὸ πανσελήνου οὕσης πέμπεσθαι τῇ Ἑκάτῃ*. <sup>g</sup> Kock ii 548.

χορος δ' ἀμφιφῶντα αὐτὸν κληθῆναι καὶ εἰς τὰ  
τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὰ φέρεσθαι ἔτι τε καὶ εἰς τὰς  
τριόδους, ἐπεὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπικαταλαμ-  
b βάνεται ἢ σελήνῃ ἐπὶ ταῖς δυσμαῖς ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ  
ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀμφίφως<sup>1</sup> γίνεται

ΒΑΣΥΝΙΑΣ. Σῆμος ἐν β' Δηλιάδος "ἐν τῇ τῆς  
Ἑκάτης, φησὶν, νήσω τῇ Ἰριδι θύουσι Δήλιοι τοὺς  
βασυνίας καλουμένους ἐστὶν δὲ ἐφθὸν πύρινον  
σταῖς σὺν μέλιτι καὶ τὰ καλούμενα κόκκωρα ἰσχὰς  
καὶ κάρνα τρία."

ΣΤΡΕΠΤΟΙ καὶ ΝΗΛΑΤΑ. τούτων μνημονεύει  
Δημοσθένης ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφώντος  
περὶ τοῦ Στεφάνου

ΕΠΙΧΥΤΟΝ.<sup>2</sup> Νικοφῶν<sup>3</sup> ἐν Χειρογάστορσιν

c ἐγὼ<sup>4</sup> μὲν ἄρτους, μαῖζαν, ἀθάρην, ἄλφιτα,  
κόλλικας, ὀβελίαν, μελιτοῦτταν, ἐπιχύτους,  
πτισάνην,<sup>5</sup> πλακοῦντας, δενδαλίδας, ταγηνίας.

Πάμφιλος δὲ τὸν ΑΤΤΑΝΙΤΗΝ καλούμενον ἐπίχυτόν  
φησι καλεῖσθαι. τοῦ δὲ ἀττανίτου Ἰππῶναξ ἐν  
τούτοις μνημονεύει·

οὐκ ἀτταγᾶς τε καὶ λαγῶς καταβρύκων,

<sup>1</sup> ἀμφίφως CE ἀμφιφῶς A.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπιχυτον A

<sup>3</sup> *Etym Magn* 367 32, cf *Athen* 389 a νικοχάρης A

<sup>4</sup> ἔχω Porson.

<sup>5</sup> πτισάνην A.

<sup>a</sup> *F.H.G.* i 412, Schwabe, *Ael. Dionys.* 64-65

<sup>b</sup> The sixteenth of the month Μυνιχίῶν (April), *Suid.* s.v. ἀνάστατοι.

<sup>c</sup> *F.H.G.* iv. 493. For Hecate Island, near Delos, see *Harpocr.* s. Ἑκάτης νήσος

chorus attests <sup>a</sup> the name *amphiphôn* and says it was carried to the temples of Artemis and also to the crossroads, because on that day <sup>b</sup> the moon, just as it sets, is overtaken by the rising sun, so that the sky is lighted doubly (*amphiphôs*)

*Basynias* Semus in the second book of his *History of Delos* says <sup>c</sup> : " On the island of Hecate the people of Delos offer to Iris the *basyniai*, as they are called. They consist of dough from wheat-flour boiled with honey, to which are added the so-called *coccôra*, a dried fig and three walnuts "

*Streptoi* and *Neélata* These are mentioned by the orator Demosthenes in his speech, in behalf of Ctesiphon, *On the Crown* <sup>d</sup>

*Epichyton* Mentioned by Nicophon in *Hand-to-mouth Toilers* <sup>e</sup> : " As for me, I have for sale wheat-loaves, barley-bread, porridge, barley-meal, rolls, a toasted bun, a honey-cake, moulded cakes (*epichytoi*), <sup>f</sup> barley-gruel, flat-cakes, toasted barley-cakes, <sup>g</sup> pancakes " Now Pamphilus says that the so-called *attantês* was also called *epichytos* The *attantês* is mentioned by Hipponax in these lines <sup>h</sup> : " Not chewing up francolins and hares, not spicing pan-

<sup>a</sup> *De Cor.* 260, see Goodwin's note *στρεπτοί* are twists or crullers *Haipocr s v νεήλατα* says that these are made of freshly ground barley-meal, soaked in honey and covered with raisins and chick-peas They were drawn out (*νεήλατα*, from *ἐλαύνω*) in the shape of a long bun.

<sup>e</sup> Kock i 778; cf. Aristoph *Ach* 874-880

<sup>f</sup> These seem to be not different from the *enchytoi* 644 c-e.

<sup>g</sup> *δενδαλίδες* or *δανδαλίδες* are variously defined, Eriatosth. p 23 Bernhardt, Poll. vi 76.

<sup>h</sup> *P.L G* <sup>4</sup> ii. 474, Diehl i. 277, Athen. 388 b (vol iv p 254) Hesych. *s v. ἄττανα πήγανα*, hence it appears that *ἄττανῦται* and *ταγηνῖαι* were nearly the same, the former fried in forms or moulds, the latter spread out over the pan.

οὐ τηγανίτας σησάμοισι φαρμάσσω,  
οὐδ' ἄττανίτας κηρίοισιν ἐμβάπτων.

d KPHION<sup>1</sup> πλακοῦς, ἄρτος, ὃν Ἀργεῖοι παρὰ τῆς  
νύμφης πρὸς τὸν νυμφίον φέρουσιν. “ὀπτάται δ’  
ἐν ἄνθραξιν, καὶ καλοῦνται ἐπ’ αὐτὸν οἱ φίλοι,  
παρατίθεται δὲ μετὰ μέλιτος,” ὥς φησιν Φιλίτας ἐν  
Ἀτάκτοις.

ΓΑΤΚΙΝΑΣ ὁ διὰ γλυκέος<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἐλαίου πλακοῦς  
παρὰ Κρησίν, ὥς φησι Σέλευκος ἐν Γλώσσαις.

ΕΜΠΕΠΤΑΣ,<sup>3</sup> ὁ αὐτός φησι, πύρινος ἄρτος κοῖλος  
καὶ σύμμετρος, ὅμοιος ταῖς λεγομέναις κρηπίσιν,  
εἰς ἃς ἐντίθενται τὰ διὰ τυροῦ<sup>4</sup> σκευαζόμενα  
πλακοῦντια.

e ΕΓΚΡΙΔΕΣ πεμμάτιον ἐψόμενον ἐν ἐλαίῳ καὶ μετὰ  
τοῦτο μελιτούμενον. μνημονεύει αὐτῶν Στῆσιχος  
διὰ τούτων

χόνδρον τε καὶ ἐγκρίδας  
ἄλλα τε πέμματα καὶ μέλι χλωρόν.

μνημονεύει αὐτῶν καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ ἐν τοῖς  
Ἐγχειρογάστορσι Νικοφῶν. Ἀριστοφάνης δ’ ἐν  
Δαναΐσιν καὶ πωλητὴν<sup>5</sup> φησιν αὐτῶν εἶναι ἐν  
τούτοις·

μήτ’ ἄρα μ’ εἶναι<sup>6</sup> ἐγκριδοπώλην.

<sup>1</sup> κρηιον A. κηρίον Kaibel

<sup>2</sup> Hesych s. γλυκίννας (sic) διὰ γλυκέος οἴνου, οἴνου om AC.

<sup>3</sup> ἐμπέπται Hesych ἐμπεμπτas A(sic)CE, ἐμπε πτας in lemma C

<sup>4</sup> Casaubon (cf. Hesych s v)· διὰ τοῦ τυροῦ A, διὰ κηροῦ (om τοῦ) CE.

<sup>5</sup> Schweighauser ποιητην A

<sup>6</sup> Jacobs μητ’ αρμα εἶναι A

<sup>a</sup> Bach frag. 47, Kuchenmuller frag. 37. The form κρεῖον occurs in *Etym Magn.* 537. 3 τὸν ἐκ στέατος πλακοῦντα.

cakes with sesame, and not soaking fried cakes (*at-tanitai*) in honey "

*Krêion* A cake or loaf, which among the Argives is carried from the bride to the groom. "It is baked on charcoal and the friends are invited to partake of it, served with honey ;" so declares Philtas in *Irregular Words* <sup>a</sup>

*Glykinas*. The cake made with grape syrup <sup>b</sup> and olive oil in Crete, according to Seleucus in his *Glossary*

*Empeptas* <sup>c</sup> Seleucus, again, defines this as a hollow wheaten loaf of even shape, similar to the "foundations," as they are called, in which they place the little cakes made with cheese

*Enkrides* A small cake boiled in olive oil and then soaked in honey They are mentioned by Stesichorus in these verses <sup>d</sup>. "Groats, oil-and-honey-cakes (*enkrides*), other sweet cakes, and yellow honey." They are mentioned also by Epicharmus, <sup>e</sup> and in *The Hand-to-mouth Toilers* of Nicophon <sup>f</sup> Aristophanes in *The Daughters of Danaus* also speaks of a vender of them in these words <sup>g</sup>. "And that I should not be an oil-and-honey-cake-seller." Pherecrates has

But Hesych has *κηρίον*, lit. "honey-comb," which Kaibel adopted.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Alexis 59 and 172 (vol. II p. 83, vol. V. p. 325) where the translation should be corrected as above

<sup>c</sup> "Baked inside," and referring to a casing of pastry in which the smaller cakes were laid

<sup>d</sup> Athen. 172 d-e (vol. II p. 282), *P. L. G.* <sup>4</sup> III. 206, Diehl II. 40, Edmonds II. 32; Hesych. *s. v.* ἐγκρίδες πέμμα ἐλαίῳ ἐμβόμενον καὶ μελιτούμενον.

<sup>e</sup> Kaibel 95

<sup>f</sup> Kock I. 779, Athen. 126 f (vol. II p. 86, ἐγκριδοπάλαις).

<sup>g</sup> Kock I. 457. This and the preceding quotation belong together, the next has got out of its proper order.

Φερεκράτης δ' ἐν Κραπατάλλοις<sup>1</sup>.

ταύτ' ἔχων ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἀρπαζέτω τὰς ἐγκρίδας.

ΕΠΙΚΥΚΛΙΟΣ πλακοῦς τις παρὰ Συρακοσίοις οὕτως  
f καλούμενος καὶ μέμνηται αὐτοῦ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν  
Γᾶ καὶ Θαλάσση.<sup>2</sup>

ΓΟΥΡΟΣ<sup>3</sup> ὅτι πλακοῦντος εἶδος ὁ Σόλων ἐν τοῖς  
'Ιάμβοις φησίν·

πίνουσι καὶ τρώγουσιν οἱ μὲν ἴτρια,  
οἱ δ' ἄρτον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ συμμεμιγμένους  
γούρους φακοῖσι. κεῖθι δ' οὔτε περμάτων  
ἄπεστιν οὐδὲν ἄσσα τ'<sup>4</sup> ἀνθρώποισι γῇ  
φέρει μέλαινα, πάντα δ' ἀφθόνως πάρα.<sup>5</sup>

6 ΚΡΙΒΑΝΑΣ<sup>6</sup> πλακοῦντάς τινας ὀνομαστικῶς Ἀπολ-  
λόδωρος παρ' Ἀλκμᾶνι. ὁμοίως καὶ Σωσίβιος  
ἐν γ' περὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος, τῷ σχήματι μαστοειδεῖς  
εἶναι φάσκων αὐτούς, χρῆσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς Λάκωνας  
πρὸς τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστιάσεις, περιφέρειν τ'  
αὐτοὺς ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἄδειν τὸ παρεσκευασμένον  
ἐγκώμιον τῆς παρθένου αἱ ἐν τῷ χορῷ ἀκόλουθοι.

ΚΡΙΜΝΙΤΗΣ πλακοῦς ποιὸς διὰ κρίμνων γινό-  
μενος, ὡς Ἱατροκλῆς ἐν τῷ περὶ Πλακούντων  
ἀναγράφει.

ο ΣΤΑΙΤΙΤΑΣ πλακοῦς ποιὸς ἐκ σταιτὸς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> sic A.

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf θαλάσσηι A

<sup>3</sup> γουρος A, γύρος C, γώρος E

<sup>4</sup> Ahiens οὐδ' ἔνασεν A (sic)

<sup>5</sup> παρὰ A.

<sup>6</sup> 114 f κυριβανασ A

<sup>a</sup> Kock i. 168.

<sup>b</sup> Kaibel 95. The name refers to its circular shape.

<sup>c</sup> P L G<sup>4</sup> u 58, Diehl i 38 The meaning of γούρος is unknown

*enkrides* in *Good-for-Nothings* <sup>a</sup>. "Having all this, let him snatch the oil-and-honey-cakes in the streets."

*Epikykhos* A cake so called among the Syracusans. Epicharmus mentions it in *Earth and Sea* <sup>b</sup>

*Gouros* That this is a kind of cake is attested by Solon in his *Iambic Verses* <sup>c</sup> "They drink and they eat, some sesame-cakes, others their wheat-loaf, others still *gouroi* mixed with lentils. In that country not only is no kind of cake absent, but also nothing that the black earth yields for man; everything is there in abundance."

*Kribanai* These are certain cakes expressly named as such, Apollodorus says, in *Alcman* <sup>d</sup>. To the same effect Sosibius, in the third book of his work *On Alcman*, says that in shape they resemble breasts, and the Lacedaemonians use them at dinners given for women, carrying them round whenever the girls who follow in the choir are ready to sing the hymn of praise prepared for the girl-bride <sup>e</sup>.

*Krimnētēs* A kind of cake made with coarse barley-meal (*krimna*), as Iatrocles records in his work *On Cakes*.

*Stautitai* A kind of cake made with spelt-dough

<sup>a</sup> J 2 B 1112, *P.L.G.* <sup>4</sup> m. 22, cf. Athen 114 f (vol. II. p. 38), Diehl II 29, Edmonds I 70. Apparently they were different from the *κρυβανίτης ἄπρος* of 110 b-c (vol. II. p. 18).

<sup>e</sup> Kaibel prints *Παρθένου* (=Artemis). But Alcman is chiefly noted for his *παρθένεια*, songs sung by girls or in honour of a girl about to be married, and the phrase *τὸ παρεσκευασμένον ἐγκώμιον* is more appropriately used with reference to human beings, since each girl thus honoured would have a song especially prepared for her. On the *παρθένεια* see Smyth, *Melic Poets* cxxviii, and for the *ἐγκώμιον*, 76, xxvi. and note 2. In Athens, on the Pnyx, Mr H. A. Thompson has recently found baked clay breasts in the place which he identifies as the Thesmophoreion, *Hesperia*, II. 196.

μέλιτος. μνημονεύει Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Ἡβας Γάμῳ  
σταῖς δ' ἐστὶν ὑγρὸν εἰς τήγανον ἐπιχεόμενον,<sup>1</sup>  
μέλιτος ἐπιβαλλομένου καὶ σησάμης καὶ τυροῦ, ὡς  
Ἰατροκλῆς<sup>2</sup> φησιν.

ΧΑΡΙΣΙΟΣ τούτου μνημονεύει Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν  
Δαιταλεῦσιν·

ἐγὼ δὲ νῶν<sup>3</sup>  
πέψω<sup>4</sup> πλακοῦντ' ἐς ἐσπέραν<sup>5</sup> χαρίσιον.

Εὐβουλος δ' ἐν Ἀγκυλίῳ ὡς περὶ ἄρτου αὐτοῦ  
ὄντος οὕτωςι λέγει·

ἐξεπήδησ' ἄρτίως πέττουσα τὸν χαρίσιον.

ΕΠΙΔΑΙΤΡΟΝ πλακουντῶδες μάζιον<sup>7</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ  
ἐσθιόμενον, ὡς φησι Φιλήμων ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀττικῶν  
Ὀνομάτων.

ΝΑΝΟΣ ἄρτος πλακουντῶδης διὰ τυροῦ καὶ ἐλαίου  
σκευαζόμενος.

ΨΩΘΙΑ τὰ ψαθύρια. Φερεκράτης Κραπατάλλοις·  
λήψει δ' ἐν Αἰδου κραπάταλον<sup>8</sup> καὶ ψωθία.

Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος καὶ Θεόδωρος δ' ἐν

<sup>1</sup> A ὑποχεόμενον Kaibel

<sup>2</sup> Pearson: ἱεροκλῆς A

<sup>3</sup> ἐγὼ δε νων A; δ' ἰὼν Dindorf, Kock, δ' ἐλὼν Kaibel

<sup>4</sup> πέψω Fritzsche: πεμψω A, Kaibel.

<sup>5</sup> Bentley πλακοῦντεσπεραν A

<sup>6</sup> 668 d ἐξεπίλησας A.

<sup>7</sup> Schweighauseri πλακοῦντων δεσμαζιον A.

<sup>8</sup> Meineke· κραπάταλλον τριωβόλου A.

<sup>a</sup> Kaibel 100, Athen 110 b (vol. II p 18)

<sup>b</sup> Kock 1 442 Suid. s.v. ἀνάστατοι· χαρίσιοι οὗτοι  
δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν καταλειπομένων σύμμιγνομένων ἐγένοντο, "these  
were made from left-overs hashed together." Cf. Athen.



and honey Epicharmus mentions it in *The Marriage of Hebe*<sup>a</sup> The soft dough is poured upon a frying-pan, and on it are spread honey, sesame, and cheese, Iatrocles says

*Charisios* This is mentioned by Aristophanes in *Men of Dinnerville*<sup>b</sup> "For us two I will bake a grace-cake to eat when the evening comes" But Eubulus in *Ancyhon* speaks of it as if it were bread, thus<sup>c</sup> "I jumped just now when I was baking the grace-cake"

*Epidaurion*. A small, cake-like barley loaf, eaten after dinner, as Philemon explains in his work *On Attic Words*

*Nanos*.<sup>d</sup> A cake-like loaf made with cheese and olive oil

*Psothia* The same as *psathyrta*, crumbs Pherecrates in *Good-for-Nothings*<sup>e</sup> "But in Hades you will receive a good-for-nothing and crumbs" Apollodorus of Athens,<sup>f</sup> and Theodorus in his *Attic Glossary*,

668 c, which shows that it was a kind of sacramental cake eaten at a night-vigil

<sup>c</sup> Kock ii 165 The same doubt whether the *χαρίσιος* (thankful bread) was bread or cake is shown by Pollux vi 72, 73

<sup>d</sup> A has *vânos*, Poll. vi. 73 *ἄνανος δὲ ἄρτος ἐγγυτέρω πλακοῦντος*

<sup>e</sup> Kock i. 168. Pollux ix 83 explains that in Pherecrates' description of Hades the coinage consisted of a "good-for-nothing," equal to one drachma and containing two "crumbs" (*ψωθία*, feminine), worth a three-obol bit and containing eight *λεκκάβοι*<sup>1</sup> Since the gloss *τριωβόλου* in A stands in the genitive explaining *ψωθία*, perhaps we should read with Kock *κραπατάλου καὶ ψωθίας*, "In Hades you can buy (what you want) for a good-for-nothing and a crumb"

<sup>f</sup> J. 2 B 1115, P-W. i. 2871, Hesych. s v. *ψώθια τὰ τοῦ ἄρτου ἀποθραύσματα*; s v. *ἀπτάραγος τὸ ἐλάχιστον* (Callim *Ep.* xlvii) οἱ δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄρτων φλυκταίναν (swellings on the crust).

Ἀττικάῃς Γλώσσαις τοῦ ἄρτου τὰ ἀποθραυόμενα<sup>1</sup>  
d ψωθία καλεῖσθαι, ἃ τινὰς ὀνομάζειν ἀπταράγους.

ΙΤΡΙΟΝ περμμάτιον λεπτόν διὰ σησάμου καὶ  
μέλιτος γινόμενον μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ Ἀνακρέων  
οὕτως·

ἡρίστησα μὲν ἰτρίου λεπτοῦ μικρὸν<sup>2</sup> ἀποκλάς,  
οἴνου δ' ἐξέπιον<sup>3</sup> κάδον.

Ἀριστοφάνης Ἀχαρνέυσιν·

πλακοῦντες, σησαμοῦντες, ἴτρια.

Σοφοκλῆς Ἐριδι·

ἐγὼ δὲ πεινώσ' αὖ<sup>4</sup> πρὸς ἴτρια βλέπω.

ΑΜΟΡΑΙ. τὰ μελιτώματα Φιλίτας ἐν Ἀτάκτοις  
ἀμόρας φησὶν καλεῖσθαι. μελιτώματα δ' ἐστὶν  
πεπεμμένα.

e ΤΑΓΗΝΙΤΗΣ πλακοῦς ἐν<sup>5</sup> ἐλαίῳ τετηγανισμένος, ὁ  
καὶ ταγηνίας<sup>6</sup>. μνημονεύει Μάγνης ἥ<sup>7</sup> ὁ ποιήσας  
τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένας κωμωδίας ἐν Διονύσῳ  
δευτέρῳ

ταγηνίας ἥδη τεθέασαι χλιαροῦς  
σίζοντας ὅταν αὐτοῖσιν<sup>8</sup> ἐπιχέης μέλι,

καὶ Κρατῖνος ἐν Νόμοις·

καὶ δρόσον βάλλων ἔωθεν χλιαρὸς ταγηνίας.

ΕΛΑΦΟΣ πλακοῦς ὁ τοῖς Ἐλαφηβολίοις ἀναπλασσό-  
μενος διὰ σταιτὸς καὶ μέλιτος καὶ σησάμου

<sup>1</sup> Kaibel ἀποφαινόμενα ACE

<sup>2</sup> 472 e. om. A

<sup>3</sup> 472 e ἐπέπιον A.

<sup>4</sup> Musurus πεινωσαγαν A

<sup>5</sup> ἐν A. om CE

<sup>6</sup> ὁ καὶ ταγηνίας added from C.

<sup>7</sup> ἥ added by Musurus.

<sup>8</sup> Pollux: αὐτοῖς A.

say that the pieces broken off from the loaf are called *psothia* or, as some give it, *attaragon*

*Itrion* A thin biscuit made with sesame and honey. It is mentioned by Anacreon thus <sup>a</sup> "I have lunched on a small bit of thin cake which I had broken off, but I drank up a whole jar of wine" Aristophanes in *The Acharnians* <sup>b</sup> "Flat-cakes, sesame-cakes, sweet biscuits" Sophocles in *Eris* <sup>c</sup> "And I, hungry once more, gaze at the sweet biscuits."

*Amorai* Philitas in *Irregular Words* says <sup>d</sup> that *melitomata* are called *amorai* Now *melitomata* are puddings baked with honey sauce.

*Tagénitês* is a flat cake fried in oil, also called *tagénias* It is mentioned by Magnes, or whoever wrote the comedies attributed to him, in the second edition of his *Dionysus* <sup>e</sup> "Have you ever watched to see the hot pancakes steaming when you pour honey upon them?" And Cratinus in *The Laws* <sup>f</sup> "And the hot pancake in the morning throwing out vapour." <sup>g</sup>

*Elaphos* The cake moulded in the shape of a deer at the festival of the Elaphebohia, made of spelt-dough, honey, and sesame <sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *P L G* <sup>4</sup> iii. 260, Diehl i. 465, Edmonds ii. 146, Athen. 472 e (vol v p 86).

<sup>b</sup> *Ach.* 1092

<sup>c</sup> The goddess of strife, *T.G F* <sup>2</sup> 174. Nothing is known of the play, a woman speaks here.

<sup>d</sup> Kuchenmuller 96, possibly a Sicilian word, cf *ἀμορβίτης* below.

<sup>e</sup> Kock i. 7, Pollux vi 79 This and the following quotation illustrate *tagénias*, but not *tagénitês*, for which see Hipponax, 645 c (p 483).

<sup>f</sup> Kock i. 52.

<sup>g</sup> When the oil and honey are poured into the hot pan.

<sup>h</sup> Bekker, *Anecd.* i 249. 7, Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 224.

ΝΑΣΤΟΣ πλακοῦντος εἶδος, ἔχων ἔνδον καρυκ-  
κείας <sup>1</sup>

ΧΟΡΙΑ βρώματα διὰ μέλιτος καὶ γάλακτος γι-  
νόμενα.

f AMORBITΗΣ πλακοῦντος εἶδος παρὰ Σικελοῖς. οἱ  
δὲ . <sup>2</sup>

ΠΑΙΣΑ πλακοῦντια παρὰ Κώοις, ὥς φησιν  
Ἰατροκλῆς.

ΣΗΣΑΜΙΔΕΣ ἐκ μέλιτος καὶ σησάμων πεφρυγ-  
μένων καὶ ἐλαίου σφαιροειδῇ πέμματα. Εὐπόλις  
Κόλαξιν.

ὃς χαρίτων μὲν ὄζει,<sup>3</sup>  
καλλαβίδας δὲ βαίνει,  
σησαμίδας δὲ χέζει,  
μῆλα δὲ χρέμπτεται

Ἀντιφάνης Δευκαλίωνι.

σησαμίδας ἢ μελίπηκτα ἢ τοιοῦτό τι <sup>4</sup>

μνημονεύει αὐτῶν καὶ Ἐφίππος ἐν Κύδωνι πρόκει-  
ται τὸ μαρτύριον.

347 ΜΥΛΛΟΙ. Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Συρακόσιος ἐν τῷ περὶ  
Θεσμῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις φησὶ τοῖς Παντελείοις  
τῶν Θεοδοφορίων ἐκ σησάμου καὶ μέλιτος κατα-  
σκευάζεσθαι ἐφήβαια γυναικεῖα, ἃ καλεῖσθαι κατὰ  
πᾶσαν Σικελίαν μυλλοὺς καὶ περιφέρεισθαι ταῖς  
θεαῖς.

ΕΧΙΝΟΣ. Λυγκεὺς ὁ Σάμιος ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δια-

<sup>1</sup> CE: καρυκκίας A

<sup>2</sup> Lacuna marked by Meineke

<sup>3</sup> Porson με νομίζει A

<sup>4</sup> B ναί, τοιοῦτό τι Meineke.

<sup>a</sup> Kaibel, *Com* 213

<sup>b</sup> Kock i 304, above, 630 a (p 399). Kock thinks the

*Nastos.* A kind of cake having rich sauces inside.

*Choria.* Meats prepared with honey and milk.

*Amorbites* A kind of cake eaten in Sicily.<sup>a</sup> Others define it as .

*Paisa* Small cakes eaten in Cos, according to Iatrocles

*Sesamides* Cakes of spherical shape made with honey, roasted sesame seeds, and olive oil Eupolis in *The Flatterers* <sup>b</sup>: "He reeks with charms, his walk is a hip-dance, his excrement is sesame-cake, his sputum is apples." Antiphanes in *Deucalion* <sup>c</sup>: "Sesame-cakes or honey-cakes or something like that" Sesame-cakes are mentioned by Ephippus in *Cydon*, the testimony has been given before.<sup>d</sup>

*Myllor.* Heracleides of Syracuse in his work *On Institutions* <sup>e</sup> says that in Syracuse, on the Day of Consummation at the Thesmophoria,<sup>f</sup> cakes of sesame and honey were moulded in the shape of the female pudenda, and called throughout the whole of Sicily *mylloi* and carried about in honour of the goddesses.<sup>g</sup>

*Echinos* Lynceus of Samos in his *Letter to Diagoras*, satire directed against Callias, who figured prominently in this play, cf Athen 286 b (vol. III. p. 284)

<sup>c</sup> Kock II 43, see critical note 4

<sup>a</sup> 642 e (p. 469). At this point Kaibel conjectured that the cake called *γελώνιος* (om. L. & S) was mentioned, Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.* III 168 *ἵνα τι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Δειπνοσοφιστῶν παραρτῶσαιμι . τὸν σισαμοῦντα εὐρήσεις ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν γελώνιον πλακοῦντα.*

<sup>e</sup> There is no warrant for changing the title to *περὶ Ἐδεσμάτων*, "Eatables", see P-W VIII 496-497; on the *Παντέλεια* U. Wilcken, *Arch.-pap. Forsch.* x. (1931) 82, Kiuger in Zereteli, *Pap. grec.* II 190, 192. There were two Syracusan writers named Heracleides, 516 c (vol. V p. 322).

<sup>f</sup> Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 315, Plato, *Ep.* VII. 349 c-d, Kaibel, *Com.* 201

<sup>g</sup> Demeter and Persephone.

γόραν Ἐπιστολῇ ἐκ παραλλήλου τιθεῖς τὰ κατὰ  
 b τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐξαιρέτως γινόμενα τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ  
 γράφει οὕτως· “ τῇ δὲ περὶ τὸν ἄμμητα δόξῃ τὸν  
 καινὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἐπὶ τῆς δευτέρας εἰσάγουσα<sup>1</sup>  
 τραπέζης ἔχινον. ὑπὲρ οὗ νῦν μὲν ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου·  
 παραγενομένου<sup>2</sup> δὲ σοῦ καὶ συντεθέντος κατὰ τοὺς  
 ἐν Ῥόδῳ νόμους ἅμα μασησαμένου<sup>3</sup> πειράσομαι  
 πλείῳ περιθεῖναι<sup>4</sup> λόγον.”

ΚΟΥΤΥΛΙΣΚΟΙ. Ἡρακλέων ὁ Ἐφέσιος πλακοῦν-  
 τὰς τινὰς φησιν οὕτω καλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐκ τρίτου  
 μέρους τῆς χοίνικος γινομένους.

ΧΟΙΡΙΝΑΙ.<sup>5</sup> τούτων μνημονεύει Ἰατροκλῆς ἐν τῷ  
 c περὶ Πλακούντων καὶ τοῦ ΠΥΡΑΜΟΤΝΤΟΣ καλουμένου,  
 οὗ<sup>6</sup> διαφέρειν λέγων τῆς πυραμίδος καλουμένης·  
 γίνεσθαι γὰρ ταύτην ἐκ πυρῶν πεφωσμένων καὶ  
 μέλιτι δεδευμένων. αὗται δὲ ἄθλα τίθενται ταῖς  
 παννυχίσι τῷ διαγρυπνήσαντι.

Χρῦσιππος δ' ὁ Τυανεύς ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ  
 Ἀρτοκοπικῷ εἶδη πλακούντων καὶ γένη τάδε ἀνα-  
 γράφει<sup>7</sup>. “ Τερεντῖνον, Κρασσιανόν, Τουτιανόν,

<sup>1</sup> A εἰσάγουσι Meineke, Kaibel

<sup>2</sup> Kaibel· παραγινομένου AE

<sup>3</sup> Schweighauser ἀναμασησάμενος A

<sup>4</sup> παραθεῖναι (?) Kaibel

<sup>5</sup> χοιρίναι A, χοιρίναι C, χορίναι E

<sup>6</sup> οὗ added by Kaibel

<sup>7</sup> μυρία εἶδη πλακούντων ἐν τῷ ἀρτοκοπικῷ καταλέγει βάρ-  
 βαρα τὰ πλείω C

<sup>a</sup> The island personified

<sup>b</sup> The word means sea-urchin, doubtless referring here to the globular or dumpling shape in which they were moulded. For sea-urchins, commonest of foods in Athens, see 91 a-e (vol. 1. pp 390-392).

<sup>c</sup> “Cup-cakes”

comparing the choice products of Attica with those of Rhodes, writes as follows : " As the newest rival to the glory of the milk-cake she <sup>a</sup> is now introducing at the second tables the *echmos*.<sup>b</sup> For the present I speak of it only by way of summing up ; but when you have come, and have tasted with me this confection made according to Rhodian rules, I will try to offer a more detailed explanation "

*Kotyliskoi* <sup>c</sup> Heracleon of Ephesus says that these are a kind of cake so called because they are made from the third part of the choenix <sup>d</sup>

*Chorirnai* <sup>e</sup> Iatrocles mentions these in his work *On Cakes* along with the *pyramous*, as it is called, which, he says, is not <sup>f</sup> different from the so-called *pyramis* ; for this last is made of wheat roasted and soaked in honey. They are offered as prizes to the one who in the vigils has stayed awake all night.

Chrysippus of Tyana in the work entitled *Bread-Making* <sup>g</sup> records countless varieties of cakes, including the following classes <sup>h</sup> . " Terentine,<sup>i</sup> Crassian,

<sup>a</sup> A dry measure, about a quart, or 1½ pints, 272 b-c (vol III p. 223 and note 1)

<sup>e</sup> Cf Philoxenus above, 643 b (p. 473)

<sup>f</sup> See critical note 6 Hesych. *s* πυραμοῦς εἶδος πλακούντος ἐκ πυρῶν πεφρυγμένων καὶ μέλιτι ἀναδεδευμένων, a description applied to the *πυραμίς* in our text, also *s* πυραμοῦντα τὴν πυραμίδα The *πυραμίς* occurred in Ephippus, 642 f (p. 469). *πυραμοῦς* also in Ephippus, but in a different metre, 642 e It is identified conjecturally with the *σησαμίτης*, 114 b (vol II. p. 34)

<sup>g</sup> Athen. 113 a-d (vol II p. 30) The title there given is Ἀρτοποιικόν

<sup>h</sup> Γένη, though often synonymous with εἶδη, may here refer to the places or persons who lent their names to these wares See critical note 7.

<sup>i</sup> Cf minutal Terentinum Apic. IV. 172, nuces Terentinae Pliny, *NH* xv 35.

Σαβελλικὸν κλοῦστρον, Ἰουλιανόν, Ἀπικιανόν, Κανωπικά, περλούκιδον, Καππαδοκικόν, ἡδύβια, μαρυπτόν, πλίκιον, γουττάτον, Μοντιανόν<sup>1</sup> τοῦτον, φησί, μάξεις ἐξ οἴνου σκληρόν εἰ δέ σοι τυρίον παρέσται, ἡμῖσιν μάξεις ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ἡμῖσιν ἐκ  
 d τυροῦ ἡδονικώτερον γὰρ γίνεται. κλοῦστρον Κυριανόν, κλοῦστρον γουττάτον,<sup>2</sup> κλοῦστρον Φαβωνιανόν.<sup>3</sup> μουςτάκια ἐξ οἰνομέλιτος, μουςτάκια σησαμᾶτα, κλοῦστρον πούριον, γωσλωανιον, Παυλινιανόν. ἐκ τυροῦ δέ, φησί, γίνεται πλακουντηρὰ τάδε· ἔγχυτος, σκριβλίτης,<sup>4</sup> σουβίτυλλος γίνεται δέ καὶ ἐξ ἄλικος σουβίτυλλος. σπῖρα καὶ οὔτος ἐκ τυροῦ γίνεται. λούκουντλοι, ἀργυροτρύφημα, λίβος, κίρκλος λιξόλας,<sup>5</sup> κλουστροπλακοῦς γίνεται δέ, φησί, καὶ ὀρυζίτης πλακοῦς ὁ δὲ φθοῖς οὕτω γίνεται τυρόν ἐκπιέσας τρῖβε καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἐς  
 e κόσκινον χάλκεον διήθει, εἴτ' ἐπίβαλε μέλι καὶ σελίγγεως<sup>6</sup> ἡμίναν καὶ συμμάλαξον εἰς ἓν κάτιλλος δὲ ὀρνᾶτος ὁ λεγόμενος παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις οὕτως γίνεται θρίδακας πλύνας ξέσον καὶ ἐμβαλὼν οἶνον

<sup>1</sup> Ματιανόν Buechelei      <sup>2</sup> Casaubon τουττατον A (sic)

<sup>3</sup> Buecheler ταβωνιανον A (sic)

<sup>4</sup> Casaubon· σκιρβαιτησ A (sic)

<sup>5</sup> Buecheler· κερκος αἰξάφασ A      <sup>6</sup> A· σιλίγγεως CE.

<sup>a</sup> Κλοῦστρον=crustulum, Hor. Sat. 11. 4. 47 sunt quorum ingenium nova tantum crustula promit, Juv. ix. 5 lambenti crustula servo.

<sup>b</sup> See Introd. vol. 1 p. viii.

<sup>c</sup> Deemed corrupt by Kaibel, but possibly=marubium horehound, Pliny, N. H. xx. 241 quod Graeci piasion vocant, alii linostrophon, the latter recalls the verb μηρύομαι, of winding yarn.

<sup>d</sup> From plico, "fold," referring to its shape? or for πραικόκιον, "apricot"?



Tutian, Sabine pastry,<sup>a</sup> Julian, Apician,<sup>b</sup> Canopic, pellucid, Cappadocian, life-sweeteners, marypton,<sup>c</sup> phcion,<sup>d</sup> guttatum, Montian<sup>e</sup> This last, he says, you will press hard into a mould with wine; if you have a little cheese, press it with one part wine and one part cheese; for that makes it more tasty Then there are the Quirian pastry, the guttatum pastry, the Favoman<sup>f</sup> pastry. Again, mustacea<sup>g</sup> made with a syrup of wine and honey, mustacea filled with sesame seeds, pourion-pastry,<sup>h</sup> gosloanion,<sup>i</sup> Paulnian. With cheese, Chrysippus says, are made the following cake-like foods enchyrtos, scriblita,<sup>j</sup> subitullus. This last is made with the coarse grains of rice-wheat Spira: this too, is made with cheese Lucunculi, blanc-mange, libum,<sup>k</sup> lixulae-ring,<sup>l</sup> pasty-pie There is also, he says, a cake made of rice Now the phthois<sup>m</sup> is made in the following manner Squeeze off a piece of cheese, mash it, put it in a bronze sieve and strain it through, then pour on honey and a cup of finest wheat flour<sup>n</sup> and work it into a soft lump. The catillus ornatus, as the Romans call it, is made in the following manner Wash and scrape some lettuce,

<sup>a</sup> Or Matian, cf Sueton. *Dom* 21.

<sup>f</sup> Pliny, *NH* xv 54, Columella v. 10, 19.

<sup>g</sup> Juv vi 202 nec est quare cenam et mustacea perdas.

<sup>h</sup> Unknown, but cf *αὐτόπυρος* 110 e (vol. II p. 20), panem autopyrium Petron. 66.

<sup>i</sup> Obviously corrupt; gustulum? gulosum?

<sup>j</sup> Cato, *De Re Rust* 78, Petron 35, 66.

<sup>k</sup> Athen. 126 a (vol. II. p. 82), where it is a kind of pudding.

<sup>l</sup> Varro, *L L* v 106-107, circuli, quod mixta farina et caseo et aqua circuitum aequabiliter fundabant (fingebant Groth). Hos . . . vocabant lixulas et semilixulas vocabulo savino.

<sup>m</sup> Cf. 489 d, 502 b (vol. v. pp. 176, 246).

<sup>n</sup> *σέλιγνις* (CE *σίλιγνις*) is Lat. siligo, fine flour made from winter wheat

εἰς θυίαν<sup>1</sup> τρῖβε τὰς θρίδακας, εἶτα τὸν χυλὸν ἐκπίεσας σελίγγιον συμφύρασον αὐτῷ καὶ συμπεσεῖν ἐάσας μετ' ὀλίγον τρῖψον εὐτόνως,<sup>2</sup> προσβαλὼν ὀλίγον στέατος χοιρείου καὶ πέπερι, καὶ πάλιν τρίψας ἔλκυσον λάγανον καὶ λειάνας<sup>3</sup> ἐκτεμὼν κατὰτεμνε καὶ ἔψε εἰς ἔλαιον θερμότατον εἰς ἡθμὸν  
 † βαλὼν τὰ κατακεκομμένα. ἄλλα πλακούντων γένη· ὄστρακίτης, ἄττανῦται, ἄμυλον, τυροκόσκινον. τυρὸν ἐκπίεσας<sup>4</sup> καλῶς θές εἰς ἄγγος, εἴτ' ἄνω κόσκινον χαλκοῦν ἐπιθείς διάγε τὸν τυρόν. ὅταν δὲ μέλλῃς προσφέρειν, βάλε μέλιτος αὐταρκες ἐπάνω ὑπο-  
 τυρίδες δὲ οὕτως γίνονται εἰς γάλα βαλὼν μέλι ἐκπίεσον καὶ βάλε εἰς σκεῦος καὶ ἔα παγῆναι ἔαν δέ σοι παρῇ κοσκίνια μικρά, ἐπίβαλε εἰς αὐτὰ τὸ σκεῦος, καὶ ἔα ἐκρεῖν τὸν ὀρόν καὶ ὅταν σοὶ δόξῃ πεπηγέναι, ἄρας τὸ σκεῦος μετάβαλε εἰς ἀργύρωμα, καὶ ἔσται ἡ ὄψις ἄνωθεν ἔαν δὲ μὴ ᾖ κοσκίνια, φλαβιλλίοις καινοῖς χρῶ, ἐν οἷς τὸ πῦρ ῥιπίζεται· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν ποιεῖ χρεῖαν κοπτοπλακοῦς ἐν Κρήτῃ δέ, φησὶν, πλακουντάριον<sup>5</sup> ποιοῦσιν ὅπερ ὀνομάζουσι γάστριν γίνεται δὲ οὕτως· κάρυα Θάσια καὶ Ποντικά καὶ ἀμύγδαλα, ἔτι δὲ μήκων, ἃ φρύξας<sup>6</sup> θεράπευσον καλῶς καὶ εἰς θυίαν<sup>7</sup> καθαρὰν

<sup>1</sup> θυείαν A<sup>2</sup> Schweighauser εἰς αὐτόν ὡς A<sup>3</sup> Musurus· λιάνας A<sup>4</sup> Musurus ἐκπίεσας A, cf above in d<sup>5</sup> Wilamowitz πλακουντηρον A<sup>6</sup> Kibel· μήκωνα ὃν φρύξας A<sup>7</sup> θυείαν A.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the Lat tracta, Pliny, *N H.* xviii 106, Cato, *De Re Rust* 76 1, 4

<sup>b</sup> Made with pine-nuts ὄστρακίδες, 57 b (vol 1 p. 249 note d), 126 a (vol. II. p. 82), below, 649 d (p. 509)

<sup>c</sup> Above, 645 c note h (p. 483)

pour wine into a mortar and mash the strips of lettuce, and after squeezing off the juice knead fine wheat flour into it; let it settle for a while, then mash it vigorously, adding a little pork fat and some pepper, and mashing it again draw it out into a thin slab <sup>a</sup>, smooth, tum, and cut it into pieces, then place the pieces in a strainer and boil them in very hot olive oil. There are other kinds of cake pignola-cake,<sup>b</sup> attanitai,<sup>c</sup> amydon, cheese-sieve. Squeeze off a good-sized piece of cheese, put it in a bowl, and turning it over a bronze sieve<sup>d</sup> work the cheese through. When you are ready to use it, pour a sufficient quantity of honey over it. Curds are made in the following manner. Pour honey into some milk, squeeze it out and placing it in a bowl allow it to stiffen. If you have small sieves handy turn the bowl over into them and allow the whey to run out. When you think it has become stiff enough, lift the bowl and shift the curds on to a silver platter. Thus the moulded pattern will be seen on top. If, however, you have no sieves, use new fans,<sup>e</sup> such as are used for fanning the fire, they are just as useful for that. Then there was the koptoplakous, a cake made with crushed sesame-seeds. In Crete, Chrysippus says, they make a small cake called gastris<sup>f</sup>. It consists of the following: walnuts, filberts, almonds, poppy-seed; roast them, tending them well, then mash them carefully<sup>g</sup> in a clean

<sup>a</sup> A "parum disertus Graecus scriptor," as Schweighauser says, might conceivably use ἄνω as a preposition with the accusative, but Villebiun's ἐπάνω κοσκίνου χαλκοῦ is certainly better.

<sup>b</sup> Lat flabella, for whipping the milk.

<sup>f</sup> Hesych. *σ υ γάστριον πέμμα σισαμῶδες παρὰ Κρησί*  
For the use of poppy-seed cf 110 f (vol II p 20).

<sup>g</sup> Cf. the recipe Ἀπ. iv. 162 compones in patina diligenter.

8 τρῦψον ἐπιμελῶς· συμμίξας τε τὴν ὀπώραν μάλαξον<sup>1</sup> μέλιτι ἠψημένῳ, προσβαλὼν πέπερι πλέον καὶ<sup>2</sup> μάλαξον γίνεται δὲ μέλαν διὰ τὴν μήκωνα διαπλατύνας ποιήσων τετράγωνον εἶτα σήσαμον λευκὸν τρίψας μάλαξον μέλιτι ἠψημένῳ καὶ ἔλκυσσον λαγάνια δύο καὶ ἓν θές<sup>3</sup> ὑποκάτω καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ἐπάνω, ἵνα τὸ μέλαν εἰς μέσον γένηται, εὖ ῥύθμισόν τε<sup>4</sup> αὐτό.” ταῦτα καὶ ὁ σοφὸς πεμματολόγος Χρύσιππος.

b Ἀρποκρατίων δὲ ὁ Μενδήσιος ἐν τῷ περὶ Πλακούντων τὴν παρ’ Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι καλουμένην ΠΑΓΚΑΡΠΙΑΝ<sup>5</sup> . . . καλεῖ. ἴτρια δ’ ἐστὶ ταῦτα συντεθρυμμένα μετὰ μέλιτος ἐψόμενα· καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἔψησιν σφαιρηδὸν συντεθέντα περιδεῖται βύβλω λεπτῇ ἕνεκα τοῦ συμμένειν. ΠΟΛΤΟΥ δὲ μνημονεύει Ἀλκμὰν οὕτως

ἤδη παρέξει πυάνιον τε πολτὸν<sup>6</sup>

χίδρον τε λευκὸν κηρίναν τ’ ὀπώραν.

ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ πυάνιον, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος, πανσπερμία ἐν γλυκεῖ ἠψημένη· χίδρον δὲ οἱ ἐφθοὶ πυροί. κηρίναν δὲ ὀπώραν λέγει τὸ μέλι. καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ οὕτως λέγει ἐν Γῇ καὶ Θαλάσσει·

c πολτὸν ἔψειν ὄρθριον.

καὶ τῶν καλουμένων δὲ ΜΕΛΙΚΗΡΙΑΔΩΝ μνημονεύει Φερεκράτης ἐν Αὐτομόλοις οὕτως·

<sup>1</sup> Kaibel: μαξον A

<sup>2</sup> πέπερι καὶ πλέον (?) Kaibel

<sup>3</sup> Casaubon ἔν θεο A.

<sup>4</sup> Lobeck εὐρύθμισόντε A

<sup>5</sup> Musurus πανκαπραν A (sic)

<sup>6</sup> πολτὸν A. the accent omitted in πολτου above and πολτον in the quotation from Epicharmus

<sup>7</sup> γλυκι A

mortar ; having mixed the fruit with it soften with boiled honey, adding considerable pepper, and soften ; it becomes dark with the poppy-seed Flattening it all out make it into a square Then mash some white sesame, soften it with boiled honey, and draw it out into two thin slabs, placing one below, the other on top of it in such a manner that the dark part comes in the middle, and shape it nicely." All this is from the wise cake-doctor, Chrysippus.

Harpocration of Mendê in his work *On Cakes* calls that known in Alexandria as *pankarpia*<sup>a</sup> by the name of . Now this consists of seed-cakes crumbled and cooked in honey ; after the cooking they are formed into balls and wrapped in thin papyrus to hold them together. Porridge is mentioned by Alcman thus<sup>b</sup> : " Right soon he will offer a porridge of mixed pulse (*pyanion*), some white wheat-groats (*chidron*) and waxen fruit<sup>c</sup> Now the word *pyanion*, as Sosibius says, means a mixture of seeds cooked in grape-syrup ; *chidron* means boiled wheat. By waxen fruit he means honey Epicharmus, also, has this in *Earth and Sea*<sup>d</sup> " To cook porridge early in the morning " Again, the *melikerides*, as they are called (honey-combs), are mentioned by Pherecrates in *The De-*

<sup>a</sup> Lit " tutti-frutti " ; at 473 c (vol. v p. 88) it is a certain mixture used in ritual , 126 f (vol. ii p. 82) it is called *λίβον*, Lat. *libum*, which Kaibel would supply here. See Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 203.

<sup>b</sup> *P L G*<sup>4</sup> ii 61, Diehl ii 25 (who compares 110 f-111 a (vol ii. p. 20), Edmonds i. 124. On *πυάνιον*, here an adjective, cf vol. iv. p. 341 note a.

<sup>c</sup> Athenaeus understands this as honey ; but the adjective is equally applicable to grapes, Hesych. s.v. *ὀπώρα*· *κυρίως δὲ ἡ σταφυλή*

<sup>d</sup> Kaibel 94, Varro, *L L.* v. 105.

ὥσπερ τῶν αἰγιδίων ὄζειν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος  
μελικήρας”

Λεχθέντων καὶ τούτων ὁ σοφὸς Οὐλπιανὸς ἔφη  
“ πόθεν ὑμῖν, ὦ πολυμαθέστατοι γραμματικοί, καὶ  
ἐκ ποίας βιβλιοθήκης ἀνεφάνησαν οἱ σεμνότατοι  
οὔτοι συγγραφεῖς Χρῦσιππος καὶ Ἀρποκρατίων,  
διαβάλλοντες καλῶν ὀνόματα φιλοσόφων τῇ ὁμω-  
d νυμῖα, τίς δὲ καὶ ἡμῖναν Ἑλλήνων ὠνόμασεν ἢ τίς  
ἀμύλου μνημονεύει,” ἀπαντήσαντος δ’ αὐτῷ τοῦ  
Λαρηνσίου καὶ εἰπόντος· “ τὴν μὲν ἡμῖναν οἱ τὰ εἰς  
Ἐπίχαρμον ἀναφερόμενα ποιήματα πεποιηκότες  
οἶδασι, καὶ τῷ Χείρωνι ἐπιγραφομένῳ οὕτως  
λέγεται

καὶ πιεῖν ὕδωρ διπλάσιον χλιαρόν, ἡμῖνας δύο.

τὰ δὲ ψευδεπιχάρμεια<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα ὅτι<sup>2</sup> πεποιήκασιν  
ἄνδρες ἔνδοξοι . . Χρυσόγονός τε ὁ αὐλητής, ὥς  
φησιν Ἀριστόξενος ἐν ὀγδόῳ Πολιτικῶν Νόμων,  
τὴν Πολιτείαν ἐπιγραφομένην <sup>2</sup> Φιλόχορος δ’ ἐν  
τοῖς περὶ Μαντικῆς Ἀξιοπίστον τὸν εἶτε Λοκρὸν  
γένος ἢ Σικυώνιον τὸν Κανόνα καὶ τὰς Γνώμας  
e πεποιήκηναι φησίν. ὁμοίως δὲ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Ἀπολλό-  
δωρος τοῦ δὲ ἀμύλου μνημονεύει Τηλεκλείδης  
ἐν Στερροῖς οὕτωςι λέγων·

<sup>1</sup> Schweighauser · ψευδεπιχάρμια A

<sup>2</sup> ὅτι deleted by Schweighauser · ὁψέ Lumb ; lacuna marked  
by Meineke.

<sup>a</sup> Kock i 152.

<sup>b</sup> Chrysippus of Soli (Cilicia), the great Stoic, and Harpo-  
craton, Platonist of the second century, are referred to.

*serters* <sup>a</sup> “Smelling as sweet as the honey-comb breath of kids”

This description ended, the wise Ulpian said. Whence, most learned grammarians, and from what collection of books, have popped up these very solemn writers Chrysippus and Harpocration, who bring calumny on the names of noble philosophers <sup>b</sup> by the similarity of their own names? And who among Greeks, I ask, ever used the word *hemina* (cup), <sup>c</sup> or who mentions *amylon*? In answer to him Larensis said: The authors who wrote the poems ascribed to Epicharmus know the word *hemina*, and in the play entitled *Cheiron* it is used thus <sup>d</sup> “And to drink twice as much warm water, two *hemina*!” Now that these poems, falsely ascribed to Epicharmus, have been composed by famous men is well known; and Chrysogonus the flute-player, as Aristoxenus says <sup>e</sup> in the eighth book of his *Civil Law*, wrote that which bore the title *The Republic*. Philochorus, in his work *On Divination*, says <sup>f</sup> that Axioipistus, whether the one who was a Locrian by birth or a Sicyonian, wrote the *Rule* and the *Thoughts*. <sup>g</sup> The same is recorded by Apollodorus. <sup>h</sup> As for the *amylon*, Telecleides mentions it in *Hard-Boiled*, speaking as follows <sup>i</sup>. “I like

<sup>a</sup> This Dorian word (in Sicily = *κοτύλη*) was discussed at 479 a-b (vol. v. p. 120).

<sup>d</sup> Kaibel 144.

<sup>e</sup> *F H G* II. 289.

<sup>f</sup> *F. H G* I. 416.

<sup>g</sup> Powell 219-223, Hibe Papyrus I 1 6:

ἐν δὲ καὶ γινῶμαι σοφαὶ τεῖδ' αἴσιν, αἱ πίθοιτό τις,  
δεξιώτερός τέ κ' εἴη βελτίων τ' ἐς πάντ' ἀνὴρ

<sup>h</sup> J. 2 B 1108, P.-W I. 2863.

<sup>i</sup> Kock I. 217 But the *amylon* (cake of the finest meal) has been mentioned before, e.g. 269 a (vol. III. p. 208, Pherecrates).

φιλῶ πλακοῦντα θερμόν, ἀχράδας οὐ φιλῶ,  
χαίρω λαγῶις ἐπ' ἀμύλῳ καθημένοις”

Τούτων ἀκούσας ὁ Οὐλπιανὸς ἔφη “ ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ  
καὶ κοπτὴν τινα<sup>1</sup> καλεῖτε, ὁρῶ δὲ ἐκάστω κειμένην  
ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, λέγετε ἡμῖν, ὦ λίχνοι, τίς τοῦ  
ὀνόματος τούτου τῶν ἐνδόξων μνημονεύει.” καὶ ὁ  
Δημόκριτος ἔφη· “ τὸ μὲν θαλάσσιον πράσον<sup>2</sup>  
κόπτῃν φησὶ<sup>3</sup> καλεῖσθαι Διονύσιος ὁ Ἴτυκαῖος ἐν  
ἐβδόμῳ Γεωργικῶν. τοῦ δὲ ἡμῖν παρακειμένου  
f μελιπήκτου μέμνηται Κλέαρχος ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν τῷ  
περὶ Γρίφων<sup>4</sup> οὕτωςι λέγων· ‘ σκεύη κελεύοντι<sup>5</sup>  
λέγειν ὅποια<sup>6</sup> εἰπεῖν·

τρίπους, χύτρα, λυχνεῖον, ἀκταία, βάθρον,  
σπόγγος, λέβης, σκαφεῖον, ὄλμος, λήκυθος,  
σπυρίς, μάχαιρα, τρυβλίον, κρατήρ, ράφίς.

ἢ πάλιν ὅψων οὕτως·

349 ἔτνος, φακῇ, τάριχος, ἰχθύς, γογγυλὶς,  
σκόροδον, κρέας, θύννειον,<sup>7</sup> ἄλμη,<sup>8</sup> κρόμμυον,  
σκόλυμος, ἐλαία, κάππαρις, βολβός, μύκης

ἐπὶ τε τῶν τραγημάτων ὁμοίως

<sup>1</sup> κοπτὴν τινα A.

<sup>2</sup> πράσσον A.

<sup>3</sup> κοίτην φησὶ (cf Hesych ms κόπτῃ, edd κοπτή).

<sup>4</sup> Casaubon γράφων A.

<sup>5</sup> Kaibel κελεύοντα A, κελεύοντος Schweighauser

<sup>6</sup> Lumb· ὁμοια A, σκευῶν κελεύοντι λέγειν ὀνόματα εἰπεῖν  
Kaibel

<sup>7</sup> Schweighauser. θυννίον A.

<sup>8</sup> Musurus: ἀλλῃ A.



a hot pancake, I don't like pears,<sup>a</sup> I enjoy roast hare perched on a cake of fine meal''<sup>b</sup>

On hearing this Ulpian said But since you mention a cake under the name of kopté, and I see one lying on each man's table, tell us, you gluttons, what eminent writer mentions that word? To this Democritus answered. The sea-leek, to be sure, is called a kópte,<sup>c</sup> says Dionysius of Utica in the seventh book of his *Farming*; but the honey-cake here set before us is mentioned by Clearchus of Soli in his work *On Riddles*, speaking thus<sup>d</sup>. "When one demanded a recital of what utensils there are the reply was<sup>e</sup>. 'Tripod, pot, lampstand, marble mortar, bench,<sup>f</sup> sponge, cauldron, spade, wooden mortar, oil-jug, market-basket, knife, bowl, mixing-bowl, needle' Or, again, among things on the bill of fare, thus: 'Pease-porridge, lentil-soup, salt fish, fresh fish, turnip, garlic, meat, tunny-steak, salt, onion, cardoon, olive, capers, iris-bulb, mushroom' And similarly in the case

<sup>a</sup> They were supposed to be "binding," Aristoph *Eccl.* 355 and Schol.: ἐπέχει δὲ τὴν γαστέρα ἢ ἀχράς

<sup>b</sup> Cf quail on toast, and Aristoph *Pac.* 1195 ἔπειτ' ἐπιφέρει τοὺς ἀμύλους καὶ τὰς κίχλας ἀμύλος ἐγκύμων, Athen. 441 f (vol. iv. p. 500)

<sup>c</sup> Possibly the leek was accented κόπτῃ (see crit. note 3), the cake, κοπτή, and it is so given (following the ms) in the text above For this Dionysius cf. Varro, *R R* 1 1 9.

<sup>d</sup> *F.H.G* II. 322, cf above, 620 c (p 341). The passage alludes to the game described by Clearchus at 457 c-f (vol. iv. pp 574-576), in which a list of things belonging to a given class was called for among the banqueters, who must reply in verse. Lumb's conjecture, ὅποια for ὅμοια, has been adopted, since there is little similarity among some of the articles mentioned

<sup>e</sup> *P.L.G* 4 III. 669, Diehl II. 196

<sup>f</sup> Or step-ladder

ἄμης, πλακοῦς, ἔντιλτος, ἵτριον, ῥόα,  
 ὦόν,<sup>1</sup> ἐρέβινθος, σησάμη, κοπτή, βότρυσ,  
 ἰσχάς, ἄπιος, πέρσεια,<sup>2</sup> μῆλ',<sup>3</sup> ἀμύγδαλα.'

ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Κλέαρχος ὁ δὲ φλυακογράφος  
 Σώπατρος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ Πύλαι δράματί  
 φησιν

τίς δ' ἀναρίθμου μήκωνος εὗρε κοπτὰς  
 ἢ κνηκοπύρους ἡδονὰς τραγημάτων ἔμιξεν;

Ἀπέχεις, ὦ καλέ μου λογιστὰ Οὐλπιανέ, τὴν  
 b κοπτήν ἣς συμβουλεύω σοι ἀπεσθίειν." καὶ ὃς  
 οὐδὲν μελλήσας ἀνελόμενος ἦσθιεν. γελασάντων δὲ  
 πάντων ἔφη ὁ Δημόκριτος " ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐσθίειν σοι  
 προσέταξα, καλὲ ὀνοματοθήρα, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐσθίειν· τὸ  
 γὰρ ἀπεσθίειν οὕτως εἴρηκεν ἐν Φινεῖ ὁ κωμω-  
 διοποιὸς Θεόπομπος·

παῦσαι κυβεύων, μειράκιον, καὶ τοῖς βλίτοις  
 διαχρῶ τὸ λοιπὸν κοιλίαν σκληρὰν ἔχεις  
 τὰ πετραῖα τῶν ἰχθυδίων ἀπέσθιε·  
 ἢ τρυξ ἄριστόν ἐστιν εἰς εὐβουλίαν.  
 ταῦτ' ἦν ποῆς,<sup>4</sup> ῥάων ἔσει τὴν οὐσίαν.

c χρῶνται δὲ τῷ ἀπεσθίειν καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ τινος  
 ἐσθίειν, ὥς Ἑρμιππος ἐν Στρατιώταις·

οἶμοι τάλας, δάκνει, δάκνει,  
 ἀπεσθίει μου τὴν ἀκοήν."

<sup>1</sup> ῥόα, ὦόν Salmasius ροδῶιον A

<sup>2</sup> Salmasius. περσεια A

<sup>3</sup> Schneider. μηλέα A

<sup>4</sup> Scaliger ταύτην ποησ A

<sup>a</sup> If the form is correct, a cake or biscuit seasoned or overlaid with a stup of salt- or smoked-fish, as in modern hors-d'œuvre, τιλτόν (sc τάριχος) occurs at 118 e (vol. II. p. 52, Nicostratus),

of desserts 'Milk-cake, flat-cake, entiltos,<sup>a</sup> honey-cake, pomegranate, egg, chick-pea, sesame, kopté,<sup>b</sup> grapes, dried fig, pear, persea, apples, almonds.'"  
This from Clearchus. Again, Sopater, the writer of faices, says in the play entitled *The Gates* <sup>c</sup>: "Who was the man who invented cakes (koptai) made with unnumbered poppy-seeds, or mixed joyous sweetmeats in yellow wheat?"

There you have in full, my noble bursar <sup>d</sup> Ulpian, my account of the kopté, I advise you to bite it off.<sup>e</sup> So he without delay picked it up and began to eat it. They all burst out laughing at this, and Democritus said. But I did not tell you to eat it, noble word-chaser, I told you rather *not* to eat it; for *apesthien* is used in that sense by the comic poet Theopompus in *Phineus* <sup>f</sup>. "Stop gambling, lad, and in future use a lot of blite. Your belly is all hard. Abstain from eating (*apesthie*) rock-fish; raw wine is the best thing for a good conscience <sup>g</sup>. If you do that, you will feel easier in regard to your eh—state." But writers use *apesthien* also of eating or biting off something, like Hermippus in *Soldiers* <sup>h</sup>. "Ouch! Unhappy me, he's biting, he's biting, he's eating a piece of my ear!"

<sup>b</sup> Pounded or crushed, cf. τρυπὸς κοπτὸς 402 e (vol. iv. p. 322).

<sup>c</sup> Kaibel 195.

<sup>d</sup> See Intro. vol. i. pp. xii-xiii, cf. vol. iv. p. 316 note a.

<sup>e</sup> The verb ἀπεσθίω means usually "bite off," but it also means "keep off biting."

<sup>f</sup> Kock i. 749, a mock physician gives a mock prescription for constipation.

<sup>g</sup> Lit. "for good counsel," by surprise for "a good digestion" (εὐκοιλίαν), so, in the last line, the comedian substitutes οὐσίαν (property saved by eating frugally) for ὑγίειαν. On rock-fish cf. 293 d (vol. iii. p. 316, Sotades).

<sup>h</sup> Kock i. 239.

Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐλεγχθεὶς ὁ Σύρος καὶ δηχθεὶς σφόδρα  
 “ ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἔφη, παράκειται ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης  
 καὶ ψιττάκια ἅπερ ἦν εἴπῃς παρὰ τίνι κεῖται,  
 ‘ δώσω σοι ’ οὐ ‘ χρυσεύς δέκα στατήρας ’ κατὰ  
 τὸν Ποντικὸν λεσχηνευτήν, ἀλλὰ τουτὶ τὸ ἔκπωμα ”  
 σιωπήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Δημοκρίτου “ ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ ἀπο-  
 ρεῖς, ἔφη, ἐγὼ σε διδάξω. Νίκανδρος μὲν ὁ Κο-  
 δ<sup>d</sup>λοφώνιος ἐν τοῖς Θηριακοῖς μνημονεύων αὐτῶν  
 φησιν

ψιττάκι’ ἀκρεμόνεσσιν ἀμυγδαλέοισιν ὅμοια  
 γράφεται δὲ καὶ “ βιστάκια . . . ἀμυγδαλόεντα<sup>1</sup>  
 πέφανται ” καὶ Ποσειδώνιος δὲ ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς στοᾶς  
 ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν γράφει οὕτως “ φέρει  
 δὲ καὶ τὸ πέρσειον<sup>2</sup> ἢ Ἀραβία καὶ ἡ Συρία καὶ τὸ  
 καλούμενον βιστάκιον ὃ δὴ βοτρυνώδη τὸν καρπὸν  
 ἀφίησι λευκόφαιον<sup>3</sup> ὄντα καὶ μακρόν, παρεμφερῆ  
 τοῖς δακρύοις<sup>4</sup> ἃ δὴ ῥαγῶν τρόπον ἀλλήλοις ἐπι-  
 βάλλει, τὰ δ’ ἔνδον ἔγχλωρον<sup>5</sup> καὶ τοῦ κωνίου τῶν  
 στροβίλων ἦττον μὲν εὐχυμον, εὐώδη δὲ μᾶλλον ”  
 e οἱ δὲ τὰ Γεωργικὰ συγγράψαντες ἀδελφοὶ ἐν τῷ γ’  
 γράφουσιν οὕτως· “ καὶ τὴν μελίαν καὶ τὴν τέρ-  
 μινθον, ἃ δὴ νῦν πιστάκια οἱ Σύροι καλοῦσιν.” καὶ  
 οὗτοι μὲν διὰ τοῦ π̄ πιστάκια ταῦτα ὠνόμασαν, ὃ  
 δὲ Νίκανδρος δασέως φιττάκια,<sup>6</sup> Ποσειδώνιος δὲ  
 βιστάκια.”

<sup>1</sup> ἀμύγδαλα ὄντα A      <sup>2</sup> περσιον A, πέρσιον C, περσεῖον E

<sup>3</sup> Schweighauser λευκοφαοιον A, λευκοφαῖ CE.

<sup>4</sup> δακτύλοις Hofmann      <sup>5</sup> ἐγχλωρον A, χλωρὸν C

<sup>6</sup> su A here and in lemma, against c and d above πιττάκια  
 Nic. mss.

<sup>a</sup> Ulpan.

<sup>b</sup> Heracleides Ponticus the Younger, who wrote Λέσχαι

Upon this the Syrian,<sup>a</sup> confuted and bitten very hard himself, replied : Well, anyway, we have served on our tables pistachio-nuts also ; if you tell me in what author the word is found “ I will give you ” not “ ten golden sovereigns,” as that chatterbox of Pontus<sup>b</sup> has it, but this cup here. Since Democritus was silent, Ulpian went on : Seeing that you are stuck, I’ll instruct you Nicander of Colophon mentions them, and says in *Theriaca*<sup>c</sup> “ Pistachios (psittakia) on branches like those of the almond-tree ” But there is another reading, “ Pistachios (bistakia) . . have appeared like almonds ” And Poseidonius also, he of the Porch, writes as follows in the third book of his *Histories*<sup>d</sup> : “ Arabia and Syria produce the persea-fruit and the so-called bistakion , this last sends out its fruit in a long, grape-like cluster, ash-coloured, somewhat like the drops of gum<sup>e</sup> which fall over one another like grapes ; the flesh inside is greenish, and though less juicy than the round seeds of the pine-cone,<sup>f</sup> it is more fragrant.” But the brothers<sup>g</sup> who compiled the work *On Farming* write as follows in the third book “ The manna-ash and the turpentine tree, which to-day the Syrians call pistakia ” They, to be sure, called these nuts pistakia, with *p*, but Nicander with an aspirate, phittakia, while Poseidonius has bistakia

(whence λεσχηνευτήν in the text), a collection of chatty gossip and scandal, in Sapphic metre

<sup>a</sup> Vs. 891.

<sup>d</sup> *F.H.G.* III 253, J. 2 A 225

<sup>e</sup> Hofmann and Coraes conjectured δακτύλοις (= dates Aristot. *Meteor.* 342 a 10) for δακρύοις, but the neuter relative *δ* agrees better with δακρύοις,

<sup>f</sup> Pignolas, vol. 1 p. 249 note *d*, above, 647 f note *b*.

<sup>g</sup> The Quintili, Condiarius and Maximus, from the Troad, Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* II. 1. 11 ; consuls in 151 A.D.

Περιβλέψας οὖν ἐν<sup>1</sup> τούτοις τοὺς παρόντας καὶ  
 τυχὼν ἐπαίνου ἔφη· “ ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 πάντων τῶν παρακειμένων λελέξεταί μοι, ἵνα με  
 τῆς πολυμαθίας ἀγασθῇτε· ἐρῶ δὲ πρότερον περὶ  
 τῶν παρὰ Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν καλουμένων κοννάρων  
 f καὶ παλιούρων μνημονεύει δ’ αὐτῶν Ἀγαθοκλῆς  
 ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐν γ’ τῶν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος λέγων  
 οὕτως· “ κεραυνοῦ δὲ σκήψαντος εἰς τὸν τάφον  
 ἀνεβλάστησεν ἐκ τοῦ σήματος δενδρίον, ὃ ἐκείνοι  
 κόνναρον ἐπονομάζουσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ δενδρίον  
 μεγέθει μὲν πτελέης καὶ πεύκης οὐθέν τι μείον,  
 ἀκρεμόνας δὲ ἔχει θαμέας<sup>2</sup> καὶ δολιχοὺς καὶ ἐπ’  
 ὀλίγον ἀκανθώδεις, τὸ δὲ φύλλον τέρεν καὶ χλωρόν,  
 τῇ φυῇ περιφερές. καρποφορεῖ<sup>3</sup> δὲ δις τοῦ ἔτους,  
 650 ἡρὸς τε καὶ φθινοπώρου. γλυκὺς δὲ πάνν ὁ καρπός,  
 μέγεθος κατὰ φαυλίην ἐλάην<sup>4</sup> καὶ τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ  
 ὁστέον ταύτῃ προσείκελον, διαλλάσσον δὲ τῇ τοῦ  
 χυμοῦ ἡδονῇ. καὶ τρώγεται ἔτι χλωρὸς ὁ καρπός·  
 καὶ ἐπὴν αὐανθῇ, ποιοῦσιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄλευρα, καὶ  
 πατέονται<sup>5</sup> ταῦτα οὐ μάξαντες οὐδ’ ὕδατι δεύοντες,  
 ἀλλὰ φαύλως ὁκοῖά περ πέφυκεν ” καὶ Εὐριπίδης  
 ἐν Κύκλωπί φησι “ παλιούρου κλάδω.”<sup>6</sup> Θεό-  
 πομπός τε ἐν εἰκοστῇ πρώτῃ Φιλιππικῶν μνη-  
 b μονεύει αὐτῶν καὶ Δίφιλος ὁ Σίφνιος ἰατρός ἐν τῷ

<sup>1</sup> ἐν A ἐπὶ Kaibel<sup>2</sup> θαμέας A<sup>3</sup> καρποφορεῖ Meineke<sup>4</sup> ἐλάην A corrected from ἐλαίην<sup>5</sup> Wesseling· πατεον A, προσφέρονται CE<sup>6</sup> κλάδω A, Eur mss κλάδων Scaliger<sup>a</sup> Names for a prickly evergreen, Christ's thorn, belonging

Casting a glance round meanwhile at all who were present and receiving their applause, he continued. What is more, I propose to discuss thoroughly all the other viands set before us to make you envy my erudition, I will speak first about the trees which the Alexandrians call konnaros and paluios<sup>a</sup>. They are mentioned by Agathocles of Cyzicus in the third book of the work which deals with his own country,<sup>b</sup> speaking as follows. "When a bolt of lightning struck the tomb there sprang up from the mound a tree to which they give the name konnaros. In height this tree is no wise less than an elm or a pine, its branches are close-set, long, and somewhat thorny, the leaf is soft and green, in shape round. It bears fruit twice a year, in spring and in autumn. The fruit is very sweet, about as large as a 'coarse' olive,<sup>c</sup> and with flesh and stone resembling the olive, but differing from it in the flavour of its juice. The fruit can be eaten when still green, and when it has been dried they grind it into meal and this they eat without kneading or soaking in water, but simply in its natural condition." Euripides in *The Cyclops* has<sup>d</sup> "with a branch of paluiros." Theopompus mentions<sup>e</sup> them in the twenty-first book of his *History of Philip*, and Diphilus, the physician of Siphnos, in his

to a different family from the pistacia, but apparently brought in here because of the gums or resins (δάκρυα) which they both yield

<sup>b</sup> *ι* *ε* Περὶ Κυζίκου, 515 a (vol. v. p. 316), *F.H.G.* iv 289

<sup>c</sup> Cf. 56 c (vol. i p. 244), Hesych *σ* *ν* φαυλία εἶδος ἐλαίας. It was produced by "topping" a wild olive tree, Theophr. *H.P.* ii 2 12, Plin. *N.H.* xvi. 244

<sup>d</sup> *Cycl.* 393-394 ὀβελοῦς τ' . . . παλιούρου κλάδων "spits of paluiros branches." See critical note 6

<sup>e</sup> *F.H.G.* i 303, J 2 B 567, G and H. 129

περὶ τῶν Προσφερομένων τοῖς Ὑγιαίνουσι καὶ τοῖς Νοσοῦσιν τούτων δὲ πρῶτον ἐμνήσθην, ἄνδρες φίλοι, οὐχ ὅτι ἡμῖν παράκειται νῦν, ἀλλ' ὅτι πολλάκις ἐν τῇ καλῇ Ἀλεξανδρεία ἐπὶ τῶν δευτέρων τραπεζῶν παρακείμενα ἔλαβον καὶ ζητηθέντος ἐκεί τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐνθάδε τῷ βιβλίῳ ἐντυχὼν ἀνελεξάμην.

Ἐξῆς οὖν λέξω περὶ τῶν παρακειμένων ΑΠΙΩΝ· ἐπεὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ Πελοπόννησος Ἀπία ἐκλήθη διὰ τὸ ἐπιδαιφιλεύειν ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ φυτόν, φησὶν <sup>c</sup>Ἰστρος ἐν τοῖς Ἀργολικοῖς. ὅτι δὲ τὰς ἀπίους ἐν ὕδατι εἰσέφερον εἰς τὰ συμπόσια Ἀλεξίς ἐν Βρεττία<sup>1</sup> παρίστησι διὰ τούτων·

εἶδές ποτε

πίνουσιν<sup>2</sup> ἀνθρώποις ἀπίους παρακειμένας  
ἐν ὕδατι; Β. πολλοῖς πολλάκις<sup>3</sup> δῆπου. τί οὖν;  
Α. οὐκοῦν ἕκαστος ἐκλεγόμενος λαμβάνει  
τῶν ἐπινεουσῶν τὴν πεπαιτάτην αἶν,  
Β. δηλονότι.<sup>4</sup>

αἱ δ' ἀμαμηλίδες<sup>5</sup> οὐκ εἰσιν ἄπιοι, ὥς τινες οἴονται,  
<sup>d</sup> ἀλλ' ἕτερόν τι καὶ ἥδιον καὶ ἀπύρηνον Ἀριστομένης ἐν Διονύσῳ φησὶν

ὁ Χῖος<sup>6</sup> οὐκ οἶσθ' ὥς ἀμαμηλίδας ποιεῖ;

ὅτι δ' ἐστὶν ἕτερον τῆς ἀπίου καὶ ἥδιον Αἰσχυλίδης

<sup>1</sup> Dalechamps βρεντία Α.

<sup>2</sup> Dobree. πινουσιν Α (sic)

<sup>3</sup> Kock: πολλῶι πολλάκις Α

<sup>4</sup> Β δη | ὄντι Α

<sup>5</sup> ἀμαμηλίδες Α

<sup>6</sup> Κεῖος Schweighauser



work *On Foods for the Well and the Sick* I have mentioned these fruits first, my friends, not because they are served to us to-day, but because in fair Alexandria I have often had them served at the second tables, and since their names were asked for there, I found them here in the book by Agathocles which I happened upon

Next, then, I will speak of the pears (*apioi*) served to us, for Peloponnesus was once called *Apia* (Pearland) because the tree is very abundant there, as Istrus says <sup>a</sup> in his *History of Argolis* That the Greeks served pears in water at their symposia is attested by Alexis in *The Woman from Bruttium* in these lines <sup>b</sup>: "A Have you ever seen pears served in water to men while they were drinking? B. Of course, often, to many men So what? A Well then, does not every man always pick out the ripest swimming on top and grab it? B. Of course" Medlars (*hamamelides*), on the other hand, are not the same as pears, as some think, but something different, which is pleasanter and stoneless <sup>c</sup> Aristomenes says in *Dionysus* <sup>d</sup>. "Don't you know that the man of Chios produces medlars?" And that this is different from the pear and pleasanter to the taste is attested by Aeschylides in the third book of his

<sup>a</sup> *F.H.G.* 1. 424 The same etymology is offered by Plut. 303 B, *Qu Gr.* 51 Aesch *Suppl.* 260-270 derives *Apia* from an eponymous healer *Apis*, cf. Paus. 11 5. 7, Curtius, *Peloponnesos* 11 484, and Ἀπιδανή 599 b (p. 229).

<sup>b</sup> Kock 11. 309-310

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Hesych. s v. ἀμαμηλὶς ἀπίου γένος, ἢ μήλου, ἢ μεσπίλου. Lat *apyrinus* (*apyrenus*) suggests the meaning "with soft kernels." But if there is anything distinctive in the medlar, it is its four large stones. Capps conjectures ἡδιον καὶ οὐ πᾶν ἀπύρηνον "pleasanter and anything but stoneless"

<sup>d</sup> Kock i. 692.

παρίστησιν ἐν τρίτῳ Γεωργικῶν. περὶ Κέω γοῦν  
 τῆς νήσου λέγων γράφει οὕτως· “ ἀπίους ἢ νῆσος  
 φέρει κρατίστας κατὰ τὰς ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ καλουμένας  
 ἁμαμηλίδας· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἀπύρρηνοί τε καὶ ἡδεῖαι καὶ  
 γλυκεῖαι.” Ἀέθλιος δ’ ἐν ε’ Ὠρων Σαμίων, εἰ  
 γνήσια τὰ συγγράμματα, ὁμομηλίδας αὐτὰς καλεῖ.  
 e Πάμφιλος δ’ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Γλωσσῶν<sup>1</sup> καὶ Ὀνομάτων  
 “ ἐπιμηλὶς, φησὶν, ἀπίου γένος.” Ἀνδροτίων<sup>2</sup> δ’  
 ἐν τῷ περὶ Γεωργικῶν φωκίδας φησὶν εἶδος ἀπίων  
 εἶναι

ΡΟΩΝ . δὲ σκληροκόκκων. τῶν γὰρ ἀπυρή-  
 νων<sup>3</sup> Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Γεωργοῖς μνημονεύει. καὶ  
 ἐν Ἀναγύρῳ·

πλὴν ἀλεύρου καὶ ῥόας  
 καὶ ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ. Ἑρμιππος δ’ ἐν Κέρκωψί  
 φησιν·

ἤδη τεθέασαι κόκκον ἐν χιόνι ῥόας;  
 ῥοίδιον μέντοι ὥς βοίδιον τὸ ὑποκοριστικόν. Ἀντι-  
 φάνης ἐν Βοιωτίδι.<sup>4</sup>

ἐνεγκεῖν ἐξ ἀγροῦ μοι τῶν ῥοιῶν  
 τῶν σκληροκόκκων.

Ἐπίλυκος Κωραλίσκῳ<sup>5</sup>.

μῆλα καὶ ῥόας λέγεις.

<sup>1</sup> Schweighauser. γλώσσησ Α

<sup>2</sup> Kaibel, Diels. ἀντιφῶν Α.

<sup>3</sup> CE: ἀπυρίνων Α

<sup>4</sup> Kock βοιωτια Α, as at 474 e; Βοιωτιωι 84 a, 367 f

*Farming* Speaking, at any rate, of the island of Ceos he writes as follows. "The island produces pears of the best, like the fruit called in Ionia *hamamelides*, they have soft kernels,<sup>a</sup> and are pleasant and sweet." But Aethlius in the fifth book of his *Chronicles of Samos*,<sup>b</sup> if this compilation be genuine, calls them *homomelides*. Again, Pamphilus in his books *On Glosses and Words* has "Epimelis, a kind of pear." Andro- tion in his work *On Farming* says that *phokides*<sup>c</sup> are a kind of pear.

*Pomegranates*<sup>d</sup> . . . Others are hard-seeded. The stoneless kind is mentioned by Aristophanes in *The Farmers*.<sup>e</sup> And in *Anagyrus*<sup>f</sup>. "Excepting wheat meal and a pomegranate" It occurs also in *Gerytades*.<sup>g</sup> Hermippus says in *The Cercopes*<sup>h</sup>. "Have you ever before seen a pomegranate (*rhoa*)-seed in snow?" The form *rhordion* (little pomegranate), however, is a diminutive,<sup>i</sup> like *boidion* (little ox). Antiphanes in *The Boeotian Woman*<sup>j</sup>. "Bring me from the farm some of those hard-seeded pomegranates." Epilycus in *Corahiscus*<sup>k</sup>: "You mean apples

<sup>a</sup> See p. 513, note c.

<sup>b</sup> *F.H.G.* iv. 287.

<sup>c</sup> Theophrastus, *H.P.* ii. 15. 2.

<sup>d</sup> The text is defective. Some general remarks on the pomegranate must have stood in the gap. C has λέγονται δὲ τινὲς ῥόαι ἀπύρηντοι καὶ ἕτεραι σκληρόκοκκοι.

<sup>e</sup> Kock i. 421.

<sup>f</sup> *Ibid.* 404.

<sup>g</sup> *Ibid.* 433.

<sup>h</sup> *Ibid.* 234.

<sup>i</sup> i.e. colloquial, cf. Aristoph. *Ach.* 1036 οἱμοὶ κακοδαίμων τοῖν γεωργοῖν βοιδίον.

<sup>j</sup> Kock ii. 36.

<sup>k</sup> Kock i. 803. The title is Dorian for μειράκιον, "laddie."

"Αλεξίς Μνηστῆρσιν

ρόαν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν

f σίδας δ' ὅτι τὰς ροιάς καλοῦσι Βοιωτοὶ Ἀγαθ-  
 αρχίδης ἐν τῇ ἐννεακαϊδεκάτῃ τῶν Εὐρωπιακῶν  
 οὕτως γράφει· "ἀμφισβητούντων Ἀθηναίων πρὸς  
 Βοιωτοὺς περὶ τῆς χώρας ἣν καλοῦσι Σίδας,  
 Ἐπαμινώνδας δικαιολογούμενος ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τῆς  
 ἀριστερᾶς μεταλαβὼν κεκρυμμένην ρόαν καὶ δείξας  
 ἤρετο τί καλοῦσι τοῦτο. τῶν δ' εἰπόντων 'ρόαν,'  
 51 'ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς, εἶπε, σίδαν'· ὁ δὲ τόπος τοῦτ' ἔχει  
 τὸ φυτὸν ἐν αὐτῷ πλείστον, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 εἴληφε προσηγορίαν· καὶ ἐνίκησεν." Μένανδρος δ'  
 ἐν Αὐτὸν Τιμωρουμένῳ ροΐδια αὐτὰς ὠνόμασεν διὰ  
 τούτων·

μετ' ἄριστον γὰρ ὡς ἀμυγδάλας ἐγὼ<sup>1</sup>  
 παρέθηκα καὶ τῶν ροιδίων ἐτρώγομεν.

λέγεται δέ τι καὶ φυτὸν σίδη ὅμοιον ροιᾷ, γινόμενον  
 ἐν τῇ περὶ Ὀρχομενὸν λίμνῃ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ὕδατι, οὗ  
 τὰ μὲν φύλλα τὰ πρόβατα ἐσθίει, τὸν δὲ βλαστὸν αἱ  
 ὕες, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Θεόφραστος ἐν τετάρτῳ περὶ  
 b Φυτῶν, γίνεσθαι λέγων καὶ τῷ Νείλῳ ὁμώνυμόν τι  
 αὐτῇ ἄνευ ρίζων.

ΦΟΙΝΙΚΕΣ. Ξενοφῶν μὲν ἐν β' Ἀναβάσεώς  
 φησιν· "ἐνῆν<sup>2</sup> δὲ σίτος πολὺς καὶ οἶνος φοινίκων

<sup>1</sup> ἐγὼ deleted by Bentley; but the verse is still unmetrical

<sup>2</sup> ἐνῆν Xen : ἐν Α

<sup>a</sup> Kock ii 321; the full title was "Helen's Suitors,"  
 Bekk. *Anec.* 96 10, 99 20 Kock reconstructs the quotation  
 thus from Apostol. xiii 16 b

οὐδὲ ρόαν γλυκεῖαν ἐκ τῆς δεξιᾶς  
 δέξαιτ' ἂν αὐτῶν,

"one wouldn't accept a sweet pomegranate from their right

and pomegranates." Alexis in *The Suitors*<sup>a</sup>. "A pomegranate, to be sure, from their hands." That the Boeotians call pomegranates *sidaí* Agatharchides shows in the nineteenth book of his *European History*, writing as follows<sup>b</sup>: "When the Athenians were disputing with the Boeotians the territory which they call *Sidaí*, Epameinondas in the course of his argument suddenly produced from his left hand a pomegranate which had lain hidden, and pointing to it asked what they called it. The Athenians said '*rhoa*'; but we Boeotians, said he, call it a '*sida*' Now this region, *Sidaí*,<sup>c</sup> has this plant within its borders in greatest abundance, whence it got its name originally; and so the Boeotians won." Menander in *The Self-Tormentor* called them *rhordia* in these lines<sup>d</sup>. "For when after luncheon I served almonds and we began to eat the pomegranates" There is said to be a plant called *sidé*, similar to a pomegranate, which grows right in the water of the marsh near Oichomenus, its leaves are eaten by the sheep, its fruit by the sows, as Theophrastus records<sup>e</sup> in the fourth book of his work *On Plants*; he says there is one by the same name which grows also in the Nile without any roots.

*Dates.* Xenophon in the second book of his *Anabasis* says<sup>f</sup> "In that region were abundant hand," equivalent to "wouldn't touch them with a ten-foot pole," ἥγουν παρὰ πονηρῶν οὐδὲ χρηστὰ λαμβάνειν (Apostol.).

<sup>b</sup> *F.H.G.* III 192-193.

<sup>c</sup> Its exact location is not known, but it was obviously at the border of Attica and Boeotia

<sup>d</sup> Kock III 43

<sup>e</sup> *H.P.* IV. 4 10 It is identified with the *νυμφαία*, water-lily. Cf Hesych. *s v* *σίδη*. Θεόφραστος φυτὸν ἕτερον τῆς ροιᾶς φησιν εἶναι τὴν σίδην, φύεσθαι δὲ ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ.

<sup>f</sup> *Anab* II. 3. 14-15, describing the plain distant a day's march from Cunaxa

καὶ ὄξος ἐψητὸν<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν. αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ  
βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων<sup>2</sup> οἷας μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν  
ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπέκειντο· αἱ δὲ τοῖς  
δεσπόταις ἀποκείμεναι ἦσαν ἀπόλεκτοι, θαυμάσιοι<sup>3</sup>  
τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος,<sup>4</sup> ἣ δὲ ὄψις ἡλέκτρου  
οὐδὲν διέφερεν τὰς δέ τινας ξηραίνοντες τραγήματα  
παρετίθεντο.<sup>5</sup> καὶ ἦν παρὰ πότον ἡδὺ μὲν, κεφαλ-  
αλγὲς δέ.” Ἡρόδοτος δ’ ἐν τῇ α’<sup>6</sup> περὶ Βα-  
βυλῶνος λέγων φησὶν· “ εἰσὶ δ’ αὐτόθι φοίνικες  
πεφυκότες ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ πεδῖον, οἱ πλεῖνες αὐτῶν  
καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ σιτία καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέλι  
ποιέονται· τοὺς συκέων<sup>7</sup> τρόπον θεραπεύουσιν τῶν  
γὰρ φοινίκων οὓς ἔρσενας καλέουσι,<sup>8</sup> τούτων τὸν  
καρπὸν περιδέουσι τῇσι βαλανηφόροισι τῶν φοι-  
νίκων, ἵνα τε πεπαίνῃ<sup>9</sup> σφιν ὁ ψῆν τὴν βάλανον  
ἐνδύνων<sup>10</sup> καὶ μὴ ἀπορρεῖν ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ φοίνικος.  
ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ φορέουσιν ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες  
καθάπερ οἱ ὄλονθοι ” τὰ παραπλήσια τοῖς περὶ  
τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἱστορεῖ περὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ καλου-  
μένου λωτοῦ αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης  
Πολύβιος ἐν τῇ ιβ’ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν λέγων οὕτως  
“ ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ δένδρον ὁ λωτὸς<sup>11</sup> οὐ μέγα, τραχὺ δὲ  
καὶ ἀκανθῶδες, ἔχει δὲ φύλλον χλωρὸν παραπλήσιον

<sup>1</sup> Xen : καὶ ἐψητὸν A

<sup>2</sup> φοινικίων A.

<sup>3</sup> θαυμάσιαι Xen.

<sup>4</sup> A, codd dett Xen.· τοῦ κάλλους καὶ μεγέθους Xen

<sup>5</sup> ἀπετίθεσαν “ stored,” Xen.

<sup>6</sup> Basle ed . ἐν τῇ β’ A, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ CE.

<sup>7</sup> συκεῶν A.

<sup>8</sup> Ἑλληνες καλέουσι Hdt

<sup>9</sup> πεπενη A

<sup>10</sup> ἐσδύνων Hdt

<sup>11</sup> ὁ λωτὸς om Polybius

grain, date-wine, and boiled vinegar made from the same. Now the fruit <sup>a</sup> of the palms itself, the kind that may be seen in Greece, was stored for the use of the slaves ; but the choicest were kept in store for the masters, marvellous in beauty and size, for their appearance differed in no wise from that of amber <sup>b</sup> ; some of these they would dry and serve for dessert. It was pleasant to eat them during the drinking, but they gave one a headache " And Herodotus, speaking of Babylon in the first book, says <sup>c</sup> : " Palm-trees are there growing all over the plain, most of them fruit-bearing, from which they make victuals and wine and honey ; they treat them in cultivation as they do figs. The fruit of the palms called male they bind fast to the female date-bearing palms, in order that the gall-insect may enter the date and ripen it and that the fruit of the palm may not fall off. For of course the male-palms produce gall-insects in its fruit just as the inflorescence of the caprifig does." <sup>d</sup> Facts relating to the so-called lotus of Libya similar to what we have cited from Herodotus are recorded by Polybius of Megalopolis, who observed them himself, in the twelfth book of his *Histories*, as follows <sup>e</sup> : " This tree, the lotus, is not tall, but it is rough and thorny, having a yellow leaf somewhat like that of the

Athens are eaten only by the very poor ; cf. Theophr. *H.P.* iii 3 5.

<sup>b</sup> Or, according to some, " electrum," the well-known alloy of gold and silver, cf. χρυσοβάλανος, golden date.

<sup>c</sup> 1 193, describing Southern Mesopotamia.

<sup>d</sup> See L & S. s v ὄλονθος and vol. i. p. 331 and note b.

<sup>e</sup> Polyb. xii 2, of the jujube, Zizyphus Lotus, a small tree of Southern Europe and Africa. Cf. *Od.* ix. 94 :

τῶν δ' ὅς τις λωτοῖο φάγοι μελιηδέα καρπὸν  
οὐκέτ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι πάλιν ἤθελεν οὐδὲ νέεσθαι.

τῇ ράμνῳ, μικρὸν βαθύτερον καὶ πλατύτερον ὁ δὲ καρπὸς τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ὁμοίος ἐστὶν καὶ τῇ χρώᾳ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει ταῖς λευκαῖς μυρτίσι ταῖς τέτελειωμέναις, αὐξανόμενος<sup>1</sup> δὲ τῷ μὲν χρώματι γίνεται φοινικοῦς, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει ταῖς γογγύλαις ἐλαίαις παραπλήσιος, πυρῆνα δὲ ἔχει τελέως μικρὸν ἐπὰν δὲ πεπανθῇ, συνάγουσι καὶ τὸν μὲν τοῖς οἰκέταις μετὰ χόνδρου κόψαντες σάπτουσιν εἰς ἀγγεῖα, τὸν δὲ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἐξελόντες τὸν πυρῆνα συντιθέασιν ὡσαύτως καὶ σιτεύονται<sup>2</sup> τοῦτον. ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ βρῶμα<sup>3</sup> παραπλήσιον σύκῳ καὶ φοινικοβαλάνῳ, τῇ δὲ εὐωδίᾳ βέλτιον. γίνεται δὲ καὶ οἶνος ἐξ αὐτοῦ βρεχομένου καὶ τριβομένου δι' ὕδατος, κατὰ μὲν τὴν γεῦσιν ἡδὺς καὶ ἀπολαυστικός, οἶνομέλιτι χρηστῷ παραπλήσιος, ᾧ χρῶνται χωρὶς ὕδατος· οὐ δύναται δὲ πλέον δέκα μένειν ἡμερῶν, διὸ καὶ ποιοῦσι κατὰ βραχὺ πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν ποιοῦσι δὲ καὶ ὄξος ἐξ αὐτοῦ<sup>4</sup>

Μελανιππίδης δ' ὁ Μήλιος ἐν ταῖς Δαναίαισιν φοίνικας τὸν καρπὸν οὕτως ὀνομάζει τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Δαναίδων<sup>5</sup>.

οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων φόρευν μορφᾶεν εἶδος,<sup>6</sup>  
οὐδὲ τὰν αὐδὰν γυναικείαν<sup>7</sup> ἔχον  
ἀλλ' ἐν ἀρμάτεσσι διφρούχοις ἐγυμνάζοντ' ἀν'  
εὐήλι' ἄλσεα<sup>8</sup> πολλάκι<sup>9</sup> θήραις<sup>10</sup> φρένα τερ-  
πόμεναι,

<sup>1</sup> A. αὐξόμενος CE

<sup>2</sup> B, Musuius σιτέονται A

<sup>3</sup> χρώμα C.

<sup>4</sup> Dindorf. αὐτῶν A.

<sup>5</sup> Dobree αὐτῶν τῶν γὰρ αἰδων A (sic)

<sup>6</sup> Dobree μορφὰν ἐν εἶδος A.

<sup>7</sup> Casaubon αὐτὰν γυναικίαν A.

<sup>8</sup> Meineke ἀνευ | ἡλιασδεα A



stone-buckthorn, but a little thicker and broader. The fruit at the beginning is similar in colour and size to ripe white myrtle-berries, but as it grows its colour changes to red, and in size it resembles round olives,<sup>a</sup> and it has a stone that is very small. When the fruit has ripened, they gather it, and that which is intended for the slaves they chop up with groats and pack into jars, but that for the freemen they put down in the same way, but after removing the stones, and use it for food. As a food it is somewhat like a fig or a date, but is superior in fragrance. A wine is made of it by soaking and mashing it in water; in taste it is pleasant and enjoyable, very like good honey-wine, and they can use it undiluted with water; but it cannot stand longer than ten days, hence they make a little at a time for immediate use. They also make a vinegar out of it."

Melanippides of Melos in *The Daughters of Danaus* calls the fruit of the palm *phoinikes* in describing as follows the Danaids themselves<sup>b</sup>: "Indeed, they bore not the form and look of men,<sup>c</sup> and they had not the voice of women, but in boxed chariots they exercised throughout the sunny glades of the woodland, oft-times delighting their hearts in the chase, oft-times,

<sup>a</sup> The small black kind common in Greece, distinguished from those of oval form

<sup>b</sup> *P.L.G.* <sup>4</sup> iii. 589, Diehl ii. 153, Edmonds iii. 234. The text is uncertain, but one gathers that the Danaids are compared to Amazons.

<sup>c</sup> It is very unusual to find ἀνθρώπων = ἀνδρῶν, males; Edmonds reads ἀνέρων, perhaps rightly. For a tautology similar to μορφᾶεν εἶδος cf. Eur. *I.T.* 291-292 παρῆν δ' ὁρᾶν οὐ ταῦτα μορφῆς σχήματα.

πολλάκι δ'<sup>1</sup> ιεροδάκρυ<sup>2</sup> λίβανον εὐώδεις τε  
 φοίνικας κασίαν τε ματεῦσαι,<sup>3</sup>  
 τέρενα Συρίας σπέρματα<sup>4</sup>

καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ περὶ Φυτῶν οὕτως· “ φοι-  
 νίκων ἀνόρχων,<sup>5</sup> οὓς τινες εὐνούχους καλοῦσιν, οἱ δ'  
 ἀπυρήνους ” φοίνικα δὲ τὸν καρπὸν καὶ Ἑλλάνικος  
 κέκληκεν ἐν τῇ εἰς Ἀμμωνος Ἀναβάσει, εἰ γνήσιον  
 τὸ σύγγραμμα, καὶ Φόρμος ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν Ἀτα-  
 λάνταις περὶ δὲ τῶν Νικολάων καλουμένων  
 φοινίκων τοσοῦτον ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν ἔχω τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 Συρίας καταγομένων, ὅτι ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας  
 ἠξιώθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ αὐτοκράτορος σφόδρα  
 χαίροντος τῷ βρώματι, Νικολάου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ  
 ἐταίρου ὄντος αὐτῷ καὶ πέμποντος φοίνικας συν-  
 εχῶς τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπάτου δ' ὦν<sup>6</sup> ὁ Νικόλαος  
 καὶ ἱστορίαν συνέγραψεν πολλήν.

ΙΣΧΑΔΕΣ σφόδρα τῶν ἰσχάδων ἐθαυμάζοντο  
 αἱ Ἀττικάι. Δίνων γοῦν ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς φησιν·  
 “ παρετίθεντο δ' ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης τῆς βασιλέως  
 ὅσα ἡ γῆ βρώματα φέρει ἥς ἄρχει βασιλεύς, ἀφ'  
 ἐκάστου ὅσον ἀπαρχήν ξενικῷ δὲ οὐδενὶ οὔτε  
 βρώματι οὔτε ποτῷ ᾧετο δεῖν ὁ Ξέρξης<sup>7</sup> τοὺς  
 βασιλεῖς χρῆσθαι ὅθεν καὶ νόμος τις ὕστερον  
 ἐγένετο εἰσενέγκαντος γάρ ποτε τῶν εὐνούχων

<sup>1</sup> πολλάκι δ' added by Hillel

<sup>2</sup> Empeius ιεροδάκρυ A

<sup>3</sup> Empeius· πατεῦσαι A

<sup>4</sup> Diehl following Fiorillo συρίας τέρεματα A.

<sup>5</sup> Casaubon· ἐνόρχων ACE

<sup>6</sup> δ' ἦν CE

<sup>7</sup> Ruhnken ὁ ἐξαρχῆς A

<sup>a</sup> Cf τοῖς δακρύοις of gum, above, 649 d (p. 509).

again, seeking out the frankincense with its sacred tears,<sup>a</sup> or fragrant dates (*phoinikes*), or cassia, delicate seed-growths from Syria." And Aristotle in his work *On Plants* has the following<sup>b</sup>: "Of stoneless dates, which some call eunuchs, others seedless." Again, the phoenix-fruit (date) is so mentioned<sup>c</sup> by Hellanicus in his *Journey to the Temple of Ammon*, if the work be genuine, and by the comedian Phormus in *Atalanta-Girls*<sup>d</sup>. Concerning the Nicolas-dates, as they are called, I can tell you thus much of the products brought into our ports from Syria, that they were thought worthy of this name by no less a person than Augustus the emperor, because he enjoyed this delicacy very much, and Nicolas of Damascus, who was his intimate friend,<sup>e</sup> sent the dates to him constantly. Now Nicolas was a Peripatetic, and he compiled an extensive historical work<sup>f</sup>.

*Dried Figs* The Attic figs were very much esteemed. Dinon, for example, says in his *Persian History*<sup>g</sup>: "On the king's table they used to set before him all the delicacies produced by the country over which the king ruled, the choice first-fruits of each. For Xerxes did not think that the princes should use any foreign food or drink; whence a custom forbidding such use arose later. Once, indeed, one

<sup>b</sup> Frag. 267 Rose, cf. Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* II 6. 6; *Philol.* 85 (1930) 138-140.

<sup>c</sup> *F.H.G.* I. 67, J. 1 122, P.-W. VIII. 129.

<sup>d</sup> Included among the Pseud.-Epicharmeia, Kibel 94.

<sup>e</sup> See *F.H.G.* III. 343, J. 2 A 326. Plut. 723 D says that Nicolas had a sweet temper, a slender frame, and a reddish complexion, hence the emperor called the largest and finest dates after him.

<sup>f</sup> In 144 books, Athen. 249 a (vol. III. p. 122), where the translation should be corrected.

<sup>g</sup> *F.H.G.* II 91.

τινὸς ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς τραγήμασιν ἰσχάδας Ἀττικὰς, ἔρωτῆσαι ποταπαὶ<sup>1</sup> εἶεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθετο ἔξ Ἀθηνῶν, τοὺς ἀγοραστὰς ἐκώλυνεν<sup>2</sup> ὠνεῖσθαι, ἕως<sup>3</sup> ἂν ἐξουσία γένηται αὐτῷ<sup>4</sup> λαμβάνειν ὅταν ἐθέλῃ καὶ μὴ ἀγοράζειν. λέγεται δὲ τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἐπιτηδες τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἵνα αὐτὸν ὑπομνήσῃ τῆς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας στρατείας.” Ἀλεξίς δ’ ἐν Κυβερνήτῃ φησίν·

εἰσέβαινον ἰσχάδες,  
τὸ παράσημον τῶν Ἀθηνῶν,<sup>5</sup> καὶ θύμου δέσμαι  
τινές.

Λυγκεὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν κωμικὸν Ποσειδίππον<sup>6</sup> d Ἐπιστολῇ “ ἐν τοῖς τραγικοῖς, φησίν, πάθεσιν Εὐριπίδην νομίζω Σοφοκλέους<sup>7</sup> οὐδὲν διαφέρειν· ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἰσχάσι τὰς Ἀττικὰς τῶν ἄλλων πολὺ προέχειν ”<sup>8</sup> καὶ τῇ πρὸς Διαγόραν δὲ Ἐπιστολῇ γράφει οὕτως· “ ἡ δὲ γῆ ταῖς μὲν χελιδονείοις<sup>9</sup> ἰσχάσιν ἀντιπαρατιθεῖσα τὰς Βριγινδαρίδας<sup>10</sup> καλουμένας, τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι βαρβαρίζουσας, ταῖς δὲ ἡδόναῖς οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐκείνων ἀττικίζουσας.” Φοινικίδης δ’ ἐν Μισουμένῃ φησίν·

<sup>1</sup> A ποδαπαὶ Charitonides.

<sup>2</sup> Gulick, Peppink τοῖς ἀγορασταῖς ἐκέλευεν ACE.

<sup>3</sup> Musurius ὥς AC

<sup>4</sup> Musurus· αὐτῶν AC

<sup>5</sup> A ἀττικῶν CE

<sup>6</sup> ποσίδιππον A

<sup>7</sup> Σωσιφάνους Wilamowitz

<sup>8</sup> CE προσέχειν A

<sup>9</sup> χελιδονίαις A, χελιδονίαις E, χελιδονίας C

<sup>10</sup> βριγινδαρίδας ACE· Βρυγινδαρίδας Kaibel

<sup>a</sup> Cf Plut 173 c Ἀττικὰς δὲ ἰσχάδας οὐκ ἂν ἔφη (Ξερέης) φαγεῖν ὠνίους κομισθείσας (if they were procured by purchase), ἀλλ’ ὅταν τὴν φέρουσιν κτήσῃται χώραν See critical note 2.

of the eunuchs brought in among the other desserts some Attic figs, and he asked where they came from. When he learned that they were from Athens, he restrained <sup>a</sup> his purveyors from buying them until the time came when he could seize them whenever he wanted without purchasing them. And it is said that the eunuch had done this on purpose to remind him of the expedition against Athens." <sup>b</sup> Alexis says in *The Pilot* <sup>c</sup> "There walked in dried figs, the emblem of Athens, and some bundles of thyme." And Lynceus, in his *Letter to Poseidippus*, the comic poet, says "In the field of tragic emotion I think that Euripides is in no wise superior to Sophocles <sup>d</sup>; but when it comes to figs, the Attic stand out far ahead of all others." Also in the *Letter to Diagoras* Lynceus writes as follows: "This country <sup>e</sup> can place in competition with the swallow-figs its *Brigindarides*, as they are called, barbarous in their name, <sup>f</sup> but in their flavour just as good Attic as they." Phoenicides in *Hated Woman* <sup>g</sup>. "A They recite the

<sup>b</sup> An imitation of the story of Darius, Hdt. v. 105 Δέσποτα, μέμνεο τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

<sup>c</sup> Kock ii. 339. For the personification cf. vol. iii. p. 347 and note b.

<sup>d</sup> Contrast Aristot. *Poet.* 1453 a 29 Εὐριπίδης εἰ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μὴ εὖ οἰκονομεῖ, ἀλλὰ τραγικώτατός γε τῶν ποιητῶν φαίνεται. There is no warrant for altering Sophocles in the text to Sosiphanes, who was a Syracusan, not a Rhodian.

<sup>e</sup> See Athen. 75 e (vol. i. p. 326) for the Rhodian figs, and for the "swallow-figs" cf. 582 f (p. 143).

<sup>f</sup> Perhaps Carian. Athen. wrote Βριγινδαρίδας, Lynceus, possibly, Βρυγινδαρίδας, Poll. vi. 81 Βαγινδάριοι, P-W. iii. 921.

<sup>g</sup> Kock iii. 333. Since the grouse (or francolins) of Ionia were much admired (Hor. *Epod.* 2. 54, Pliny, *NH* x. 133), Meineke thinks an Ionian is the speaker (A), interrupted by B.

μύρτων λέγουσιν καὶ μέλιτος ἐγκώμια  
 e καὶ τῶν Προπυλαίων<sup>1</sup> καὶ τέταρτον ἰσχάδων.  
 τούτων ἐγευσάμην καταπλεύσας εὐθέως—  
 B. καὶ τῶν προπυλαίων;<sup>1</sup> A. κοῦδέν ἦν τούτων  
 ὅλως

πρὸς ἀτταγῆνα συμβαλεῖν<sup>2</sup> τῶν βρωμάτων.

ἐν τούτοις τηρητέον καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀτταγῆνος μνήμην.  
 Φιλήμων δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν Ὀνομάτων  
 Αἰγιλίδας φησὶν εἶναι τὰς καλλίστας ἰσχάδας.  
 Αἰγίλα δ' εἶναι δῆμον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀπὸ Αἰγίλου  
 f τινὸς ἥρωος ὠνομασμένον· χελιδονίας δὲ<sup>3</sup> καλεῖσθαι  
 τὰς ἐρυθρομελαίνας ἰσχάδας Θεόπομπος δ' Εἰρήνη  
 τὰς Τειθρασίας<sup>4</sup> ἐπαινῶν ἰσχάδας φησὶν οὕτως·

μᾶζαι, πλακοῦντες, ἰσχάδες Τειθράσαιαι<sup>4</sup>

οὕτω δὲ ἦσαν περισπούδαστοι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις αἱ  
 ἰσχάδες—“ὄντως γὰρ” κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην

οὐδὲν γὰρ ὄντως<sup>5</sup> γλυκύτερον τῶν ἰσχάδων—

ὥς καὶ Ἀμιτροχάτην τὸν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα γρά-  
 ψαι Ἀντιόχῳ ἀξιοῦντα, φησὶν Ἡγήσανδρος, πέμψαι  
 653 αὐτῷ γλυκὺν καὶ ἰσχάδας καὶ σοφιστὴν ἀγορά-  
 σαντα. καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἀντιγράψαι. “ἰσχάδας  
 μὲν καὶ γλυκὺν ἀποστελοῦμέν σοι, σοφιστὴν δ'  
 ἐν Ἑλλήσιν οὐ νόμιμον πωλεῖσθαι.” ὅτι δὲ καὶ  
 πεφωσμένas ἰσχάδας ἦσθιον Φερεκράτης δείκνυσιν  
 ἐν Κοριαννοῖ λέγων οὕτως·

<sup>1</sup> Musurus: προσπυλαίων A

<sup>2</sup> Musurus· συμβάλλειν A <sup>3</sup> CE: τε A

<sup>4</sup> τιθρασίας, τιθράσαιαι A.

<sup>5</sup> Musurus γὰρ οὕτως A, deleted by Kaibel, Peppink

<sup>a</sup> Discussed at 387 f-388 b (vol. iv pp 252-254).

<sup>b</sup> More exactly Aegilia (Αἰγιλιά), belonging to the tribe

praises of their myrtle-berries and honey, their Propylaea, and as a fourth item, their figs. As soon as I landed from the ship I tasted all these—B What, the Propylaea too? A And not one of these delicacies could be at all compared with our francolin.<sup>a</sup> In these lines note the mention of the francolin.<sup>a</sup> Philemon in his work *On Attic Words* says that the best figs are the Aegilid; Aegila<sup>b</sup> is a deme of Attica, named from a hero Aegilus; Philemon also says that the reddish-brown kind are called swallow-figs. Theopompus in *The Peace* praises the Teithrasian<sup>c</sup> figs in these words<sup>d</sup>: “Barley-cakes, flat-cakes, Teithrasian figs.” So eagerly were figs sought after by all men—“for in fact,” as Aristophanes says,<sup>e</sup> “nothing is sweeter than figs”—that even Amitrochates, the king of India, wrote to Antiochus begging him, as Hegesander says,<sup>f</sup> to purchase and send him grape-syrup, figs, and a sophist. And Antiochus wrote back. “Figs, to be sure, and grape-syrup we will dispatch to you, but it is against the law in Greece to sell a sophist.” That they also ate toasted figs is shown by Pherecrates in *Corianno*, speaking as

Antiochus; above, p 203 Cf. Theocr. i. 147 ἀπ’ Αἰγίλω ἰσ-  
χάδα τρώγεις and Schol.

<sup>a</sup> From the deme Teithras, later Tithras, Aegeid tribe. The inhabitants had a bad reputation, Aristoph. *Ran.* 477 γόργονες Τειθράσiai, see Schol.

<sup>d</sup> Kock i. 736.

<sup>e</sup> Kock i. 541.

<sup>f</sup> *F.H.G.* iv 421. Bindusâra Amitraghâtâ (the last name is inferred from the Greek Ἀμιτροχάτης or Ἀμιτροχάδας) was the son of Chandragupta (Sandrocottus, vol. i. p. 80), about 290 B.C.; see Bevan, *House of Seleucus* i. 297-298. Droysen, *Hellenismus*<sup>2</sup> iii. 351 renders ἀγοράσαντα by “redegewandten,” “practised speaker,” referring to the sophist. But this, besides being a doubtful meaning for ἀγοράζω, does not explain the answer of Antiochus.

# ATHENAEUS

ἀλλ' ἰσχάδας μοι πρόελε τῶν πεφωσμένων  
καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα δέ·

οὐκ ἰσχάδας οἴσεις τῶν μελαινῶν; μανθάνεις,  
ἐν τοῖς Μαριανδυνοῖς ἐκείνοις βαρβάροις  
χύτρας καλοῦσι τὰς μελαίνας ἰσχάδας.

ὅ οἶδα δὲ καὶ Πάμφιλον εἰρηκότα πρόκνιδας<sup>1</sup> γένος  
ἰσχάδων

<sup>1</sup> Hesych.: προσκνιδας A.



follows <sup>a</sup> “ Please pick me out some of those toasted figs ; ” and a little farther on : “ Won’t you fetch some of those black figs ? You understand, among those Mariandynian barbarians over there they call black figs ‘ pots ’ ” I know, too, that Pamphilus mentions a kind of fig called proknides. <sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Kock l. 163

<sup>b</sup> So Hesych. *s v* πρόκνις, Poll vi 81 has πρόκριδες.



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